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THE
Hindustan Review

EDITED BY .

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, Bar-at-Law

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hears, if at all, of measures taken by the British Government to secure the well-being of the subjects of these States. I am of course excluding cases like those in which these States are directly managed by the British Government during the minority of the rulers.

2. Taking the attitude of Government first, we may sum up the present situation thus. These Feudatory Rulers are guaranteed protection from external invasion and internal trouble by the paramount power which requires them in turn to remain loyal and faithful to it and to submit to such advice or suggestions as the Imperial Government may have occasion to offer in the interests of the Empire or to prevent, gross mismanagement in the States themselves. These are the relations of Feudatory India to the British Government in a nutshell. There may be slight variations in individual cases, but these need not receive any notice here and do not affect the subject matter of this note. It has latterly been the policy of the Imperial Government scrupulously to allow perfect freedom to the Princes in the internal administration of their states—save in cases of gross misrule. Beyond this, there is absolutely no interference. It is necessary, however, for every enlightened Indian to consider whether this
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they cannot ignore for any considerations of Imperial policy, so long as they continue to wield the destinies of India. To secure such a result some interference by the Imperial Government will of course be necessary, and it is just the point of these lines to show that, so far as the interests of good Government are concerned, this interference is a duty.

3. Now there are several objections which could be urged against such a course on behalf of the rulers of the States, as well as the Imperial Government. The first and most obvious objection likely to be urged would be that the Imperial Government has no right to enforce particular forms of Government on the Feudatory Princes. Apparently this seems a very strong argument; but, if we actually look more closely into it, it is easily proved to be untenable. Suppose, for instance, that the form of the administration in a particular state is so repugnant to the subjects that they heartily dislike it and try by all means in their power to change it. Suppose the ruler is not inclined to yield to their wishes and there is a disturbance in consequence. What will the British Government do in such a case? Is there any doubt that it will at once assist the chief to suppress such a movement? It may at the same time very likely advise the chief to mend his ways. Now what the Imperial Government can do in the event of such a trouble, it can certainly do in anticipation of it and to remove its possibility. Then, again, if Government has a right to interfere on behalf of the rulers, has it not the right to interfere on behalf of the people of the States as against the rulers? As was made clear by Lord Curzon, the protection which was guaranteed to the Native States by the paramount power implied clearly that this immunity from external and internal trouble carried with it a direct obligation to safeguard the interests of the subjects committed to their charge. As a final repository of the responsibilities for the good Government of the whole of India, the Imperial Government cannot refuse to recognize their responsibility in this connection. There may be a difference of opinion as to under what circumstances exactly such an interference would be justified. But when once the principle is accepted, the actual details can be settled by Government, on the merits of each case. The Rulers of these States cannot claim perfect liberty to determine the way in which they are to govern their subjects. They owe their states and privileges to the interference of the Imperial Government whose power alone is responsible for their protection. Then, again, it may be said that the Imperial Government *does* recognise its responsibilities in this respect and does, as a matter of fact, interfere, in cases of gross misrule. But such an attitude is only negative in its result, and does not free the Imperial Government from its responsibility to ensure, not only *an absence of misrule* but a *progressive* administration in these States as well. My whole point is that for the same reasons, for which the British Government thinks it politic to grant an increasing share to the people in the Government of their own country in the territories under their direct control, it is under an equally strong obligation, as the power finally responsible for the whole of

India, to see that the methods of administration in these States make a corresponding advance. Of course no one pretends this can be secured at once and directly. But once the principle is recognised, the Government can easily find a way. Where the Princes themselves are enlightened and disposed to move with the times, no interference is necessary; but where they are clearly inclined to stick to their own autocratic forms of Government, surely Government can, by its advice, induce them to change their ways. In other words, the present attitude of the British Government, which is only passive as regards the welfare of the subjects of the Native States, must give place to a more active one, consistently with the dignity and privileges of the rulers. The States are not the private property of the Princes. They should be answerable to some authority for a faithful discharge of their trust. They are not, and, as a rule, do not consider themselves to be, answerable to their subjects. Well, then they should be made answerable to the Imperial power—answerable not only for the prevention of gross abuse of power, as is the case at present, but answerable also for a progressive administration in their territories in conformity with the reasonable aspirations of their subjects and with due regard to their own status. It would hardly be a satisfactory state of things in which, while great strides are made in the form and tone of Government in the adjoining British territory, the subjects of the Native States should be condemned to such forms of Government as the individual caprices of their rulers might choose to maintain. I do not deny that a considerable number of the Princes at present are enlightened enough to understand and realise the needs of the times—but it is also clear that this cannot by any means be said of all of them, and it is in behalf of the subjects of the backward States that I wish to make an earnest appeal to the British Statesmen who guide the destinies of India at present. The argument that the Native States should look after themselves and that it is no concern of the Imperial power to secure a progressive administration in them is specious, but wholly unworthy of the best traditions of British policy. It is, moreover, repugnant to the great and noble rôle which British rule is playing in India. Surely it is unfair that the subjects of Feudatory India should be denied the blessings of a civilised and progressive Government enjoyed by their country men in British India, merely because they happen to be immediately under the rule of the Native States. For, although they are not direct subjects of the British Government in India, they are as much subjects of the King-Emperor as people in British India; and as such, they have an unquestionable right to share the benefits of the British rule. Notwithstanding all the criticism directed against the actual form of the Government in British India, no sane man can deny the progressive and benevolent character of the rule—and my contention is that, so far as these benefits go, the subjects of the NativeStates must be able to enjoy them.

4. Nothing can be further from my thoughts than to suggest that the British Government is not wholly unmindful of the good of the subjects of

Native States. It is true that they do take great care about the education of the rulers and exercise a salutary influence on them by means of example and advice. But all this is calculated at the most to prevent misrule. Something more is required to ensure that—in the course of time, the Native States also will march along the path of progress on the lines followed in British India. Apart from the actual form of Government, there are several matters where this could be done with most beneficial results. For instance, when the British Government undertakes great schemes of sanitary, educational and agricultural reforms, for their own subjects, they can easily by means of advice or even compulsion, where necessary, induce the rulers to do something on these lines in their own States. Then, again, Government can secure that the right of property shall be held as inviolable in all the Native States as it is in British India. Something can also be done to secure an efficient administration of justice in the territory of the States. As I have already said, no interference would be necessary in the case of several States, but in the case of the others, Government can do much to better the lot of their subjects. The duty of the Imperial Government does not end with scrupulously respecting the rights of the rulers : their subjects also have rights which it is the duty of that Government to guarantee. The obligation of this duty is the more sacred in the latter case, because these subjects have no real access to the British Government for the redress of their grievances. If there is now to be an increased co-operation between the Imperial Government and the Native States, the co-operation must include in its scope the questions of internal administration of the Native States as well. There is not surely such a great and intrinsic difference in the qualifications and condition of the people in the two cases as to justify a total disregard of the aspirations of the people in the Native States for the political privileges enjoyed by their confrères in the British India. There is absolutely no reason why they should not enjoy at least the same amount of personal liberty, or the same security of property as people do in British India. And can any one assert that in respect of these, the subjects of the States are as a rule as well off as their countrymen in British India ? There might be exceptions ; but I am talking of the Native States in general. It is likely to be hinted in some quarters that it would be a bad return for the splendid loyalty exhibited by the the Princes to seek to interfere in their internal concerns. But this argument also is irrelevant. The Princes are bound to be loyal to the paramount power in any case and their loyalty cannot give them a claim to perfect immunity from supervision by the Imperial Government. This reasoning could only apply to the States if loyalty was optional. In their case it is not. Then, again, so long as the subjects of a Native State are actuated by the same feelings of loyalty to the British throne as the Princes themselves, they cannot be reasonably deprived of the blessings enjoyed by British subjects in India. It must also be remembered that the pecuniary and other offers which the Princes have made in this crisis for the service of the Empire are from resources which belong primarily to the States as such as distinguished from the persons of their rulers. The practical consequence of such an argument would be that an Indian Prince will have only to exhibit his loyalty in as abundant a measure as possible to obtain a *carte blanche* in dealing with his subjects. Such a state of things is unthinkable in the twentieth century and under a civilised rule like that of Great Britain. The question must be judged wholly from the standpoint of reason and justice, and irrespective of the loyalty of the rulers. Loyal to the paramount power, they must be equally loyal to the interests of the people committed to their charge, Of course on paper and in theory no one can deny the truth of such a statement —but there is just a chance that, in actual practice it might be, and, as a matter of fact, is, sometimes overlooked.

5. Now, even granting that the proposed interference is reasonable in theory it may be replied that in actual practice it would be most impracticable, I assert that once the Imperial Government recognises its obligations in this respect, there are several matters in which an active supervision could be exercised over the States without any great difficulty and with very salutary results. It is only possible here to indicate the lines on which this could be done. Take, for instance, the proportion of public money spent by the Feudatory rulers over their households to that spent on public administration, while in some cases it is quite probable that no advice would be necessary, it would be very advantageous to lay down certain principles for the guidance of the rulers with a view to keep down their personal expenses within proper limits. The States are certainly distinct from the private property of the Chiefs and the resources of the former cannot be applied to private use regardless of the public interests. Unless some such measure is taken, it would hardly be possible to initiate great schemes of educational, sanitary and similar reforms in the majority of the States. Then, again, the reforms of Lords Minto and Morley, by expanding the Legislative Councils, have secured for the subjects in British India some measure at least of control in the matter of legislation. Why should not the same concession be extended to millions of people living in the Native States? A few States have made a beginning in this direction; but the majority are wholly innocent of any such tendency. Some general principles could also be laid down by Government to improve and regulate the judicial systems prevailing in these States. It would by no means be wide of the mark to say that in this matter of judicial administration the subjects of Native States are at a great and decided disadvantage as compared with the people in British India. In the case of small States, temporarily administered by the British Government for various reasons, political officers drawn from the army are left to exercise large judicial powers without being subjects to the control of regular courts of law as in British India. Disputes between the Princes themselves, and between them and their subjects individually, are settled not in open courts but by the exercise of executive authority through the Political Department. This system might have been suited to old days—but India has much changed since

then and it is now desirable that steps should be taken to improve the whole system in the light of altered circumstances, and with due regard to the advance made in public opinion. These are but some of the matters in which Government could usefully exercise a wholesome influence upon the Native States in the interest of their subjects. This duty is the more imperative as these subjects themselves have practically no voice in shaping the policy of either their own rulers or the Imperial Government. It is high time that their interests, as distinguished from the interest of their rulers should receive greater consideration at the hands of the Imperial Government. It is not my object to advocate any restrictions on the powers of the Princes, nor do I wish to suggest that all of them are equally reactionary. To the credit of a great many of them, it must be said that they are quite enlightened and prepared to move with the times. It is only with regard to others that a more active policy is desirable from the Imperial Government. Then, again, even with these, it is hardly likely that anything more than persuasion will be required. The loyalty of our Princes has been proved beyond doubt and they would not ordinarily misunderstand a clear expression in such matters of the opinion of Government. The noble and civilising rôle which British rule is playing in the evolution of India as a nation requires that the British Government should not neglect the condition of Feudatory India—the condition of Feudatory India not only with reference to the status and privileges of the Feudatory rulers, but also from the standpoint of their people.

6. Turning to the attitude of the public leaders in British India, we find the same indifference amongst them about the future of the Native States. Nor have they the same excuse of theoretical rights as Government. For, no amount of political progress in British India will avail unless it is accompanied by a corresponding progress in the Native States also. The idea of an Indian Nation enjoying the rights of self-government under the ægis of the British Sovereignty is unthinkable without a similar development in the Native States; and no political movement in India, claiming to be national, can ignore any longer this aspect of Indian politics. On grounds of sentiment, as well as in the interest of the very cause, which they have at heart, Indian politicians must give up their present attitude in relation to these States and take up a more active interest in their affairs. It is clearly not in the interest of the people of India that this important problem should be treated any longer as almost sacrosanct and above vulgar criticism. Political reforms conferring greater rights upon the subjects are seldom, if ever, initiated entirely by the powers that be. The public in British India, through the press and councils, and in other ways, can at least articulate their demands and make their voice heard. The public in most of these States have not the same facilities to voice their grievances and aspirations. The press in Feudatory India is for such purpose almost a non-entity. Political movements are

conspicuous by their absence. This does not of course mean that grievances or political aspirations do not exist in these States. It can only be explained on the supposition that the atmosphere in these States is uncongenial and, at times, even perfectly hostile to any kind of political agitation, however legitimate or reasonable in its methods. This may be an ideal condition of things from the point of view of reactionary politics. It can hardly be in consonance with a spirit of progress. It is therefore incumbent on the leaders in British India to take up the cause of their brethren in the Native States. Although at first no initiative will come from the subjects of these States themselves, yet, as time goes by and the affairs of the States are brought more and more into the searchlight of reasoned criticism, local opinion in the States is bound to grow in volume and independence. Just as there is going to be an increasing co-operation between the Indian Princes and the Imperial Government, a corresponding co-operation between the subjects of both in the interest of the popular cause is also a need of the day; and the sooner it is supplied, the better for the country as a whole. The problem of these States is one of great and vital concern to the people and the rulers alike of British India. And when, at times, as now the interests of the subjects of the States are in danger of being thrown into the background, it behoves the leaders of popular movements to take up their cause in time. The problem can no longer be treated as beyond the purview of public discussion. Let there be no mistake about it. The problem is so intimately bound up with the problem in British India, that to neglect it would be suicidal to the whole country. The Indian National Congress must now agitate not only for reforms in British India, but also for reforms in the administration of Feudatory India and her relations with the Imperial Government. For purposes of trade, education, and social intercourse, the people in the Native States form but a part and parcel of the whole Indian nation; and by no stretch of political reasoning can their political future be dissociated from that of the people in British India. A large department is maintained at public expense by the Imperial Government to look after the Native States, and it is clearly within the scope of the National Congress to enquire whether it is justified by its usefulness. The old significance of the word "Political" as applied to it, has mostly gone in these days. The British rule has been established as firmly as possible and order and peace have replaced old troubles. The main justification for such a department now would be that it helps to keep these States forward in the van of progress. The time has certainly come for a more effective and business-like co-operation between the Imperial and Feudatory administrations; and in this co-operation, the Political Department must play a more effective part. The importance of its ceremonial and formal functions is by no means so great now as in the old days when the British power was in the process of consolidation. This department, therefore, and its functions must also be examined with regard to the present circumstances and receive its due share of criticism from the public point of view. A reactionary Feudatory

India will be a stumbling block in the way of progressive British India. It is for the people in British India therefore to prevent, as far as possible such a contingency. The education of the Princes, the form of their administration, the amount of individual liberty enjoyed by their subjects—these and other matters are as much the concern of public opinion in India as any other and must therefore receive their share of public interest in British India.

7. I quite realise that such an interest is likely in the beginning to evoke a cold or even hostile response from several quarters; but reason and good sense are bound to prevail in the end. The assumption that the affairs of the Native States are absolutely and wholly beyond the sphere of public criticism in British India must not be allowed to go unchallanged. So long as the Imperial Government are finally responsible for the welfare of these States, and so long as the public opinion in the States themselves is not sufficiently powerful to mould their policy, the assumption cannot stand as either reasonable or fair. It is not my intention to advocate any restriction of the privileges enjoyed by the rulers of these States. On the other hand, I assert that their prestige and privilges must be as intimate a concern for public opinion as the privileges and liberties of their subjects. But in these days of political progress, there must be some agency by which they could be made to realise—when they do not do so themselves that the old forms and methods of Government have to make room for more liberal and popular forms. This is all that is desired and my object in writing these lines is to emphasize that so long as such an agency does not exist in the states themselves, it must be supplied from outside—by an increased and more active co-operation on the part of the paramount power, and a more genuine and active interest on the part of the public in British India.

The Press in Austria.

By Mr. E. WATTS, M. B., B. S. (LONDON.)

THE power of the press is one of the greatest, and whoever has the control of it wields great influence. In some countries it is ranged on the side of the Government, in others on the side of the people, in others in support of vested interests. In every country are to be found certain papers which keep before them a high ideal, and do not permit any interests other than those dictated by right and justice, to control their policy. In some countries the "freedom of the Press" is a real thing, while in others, though possessing it in name, there are restrictions laid on it by Government which make an independent attitude impossible. It must be recognised that there are occasions when a careful censorship must be exercised, but apart from that general censorship which makes it necessary that a paper shall not tend to bring justice and morals into disrepute, the "freedom of the Press" is a matter which ought to be interfered with as little as possible. In times such as the present a censorship is absolutely necessary, and all sane thinking people recognise the fact. In time of war the nation must have only one object and anything that interferes with that object must be prevented, and the wonderful smoothness with which the new laws have worked are a proof that in exceptional cases law-abiding citizens are prepared to assist the Government to the utmost of their ability. But in many countries, though the intervention of Government may not be direct, the control is none the less real, for by various means they retain such a hold on the editors and proprietors that freedom of action is impossible. This cannot be said of the press either in England or India, and unless there is some striking cause, comparatively little is done to influence papers in their policy. But countries such as Germany and Austria,—countries which are nominally permitted full freedom of policy in their Press, the Press is completely bound by Government. So that even in peace time, the public know only what the Government think it wise to tell them. In this short article an attempt will be made to show how the Government of Austria controls the newspapers of that country, and renders all newspapers, or practically all, dependent on the authorities.

Semi-officialism is perhaps the main defect of the Austrian press, and it is intended to influence the public without the public knowing they are being influenced by it. In order that the public may be served with suitable news there are Press bureaux attached to the several departments of State, the War Office, the Premier's Office, the Home Offices of Austria and Hungary, and especially the Foreign Office of Vienna, and these have large sums of money at their disposal with which to encourage the various journals and journalists at work in the country. In Mr. Steed's account of the Hapsburg Monarchy, he gives a description of the working of these bureaux. He had ample opportunities of studying the question and his statements may be relied upon. He says that the "Literary Department" of the Foreign Office, is international and extends to Berlin, Paris, London, Rome, Petrograd, the Balkan Capitals, and even the United States, and that its methods vary according to circumstances. "The head of the Bureau is a Foreign Office official who has usually been, but is not invariably of Jewish extraction. Attached to him is a large staff of journalistic officials conversant with the principal European languages and commissioned to report from day to day upon the foreign press. The "Literary Bureau" subscribes to the chief foreign newspapers and receives besides, periodical reports from the Austro-Hungarian Embassies, Legations, and Consulates abroad. An exact register is kept of the exact position, etc. of every important foreign journal. Alongside of the journalistic officials commissioned to report on the foreign press, a staff of regular official writers, recruited from the ranks of professional journalists, is employed to furnish semi-official articles to the home and foreign journals that are subsidized from the secret funds or otherwise controlled by the Bureau. "But it is not always easy to get at the editors and propietors of some of the journals they wish to influence, so they seek to approach the "correspondents of these papers, many of whom find their salaries too small to live comfortably. To gain an easy addition to one's income is a great temptation, and though some may succumb it is to the credit of these men that they prefer "the drawbacks of independence to the sweets of semi-officialdom." But, in spite of his desire to be independent the correspondent is frequently circumvented, and cases are not unknown of leading articles having been foisted on English papers the editors of which were quite unaware of the source. They do not leave the Ambassadors in silence, for they study their man, and do not hesitate to use flattery if vanity is his weakness, and threats if his conduct may have been open to suspicion owing to some imprudence or other. Confidential information is often supplied to them, but the emissaries are officials of the Bureau." At critical moments, additional means of influencing foreign opinion are employed. Foreign journalists of note are encouraged to come to Vienna, are granted easy access to Austro-Hungarian Ministers and other personages of State and are able to declare without fear of contradiction that their information is "invariably drawn from the very best sources." When they leave Vienna arrangements are made to keep them periodically supplied with 'information' of equal quality; and it is only when, as during the Balkan crisis of 1912-13, events perversely flout their predictions and belie their 'positive knowledge' that unwary readers begin to doubt their infallibity."

Mr Steed shows how, during the Morocco crisis of 1905-06 the ignorance of the people of Austria was complete, and that, not until the Conference of Algeciras in April 1906 did any journal make an attempt to put a complete story of the incident before its readers. In connection with the Annexation question, when the Austrian Government decided to annex Bosnia and Hertzogovinia, the Press Bureau prevented any newspaper from publishing any statements which in any way conflicted with the plan of the Government. Again in the Balkan war the same procedure was followed, but so rapid were the events in that case that hardly were the lies printed than they were refuted by events, and the eyes of the public were opened. So far it has been pointed out that the Austrian Press is largely under the influence of the semi-official connected with the various departments so far as Government matters are concerned. Then too, there are the State Attorneys or public prosecutors on whom rests the responsibility for keeping these journals in order. The very system under which newspapers are sold renders it most difficult for any to take an independent line. In Austria there are certain Government shops where are sold matches, stamps, tobacco and lottery tickets. It is only from these that any, other than subscribers can get their newspapers for newsboys are not permitted to sell in the streets Thus, if the public prosecutor believes a particular issue to be harmful he can, in a few minutes, set the whole machinery in action, and instructions are issued to every Government shop to stop the issue, and the whole journal is thus easily confiscated. If a paper persists in a course not acceptable to the authorities, the sale of it in any Government shop is forbidden, which practically means its death. But the authorities are concerned about one thing only, and that the regulation of matters concerning the States. So far as the morality of the paper is concerned they are indifferent. The filthiest of advertisements, the shadiest of news may appear, but no action will be taken. The whole press is in the hands of the Jews, and this class has no wish to go against the Government lest greater evils fall on them. They use the newspapers for the dissemination of views which will be helpful to them as a community, and one cannot blame them for so using their opportunity. But it is to be feared there are clandestine influences at work which serve to destroy the vale of the newspaper as a medium of education of the public on State and other matters. The public has a right to know the facts and that they shall be put in such a way as to convey a right impression. Only journalism which realises the responsibility of its task will rise to this attitude. But it has to be remembered the public opinion in Austria and Hungary is not of that type which flourishes in those countries where there is greater freedom of thought and action, both individually and politically. "The trend of public feeling is against systematic-adoption by any journal of an 'anti-patriotic' that is to say, anti-official, attitude, even though the attitude be inspired by consideration for the higher interests of the country. However much the people may grumble and cavil at official policy, the feeling that after all it is the business of Government to look after public affairs and that the authorities know better than any official wiseacre what should or should not be done, is too strong to permit the growth of a powerful body of independent opinion. Indirect criticism is tolerated and at times even welcomed, but it is taken for granted that it will exercise no practical effect. The Viennese atmosphere of amiable, sceptical indifference affects the whole tone of the press and causes any writer who takes public interest to heart in a manner not approved of by the authorities to be considered eccentric, or, at best to be suspected of having some private axe to grind under cloak of vociferous solicitude for the public welfare."

The many quotations which are now appearing in the press from Austrian papers has made many who were not previously acquainted with them, familiar with the names of the leading journals. It will suffice to mention a few of these. The Neue Freie Presse, is considered to be the most influential paper in that country, and it is edited by a man of whom it has been jokingly said that "next to him the Emperor is the most important man in the country." He is a Jew, and he runs his journal with great skill. It is said that to be attacked by the Neue Freie Press is a certificate of political uprightness. Its first appeal is to the Jewish community, but it nevertheless exerts a great influence in other quarters and both politicians and officials are rather inclined to fear it. It has a definite aim in that it earnestly supports the propoganda of the Jewish-German Liberal assimilationist doctrine, and is prepared to stand by that at all costs. There is another group of journals which seem to exist simply in order to provide a market for the products of certain Paper Mills with which they are closely identified. The " Elbe Mill " is run by a syndicate which run several papers. One of these is the well-known Fremdenblatt which is generally considered to be the official Foreign Office organ. Its circulation may be insignificant, but it is important in so far as it be relied on to present the Government view of the situation. The Zeit, the Reichspost, and the Arbier Zeitung are three others well-known, and they are deserving of credit because they appear to make an attempt to introduce sincerity into journalism. The first seems to take an independent line on most subjects save military matters which it receives from the bureau. It has not hesitated to criticise the Government in connection with several important crises, and has raised its voice on the side of liberty and justice. The Reichspost is the organ of the Christian Social Party and takes an antagonistic attitude toward the Jewish Press, and supports the propoganda in favour of the Roman Catholic Church. The Arbiter Zeitung is the chief Social Democratic organ, and its influence is acknowledged to be healthy. The Neues Wiener Tagblatt is a democratic organ, largely read by the lower middle class, and has a large circulation. While the greater portion of this article is taken up with the discussion of this unsatisfactory side of the Austrian press it must not be thought that it has not its good points. From a technical point of view it compares favourably with papers in any other country and is decidedly in advance of those in Germany. There is a very elaborte system of correspondents, and the papers give full reports of important speeches made both in Austria and in other countries. The proprietors are not anxious to run up against the Government, and so have lost the inclination, with the result that the Austrian papers go steadily on their way without rousing any antagonism. It is in accordance with the feeling of the people, and restrictions which would gall the public in other countries, are accepted without protest.

Hindustani Architecture: Past and Present—II.

By (the late) Mr. H. G. KEENE, C. I. E.

THE so-called 'Taj Mehal' of Agra is a vast mass of masonry, faced with thick plates of plain or decorated white marble, looking on one side to a vas expanse of rectangular grove and garden, on the other on a terrace at whose foot flows the River Jumna. About a mile from the Fort of Agra, on the road towards the village of Samoghar (where stand the stone records of the victory gained by Aurangzeb over the ill-fated Dara, his elder brother and the designate heir of the empire), the traveller passes by the lofty ornamented gateway amid an enclosure of red sandstone cloisters. Framed in the further archway, appears an avenue of dark Italian cypresses. Down the line between, sparkles a long row of fountains, each tossing up a feathery plume of water or a thin jet fifteen feet high. At the end, on a terrace of white marble raised, twenty-six feet above the level of the garden, rise the gleaming walls and loftily curving dome that have so long and far been famous. Is this, as honest Bernier thought, one of the wonders of the world, worthy to rank with the temple of Diana at Ephesus or the Great Pyramid; or is it, as our neologists assert a mere caprice in unpaid-for material, a meretricious monument of lust? To give any sort of answer to such a question, we must have some common point of departure, some art speech that all can understand.

Architecture consists of two important elements, not each of like importance, yet necessary and essential the one to the other. These principles are construction, including design—and finish, implying decoration. Beauty of *form* may be found in a wave, a waterspout, a rock; each strong and graceful for its purpose, yet none calculated to give the whole pleasure of a work of art. Loveliness of *ornament* may be found in a tree, a flower, a butterfly, none of them claiming to be considered types for the close imitation of man. To produce a work therefore that shall permanently fix the praise and gratitude of intelligent beings, you must bring into combination the strength and serviceableness of fine form with the apt exciting harmonies of detail. And your building can less afford to dispense with any of the first, than to lose a certain portion of the second.

Tried by this test, the Taj certainly fails. The general design consists of a cube with truncated angles, opposite each of which is a detached tower, terminating just below the springing of the dome from the summit of the cube. No relation can be discovered among the heights or other dimensions of the parts, nor any expression of practical purpose in the great majority of them. The turnip-shaped dome does not correspond to the form of the inward vault, the minarets are useless incumbrances in a structural point of view; the windows give no light. The extreme straightness of outline bounds the building, while it takes away all that air of stately strength, which is given by the curved or sloping sides of *Pathan* buildings; and the sky-line, if not so actually a dead level as in some contemporary works, is still distinctly wanting in aspiration. Many of these faults are more or less masked by the really magnificent foliage of the modern garden; but, judging from old pictures and descriptions, we may feel sure that this masking was no part of the original intention. And it is a small but significant detail that, so far from being as is generally supposed an artist king versed in every detail of this beautiful toy, Shah Jahan was no more acquainted with the exact dimensions of the Taj than was Jahangir with the names of the mothers of his sons. In his memoirs the Emperor declares that the tomb was 296 feet high measured by a theodolite in 1872, it turned out to be only 243½.

It is when we turn to the ornamentations, the colouring, the style, the whole delicious harmony that makes up the idea of 'taste,' that we see how, in spite of all these and numerous other pedantries of art, the Taj charms, and always must charm. In the words of Bayard Taylor: "So light it seems, so airy, and so like a fabric of mist and moonbeams, with its great dome soaring up a silvery bubble, that even after you have touched it, and climbed to its summit, you may almost doubt its reality." Nevertheless to give a catalogue of the works of this school would be to name all the buildings (excepting the Kutab Minar) which have made Indian Mussulman architecture best known in Europe. The dates of some of the principal examples follow :—

The *Khas Muhul*, or private apartments of Agra Fort, begun about 1628, completed	1637
The Palace at new Dehli	1637
The Jama Musjid of Agra	1644
The Taj Mahal of Agra	1648
The Mòti Musjid of Agra	1653
The Jama Musjid at Delhi	1658

From the accession of Shah Juhan to his deposition by Aurangzeb is a period of thirty years, during which Moghul art culminated and commenced its decline. The same thing that occurred in politics occurred in art also. The Hindu practice, divorced for a time from activity, languished in suspense, but it was the active partner that was doomed to die. While the Moghul architects have sunk from the Taj to the tomb of Sufdur Jung, and from the palaces of Shah Jahan to the stucco nightmares of Lucknow, the Hindu has caught up and retained all that was best in the art of his employers, and has blended it with a vitality and an ingenuity all his own. Jaipur and Muttra attest his excellence in carving, and the ateliers of Nuthu and Purusram of Agra equal, if they do not surpass, the finished *pietra dura* of the inlayers of the Taj. These industries are extant at this day in this small tract of country in complete perfection, and give it the honourable distinction of harbouring two arts that are unique among the arts of the world. As there is no civilized country that can at the present day claim superiority over India in the buildings that it contains, so none can beat the people of this part of India in the eye for colour, or the hand for elaborate workmanship. The traveller of to-day, going through Northern Rajputana and the land of Brij, finds galleries being placed in front of modern dwellings that need not shrink from comparison with the *loggie* of the Grand Canal. The workshops of Agra continue to turn out samples of inlaying that rival in taste and finish the famous ornamentation of the Medicean Chapel. In natural and political science England has a lesson for the East. In art the people of this country is the master of its conquerors, as of old. But the successors of the Moghul cannot contribute beneficially as their predecessors did. Yet the Hindu mind is so docile and receptive that there is a danger of their arts being corrupted by intercourse with those from whom they are learning lessons in the practical sciences and their application. The vulgar maxim that "Time is Money," and the vain craving for obvious utility of the pedestrian kind are spoiling art in England, and if not jealously guarded against will spoil it here. A friend writes on this point—

"Admitting that what has here been called *Munubut* was originally applied to geometric patterns only, it seems almost to have deserted them now if you are to judge by the Agra workshops. The difference between the older, or *Taj* work, and that which seems now to be coming into vogue, is that the former is symmetrical and has a certain amount of stiffness in consequence, while the latter strives rather to follow the natural forms and irregular dispositions of flowers, butterflies and birds. Except in minuteness of finish, I see no difference between the present work and the flat *pietra dura* of Florence. This is a sad result of European interference."

Mosaic work appears to have had its origin in the East, the land of leisure and of luxury; and to have passed over to the Roman Empire in the times of its Eastern conquests, only to travel back to its native home in later times. The first mention of inlaying as applied to architecture occurs in the Bible. In the book of Esther, the Palace at Susa, now a mass of almost indistinguishable decay, is described as having " a pavement of red and blue and white and black marble." Borrowed by the Romans the art became what is now known by the distinctive name of Mosaic;" that is, " the art of producing artistic designs by setting small squares of stone or glass of different colours, so as to give the effect of painting," and continued to be a purely Italian art which it is necessary to distinguish from the architectural practice which forms our present subject. The etymology of the word "Mosaic" is unknown, so that it might equally appropriately be used of either branch of the inlayer's art. But, inasmuch as the word has already its well-defined and well-known application, while Hindustani inlaying is properly architectural rather than pictorial, and is not produced by tesselation but by the insertion of large masses of jewel into blocks of white marble so as to form geometrical patterns rather than pictorial designs, it is well to leave the term as we find it. I propose to call Indian inlaying by the name of " Indian *pietra dura*."

This form of the art is peculiar to Moghul India, and in India to the particular region with which this paper is concerned. Besides the use of enamelled tiles, the Indian Mahomedans adopted early the application of coloured stones, gradually elaborated from the simple courses of Toghluk's tomb to the minute decoration now in vogue. The art in its best condition is commended by Fergusson as "the great characteristic of Moghul architecture after the death of Akbar." As to who introduced it, authentic history is silent. Its first appearance may perhaps be cited in the gate of Akbar's tomb at Sikundra. Twenty years later it appears, still in large and purely arabesque patterns, on the tomb of Itmad-ud-Dowlah. Tradition says that its first development in the time of Shah Jahan was due to Persian artists; and this synchronizes with the arrival at that monarch's court of the distinguished amateur Ali Murdan Khan, the designer of the Delhi Palace and of the canal that supplied it with water. Up to this time the geometric traceries of the early inlayings are seen timidly borrowing a few floral forms—witness Shah Jahan's Palace in the Agra Fort. Immediately after, however, appears the full introduction of flower-work in the screen that surrounds the tombs in the Taj Mahal; and the vexed question arises, how was this revolution accomplished, and by whom? In the ten years that elapsed between the fort buildings and the work at the Taj what influence had introduced an attempt at realization of leaves, stalks, and petals which, if not happily arrested, would perhaps have degenerated into a mongrel and rococo style.

I think it probable that the traditional belief, that European taste is here answerable, is not wholly unfounded. The Taj was built by Eesa Effendi, a Constantinople Turk, and the Palace at Delhi decorated by Austin de Bordeaux, the accomplished French adventurer. That Byzantium was the home of true

Mosaic is well known, and the kindred art had been in vogue for about eighty years previous in Northern Italy ; with which Austin was doubtless acquainted.* It is thus described in Sir D. Brewster's *Encyclopædia*—

"Analogous to Mosaic is *pietra dura* of Florence, which consist of irregular portions of hard stones, containing the gradation of colours in each, instead of obtaining that gradation by the union of multiplied fragments." This it may be observed, is an almost exact definition (as far as its goes) of the modern Indian *pietra dura* as seen in the screen of the Taj and its reproductions of to-day. And the three and a half flowers still pointed out by the curators as the work of the "master's" own hand have effects of shadow and of reversed leaf-ends in the style which exceed the limits of the pure conventional †

However originated, this work is now practised chiefly by Hindus. A few Musulmans at the Taj maintain an unsuccessful rivalry with the more painstaking workmen of indigenous blood ; but they have never—as far as I am aware—exhibited while the two Hindu artists, already mentioned, have been honourably noticed and rewarded with medals, both in Indian and European exhibitions.

The practice of their art is very simple. The master-workman traces with delicate exactness a pencil outline of the design to be produced upon a slab of the whitest Jaipur marble. The slab is then handed over to one craftsman, and a collection of jewels to another. The chief jewels used are agate, cornelian, jasper, bloodstone, lapis-lazuli, and turquoise. Each piece has its bed prepared on the master's tracing on the surface of the slab, while it is shaped by the associated workman. As each piece is ready, it is handed to the inlayer who fits it into its place with a cement of white lime. It is then covered with a small piece of glass, over which is laid a fragment of burning charcoal. When the annealing process is complete the glass is removed ; and, when the whole design has been inlaid in this manner, the surface is rubbed over with a polishing powder, and the work is ready. When the cutter and the inlayer have done their respective offices with due skill, no trace of the annealing is perceptible. In second-class work, a small rim of cement may always be detected by its greater whiteness, separating the precious stone—whatever it be—from the bed of marble.

As to the uses of this art, it has been already shown that it is essentially architectural. The jambs of great portals in a Moghul tomb, the pillars of a

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* There was formerly a good deal of work attributed to Austin at Dehli including *pietra* pictures of birds, beasts, and his own likeness in the character of a long-haired Orpheus playing on the violin. Fortunately the dignity of the Taj was not compromised by any such realistic efforts.

† It is to be observed that though Bernier does not notice the inlaid work at Dehli, he particularly compares that of the Taj to the *pietra* of the Medicean Chapel. "You see such sort of stones as are employed to enrich the chapel of the Great Duke of Florence." But he does not notice the floral screen. Is it possible that this and some of the work at Delhi were added after his visit to Aurangzeb.

Mandelsto and Thevenot saw some inlay at Dehli which they ascribed to Shah Jahan ; on the other hand that of the Dewan Am at Agra is certainly due to Aurangzeb. The Dewan Am of the earlier traveller down to Tavernier in 1666 would have been surely mentioned as ornamented by some of them had it been so. The date of the present building is A. D. 1684 (*vide sup.*, p. 14), and the presumption is that the earlier throne-room was small and plain, like the contemporary building of the same kind at Fattehpur-Sikri (*vide sup.*, p. 74.)

Palace-hall, should have their borders of bold arabesque. The panels of the interior admit of the more delicate floral tracery of the latter school. But this, the original and legitimate application of the art, is in abeyance. Europeans are too unsettled, and the wealthy natives too negligent to allow of their dwellings being beautified by the costly method. The patient workmen, therefore, have turned their attention to making smaller specimens of their art, which is now chiefly confined to tables, inkstands, trays, plates, and paper-weights. The time required to mature even these comparatively unimportant works is still considerable, and the prices commanded are not small. An average table will take two men from six to twelve months to complete; and when the value of the materials is taken into consideration, will not perhaps appear too expensive at a cost of from £30 to £100, according, of course, to the amount of labour and material.*

The other characteristic stone industry of Agra and its neighbourhood is called *Jáli*. On the carved tracery of this part of India Mr. Fergusson only remarks :—

"There are some exquisite specimens of tracery in marble at Agra and Delhi, but none quite equal to this (of Ahmedabad in the Dekkan)." This, however, *pace tante viri*, appears somewhat hasty criticism, there being little more similitude between the Southern and Northern schools of tracery than there is between point-lace and Honiton flowers. The *Jali* of Upper India is a fine filigree of marble or sandstone fretted into an almost endless network of geometrical combinations, such as can only be understood by seeing the carvings themselves or good photographs, if then because such is the complication of the lines that the greatest geometricians may be puzzled to analyse the designs. The same author thus accounts for the invention of this art :—"Every form of a Hindu temple was reproduced except in one particular. In the angles of all Hindu temples are niches containing images. This the Moslem could not tolerate, so he filled them with tracery . . . After a century's experience they produced forms which, as architectural ornaments, will, in their own class stand comparison with any employed at any age or in any part of the world; and in doing this they invented a class of window tracery in which also they were unrivalled."

In Northern India the use of some material that should, like glass, afford protection from weather, while, unlike glass, it admitted of free ventilation, led to a great elaboration of this last, or window-tracery class. Almost all the Pathán and Moghul buildings are full of these minute yet everlasting pieces of fretwork. The marble screens that go on all four sides of the open chamber on the summit of Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandra are as fresh as when first executed more than two hundred and sixty years ago, and each screen contains twelve panels—except where a panel in the centre has been left open for the view—and there are three different patterns of panel in each screen. The upper chamber of Itmad-ud-Dowlah's Tomb is all lace-work of the same kind; and the Fort and Taj have also elaborate examples of this work, one panel in the screen round the cenotaphs in the latter being carved out of a single slab of marble over 6 feet high.

Of marble tracery at Dehli there are fine examples of all ages, probably all the work of the Hindu artizans, and appearing to increase in fineness and intricacy as it reaches modern times. Among the earliest are the window screens in the beautiful building, just behind the Kutub Minar, known as Ala-ud-din's gate, and dated A. D. 1310. The tracery here is bold and massive, in harmony with the tone of the whole work, which is the latest and perhaps finest specimen extant of the first Pathan period. In the enclosure of Nizam-ud-din's tomb (close by the mausoleum of the Emperor Humayun) are tracery screens in white marble from the middle of the fourteenth century down to that of Mirza Jahangir, constructed in 1832. As a mere piece of workmanship this last excels the rest; and the tombs comprised in this small cemetery will be found very interesting to those who wish to compare the work of various distant epochs.

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* The mural *pietra dura* of the Palace of Shah Jahan in Agra Fort is also being restored by these men at the charge, and under the orders, of the British Government.

But all the marble-work of this region is surpassed by the monument which Akbar erected over the remains of his friend and spiritual counsellor Shekh Salim Chishti at Fattehpur-Sikri (1581 A. D.) In the north-west angle of a vast courtyard 433 feet by 366 feet is a pavilion externally of white marble surrounded by a deep projecting dripstone, of white marble also, supported by marble shafts crowned by most fantastic brackets, shaped like the letter S. The outer screens are so minutely pierced that they actually look like lace at a little distance, and illuminate the mortuary chamber within with a solemn half-light which resembles nothing else that I have seen. The whole of this elaborate work, including the strange, but most pleasing, design of the brackets, appear to have been produced by the resident stone-cutters of the place, uneducated men earning probably an average wages of about a penny a day. I believe that no instance of such pure patient workmanship, so dignified yet so various, is to be found in the world. The sandstone *Jali* is used sometimes in the interior of apartments, such as the the female galleries from which, as in our House of Commons, the ladies could look down on the meetings of men in halls below. But more commonly the work occurs in balustrades and parapets, where it has a fine effect. This stone comes from the Futtehpur quarries, or from Bhurtpur ; the white marble from Mukrana in the Jodhpur territories. The difference both in the cost of material and labour is very great ; a small slab of marble carving of this kind will cost £10, while one of standstone can be obtained for one-tenth of the price.

Lastly must be mentioned the modern practice of carving in soapstone. This material appears to be a steatite of somewhat tough texture and a warm grey tint. It comes from a place in the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, and unless too sharp or high, it stands like leather though it cuts like cheese. It forms into beautifully clean patterns, either floral or arabesque, which are made into boxes, card trays, and such like articles of drawing-room use. But a time may be hoped for when this cheap and pretty work may be extended to architectural decoration. I am not informed as to its powers of standing weather ; but in the interior of halls and reception rooms its introduction on white walls and ceilings would have a fine effect, either as cornices, or mantel-mouldings. A handsome piece of soapstone carving may be had for a few rupees : and the decoration of a whole dining-room with it could hardly be more expensive than the decoration of the same walls with English paper-hangings

Mediæval and Modern India through French Spectacles I.

By Mr. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

ANYBODY, desirous of writing a history of mediæval India, very naturally looks out for native Indian sources of information about the political and social conditions of this country. It is true that he finds ready to his hand such valuable store-houses of information on the aforesaid subject as the autobiographies of Tamerlane, Babar and Aurangzeb, the accounts of their Indian travels recorded by the Arab and Persian travellers such as Ibn Batuta and Abd-ur-Razzak, the contemporary histories of Akbar's reign written by Nizam-ud-din and Abu-l-Fazl. He will also come across a host of other works of minor importance which have been penned by several Mahommedan courtiers and officials who not only possessed an observant eye —the ability to see—what was happening in their respective spheres of courtly life or within the four corners of their administrative divisions, but also possessed considerable literary skill which they turned to good account in placing their observtions on record. To the English student of mediæval Indian history, these valuable mines of political and social information have been rendered accessible in an English garb through the conjoint labours of such renowed scholars as Sir H. M. Elliot and Professor Dowson to whom all those who are interested in Indian historical studies owe a debt immense of endless gratitude. This English redaction of the works of the Indian annalists mentioned above is no other than Elliot and Dowson's monumental *History of India as told by its own Historians.* The critic asks; What are the merits of these Indian historians and what are their defects ! To the first part of his query we have a favourable reply to give, namely, that they are valuable and, at the same time, trustworthy in the main. As for their demerits, they are many and, at the same time, serious. First of all, true to their oriental characteristic, they have landed the regnant sovereigns to the skies—making too much of the good traits in their characters and masking the serious drawbacks thereof. This is a very serious blemish, no doubt, which has detracted much from the value of their writings as historical records. Secondly, they are deficient in the sense of historical perspective—not possessing the critical acumen for sifting the wheat from the tares, for retaining what was true and valuable and rejecting what was untrue and untrustworthy. Thirdly, as these Indian annalists were children of the soil and wrote for the perusal of their own countrymen, they presumed that their readers were familiar with the local manners and customs, with the usages and institutions then in vogue, of which the European student of the history of mediæval India has no knowledge whatever. Judged by the European canons of criticism, these blemishes have made the writings of the Indian annalists to a certain extent defective.

Now the question confronts us: Do there exist, at the present day, any source or sources of information which not only make up for the defects of the Indian historians but also supplement, to a great extent, the information furnished by them? The reply is not far to seek. We now know from the researches of the Hakluyt Society that, for the last three hundred years of the mediæval period of Indian history, a goodly number of European travellers, belonging to various nationalities, visited India in particular and the East Indies in general and that they placed on record their experiences in these countries. The motives which actuated them in braving the perils of the deep and risking the dangers of the land-route from Europe *via* Turkey and Persia to India were the interests of commerce, and the curiosity, fostered to a fever-heat by the glowing accounts of Marco Polo and other earlier travellers, of the wonders of the East, to see with their own eyes

> "——The thrones of royal state, which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
> Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
> Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold."

As these European travellers observed the men and events of mediæval India with a dispassionate eye and recorded their experiences from an unbiassed point of view, they have become thereby doubly valuable. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole is, therefore, very right in saying: "In such a cloud of witnesses of varied ranks, professions, and nationalities, truth, divested of insular or continental prejudice, may surely be found. The body of information furnished by their journals, letters, and travels, is indeed of priceless value to the historian of India." *

From among the host of these European travellers in mediæval India, two individuals stand out most prominently. They are the French physician Francois Bernier and the French jeweller Jean Baptiste Tavernier. The former was a native of Anjou and travelled in countries, especially in India, which were before unknown to Europeans. He published the accounts of his travels which were much appreciated at the time, as they threw a flood of light on the state of India up to the time of Aurangzeb at whose court he resided for twelve years, during eight of which he held the appointment of physician to the Emperor. He was a *persona grata* with Aurangzeb's courtier—the famous Danishmand Khan who took him to Kashmir. On his return to France, Bernier wrote the accounts of his travels and philosophical works and died at Paris in 1688.

We have now to see whether we can glean from Bernier's accounts any illuminating information about mediæval India which is not obtainable from the Mahommedan annalists. Fortunately for us, we are enabled to catch, through this French physician's spectacles, a glimpse of Mogul India which cannot be obtained from the native Indian histories. It is from his account of the Mogul Empire—the Empire of Aurangzeb—as he saw it with his own eyes, that we are enabled to trace the causes which led to its downfall.

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* *Mediæval India under Mohammedan Rule*, p. 294.

From his illuminating book, we find that the Mogul Emperors were addicted to debauchery and had no grit in their character. The majority of these rulers left the real administration of the country in the hands of their ministers and provincial governors most of whom were opportunists and ground the poor peasantry exceeding small in the mills of their tyranny. The military commanders were devoid of all energy, given to a life of luxury and ease and open to corrupt practices. While the rank and file of the Mogul armies were utterly demoralized and spiritless. The mass of the population—the tillers of the soil—were so much subjected to the relentless extortions of the provincial governors that their very existence became a burden to them. To crown all, the officials, who were entrusted with the administration of justice, exercised arbitrary powers which were practically subject to no control save, in capital cases, to that of the Emperor himself. What are the causes which led to these hydra-headed evils in the body politic of the Mogul Empire? What are the defects which produced this rottenness in the state of the Great Mogul? If we dive deep into Bernier, if we look through his spectacles, we are enabled to hit the right nail on the head, to trace out the root-causes which led to these evils. These are the utter administrative incapacity of the Emperors and the extremely defective system of land-tenures in vogue in the Mogul Empire. The despotic rulers inflicted upon their subjects all the miseries and sufferings that result from an autocratic government without conferring the benefits that accrue therefrom. While, under this rotten system of land tenure, the nobles and grandees of the Mogul Empire held their titles and estates at the sweet will and pleasure of their autocratic ruler who could make or unmake them at any moment he pleased. No better fared the peasantry who were subjected to a galling servitude by the timariots and always kept on the verge of starvation. But out of this gloom shone forth a star of the first magnitude—the towering personality of the Emperor Akbar whose firm and conciliatory mode of administration showed that even this rotten system of land tenure, though in the long run productive of evil, was not irretrievably bad. The reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that, even under the rule of a moderately strong sovereign, decay was sure to set in and advance steadily. While the despotic rule of Aurangzeb, when viewed in the light of previous and subsequent events, showed that, after decay had eaten into the vitals of the body politic to a certain limit, even the hand of the firmest and most vigorous sovereign was utterly unable to stem its further progress. The student of the history of medæval India may very pertinently ask: Why did the Mogul Emperors of India, in course of time, degenerate into a set of weak and effeminate rulers, into a pack of debauchees of silken softness? The reply to this question has been best given in the following words of Mr. E. F. Oaten:—"The deterioration in the breed of its kings was doubtless due, in the main, to the softness which India begets; for it is a significant fact that India was never ruled well till it was ruled from without. Given time, India always corrupts. But it was not only the enervating Indian sun and the slothful fertility of its fat plains that changed the vigorous independent hillmen of Babar into the delicate and cringing crowd which marched against Sivaji accompanied by a vast assembly of palanquins and women. India corrupted its thousands; the Mogul theory of government its ten thousands. The sturdy good sense bred by a colder climate saved the West from the practical application of the Mogul system of landholding, though it possessed its theory; the East accepted it without reservation, together with all its fatal consequences." Thus we are indebted to the philosophic French traveller Bernier, more than to any other European traveller in India of his time, for this subtle analysis of the history of the Mogul Empire which led to his discovery of the two potent factors—the two deadly cankers—which resulted in the disruption of that Empire and the subsequent building up, on its ruins, of that magnificent and benevolent Empire—the British Empire in India—the practicability of which the Moguls could not conceive even in their wildest dreams.

He also recorded his impressions of great religious festivals which he witnessed in Northern India, and of great state functions at which he assisted. Read, for instance, his interesting account of the eclipse-ceremonies of " The Indous or Gentiles of Hindostan," which is given below:—

"I have witnessed two solar eclipses which it is scarcely possible I should ever forget. The one I saw from France in the year 1654, the other from Delhi in the Indies in 1666. * * * * * The eclipse of 1666 is also indelibly imprinted on my memory by the ridiculous errors and strange superstitions of the Indians. At the time fixed for its appearance I took my station on the terrace of my house, situated on the banks of the *Gemna* (*Jumna*), when I saw both shores of the river, for nearly a league in length, covered with *Gentiles* or idolaters, who stood in the water up to the waist, their eyes riveted to the skies, watching the commencement of the eclipse, in order to plunge and wash themselves at the very instant. The little boys and girls were quite naked; the men had nothing but a scarf round their middle, and the married women and girls of six or seven years of age were covered with a single cloth. Persons of rank or wealth, such as Rajas, (*Gentile* sovereign princes, and generally courtiers in the service and pay of the King), *Serrafs* or money-changers, bankers, jewellers, and other rich merchants, crossed from the opposite side of the river with their families, and pitching their tents fixed *kanates* or screens in the water, within which they and their wives washed and performed the usual ceremonies without any exposure. No sooner did these idolaters perceive that the obscuration of the sun was begun than they raised a loud cry, and plunged the whole body under water several times in quick succession; after which they stood in the river, lifted their eyes and hands toward the sun, muttered and prayed with seeming devotion, filling their hands from time to time with water which they threw in the direction of the sun, bowing their heads very low, and moving and turning their arms and hands, sometimes one way, sometimes another. The deluded people continued to plunge, mutter, pray, and perform their silly tricks until the end of the eclipse. On retiring they threw pieces of silver at a great distance into the *Gemna*, and gave alms to the *Brahmins*, who failed not to be present at this absurd ceremony. I remarked that every individual on coming out of the water put on new clothes placed on the sand for that purpose, and that several of the most devout left their old garments as presents for the *Brahmins*."

"In this manner did I observe from the roof of my house the solemnisation of the grand eclipse festival, a festival which was kept with the same external observances in the Indies, in the Ganges, and in the other rivers and *talabs* (or tanks of the *Indies*), but above all in that one at *Tanaiser* (*Thaneswar*) which contained on that occasion more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons, assembled from all parts of the empire ; its waters being considered on the day of an eclipse more holy and meritorious than those of any other. * * * * * I shall now mention the wise and convincing reasons assigned for the festival of the eclipse, and for the rites with which it is attended. We have, say they, our four *Beths* (*Vedas*), that is, our four books of law, sacred and divine writings given unto us by God himself, through the medium of *Brahma*. These books teach that a certain *Deüta*, an incarnate divinity, extremely malignant and mischievous, very dark, very black, very impure, and very filthy (these are all their own expressions), takes possession of the sun, which it blackens to the colour of ink, infects and obscures ; that the sun, which is also a *Deüta*, but of the most beneficent and perfect kind, is thrown into a state of the greatest uneasiness, and suffers a most cruel agony while in the power of, and infected by, this wicked and black being ; that an endeavour to rescue the sun from so miserable a condition becomes the duty of every person ; that this important object can be attained only by means of prayers, ablutions, and alms ; that these actions have an extraordinary merit during the festival of the eclipse, the alms then bestowed being a hundred times more valuable than alms given at any other time ; and who is he, they ask, that would refuse to make a profit of cent. per cent.?"* [It will be seen that the account given by Bernier of the origin of eclipses is somewhat incorrect. The being, who causes the eclipse, is not a *Deüta* (or *devata*) but a demon. Tavernier gives a more correct account thereof, as will be seen later on].

Bernier witnessed various functions at the court of the Great Mogul, of which he has described a royal hunting party—a party organized for hunting the lion. He says : "But of all the diversions of the field the hunting of the lion is not only the most perilous, but is peculiarly royal ; for,

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* *Travels in the Mogul Empire* A. D. 1656—1668. By Francois Bernier M. D. Edited by Archibald Constable. London : A. Constable & Co. 1891. pp. 300—304.

Except by royal permission, the King and Princes are the only persons who engage in the sport. * * * * As it is considered a favourable omen when the king kills a lion, so is the escape of that animal portentous of infinite evil to the state. Accordingly, the termination of the hunt is attended with much grave ceremony. The king being seated in the general assembly of the *Omrahs*, the dead lion is brought before him, and when the carcass has been accurately measured and minutely examined, it is recorded in the royal archives that such a king on such a day slew a lion of such a size and of such a skin, whose teeth were of such a length, and whose claws were of such dimensions, and so on down to the minutest details." *

He has described one aspect of the Mogul character in an unfavourable light. He found the Moguls as a class addicted to the habit of indulging in fulsome adulation. "Indeed there is no Mogul," says he, "who does not know and does not glory in repeating this proverb in Persian verse" :—

"*Agar Shah rozra goyad shab ast in,*
Babayed guft inak mah u parwin."
"*Should the King say that it is night at noon,*
Be sure to cry, Behold, I see the moon!"

"The vice of flattery pervades all ranks. When a Mogul, for instance, has occasion for my services, he comes to tell me by way of preamble, and as matter of course, that I am the *Aristotalis*, the *Bocrate*, and the Aboüysina-ul-zaman (*Bou-Alicenna-ul-zaman*), the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the age."†

Now we should see how mediæval India impressed that celebrated French traveller and pioneer of French trade with India—Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605—1689). In September 1638, he began his second journey (1638—43) *via* Aleppo to Persia and thence to India as far as Agra and Golconda. He paid visits to the court of the Great Mogul and to the famous gold mines of Golconda. It was, however, during his later voyages that Tavernier travelled as a merchant of the highest rank, transacting business in valuable jewels and other precious articles of merchandise with the most famous potentates and noblemen of the East. This second journey was followed up by four others, of which the last three were undertaken in 1651—55, 1657—62, and 1664—68. In the course of these latter, he did not proceed beyond the limits of India. He, however, acquired an extraordinary knowledge of the routes of overland trade with India and the Nearer East, and was brought into close and intimate touch with the greatest rulers of the then known Orient. After his return to France, he busied himself, at the command of the King, in publishing the narratives of his travels. He possessed neither the mental equipment nor the taste of a scientific traveller. But his knowledge of matters relating to trade and commerce was very considerable and proved of great value to the mercantile community of his country.

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* *Op. cit.*, page 378.

† *Op. cit.*, page 264.

Bernier's observations on mediæval India are of priceless value and appeal to the philosophic historian. While Tavernier's "*Six Voyages*" is very delightful reading as a book of travels replete with anecdotes and items of folklore which appeal interestingly to the armchair reader. For instance, Tavernier observed with great interest the performance of the famous Mango Trick at Broach, of which he has recorded the following pen-and-ink sketch:—"Next, having taken a small piece of stick, and having planted it in the ground, they asked one of the company what fruit he wished to have. He replied that he desired *mangoes*, and then one of the conjurors, covering himself with a sheet, stooped to the ground five or six times. I had the curiosity to scend to a room in order to see from above, through an opening of the street, what this man did, and I saw that he cut himself under his armpits with a razor, and anointed the piece of wood with his blood. At each time that he raised himself, the stick increased under the eye, and at the third time it put forth branches and buds. At the fourth time the tree was covered with leaves and at the fifth we saw the flowers themselves. The President of the English had his clergyman with him. * * * * The English clergyman had at first protested that he was unable to consent that Christians should be present at such spectacles, and when he beheld that from a piece of dry wood these people, in less than half an hour, had caused a tree, four or five feet in height, to appear with leaves and flowers, as in spring time, he made it his duty to break it, and proclaimed loudly that he would never administer the communion to any one of those who remained longer to witness such things. This compelled the President to dismiss the jugglers, who travel from place to place with their wives and children like those whom we in Europe commonly call Egyptians or Bohemians; and having given them the equivalent of ten or twelve *écus*, they withdrew very well satisfied."*

About the religion and morality of the Hindus, he says:—"As the idolaters have perhaps heard that the circle is the most perfect of all figures, they have thought to improve upon it by saying God is of an oval figure, and it is for this reason that they generally keep in their pagodas an oval pebble, which they obtain from the Ganges, and adore as God." †

This undoubtedly refers to the Hindu worship of the *Sâlagrâm* stone.

Then again: "Although these idolaters are in the depths of blindness as to a knowledge of the true God, that does not prevent them from living in many respects, according to nature, morally well. When married they are rarely unfaithful to their wives, adultery is very rare among them, and one never hears unnatural crime spoken of. They marry their children at the age of seven or eight years, through fear lest they should abandon themselves to this crime." ‡

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* "*Travels in India.*" By Jean Baptiste Tavernier. Translated from the original French edition of 1676. By V. Ball. 2 Vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879. Vol. I., pp. 67—68.

† *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., page 190.

Op. cit., Vol II., page 252.

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This is, no doubt, a very high testimony to the lofty morality which prevailed among the Hindus of mediæval India.

On the subject of the Hindu widows, he has recorded the following observations :—" It is also an ancient custom among the idolaters of India that, on a man dying, his widow can never re-marry ; as soon, therefore, as he is dead she withdraws to weep for her husband, and, some days afterwards, her hair is shaved off, and she despoils herself of all the ornaments, with which her person was adorned ; she removes from her arms and legs the bracelets which her husband had given her, when espousing her, as a sign that she was to be submissive and bound to him, and she remains for the rest of her life without being of any consideration and worse than a slave, in the place where previously she was mistress."*

These observations of Tavernier are very accurate.

Tavernier mentions the existence of the curious custom of burying widows alive, as will appear from the following extract :—

" In the greater part of the same Coromandel coast the woman does not burn herself with the body of the deceased husband, but allows herself to be interred, while alive, with him in a hole which the *Brahmins* dig in the ground, about 1 foot deeper than the height of the man or woman. They generally select a sandy spot, and when they have placed the man and woman in this hole, each of those who have accompanied them, having filled a basket of sand, throw it on the bodies until the hole is full and heaped over, half a foot higher than the ground, after which they jump and dance upon it till they conclude that the woman is smothered." †

Thevenot has described this custom in a slightly modified form. He says that the widow was covered up with earth in the pit up to her neck, when she was strangled by the Brahmans. (*Voyage*, p. 253). Many other writers have also alluded to the existence of the same custom.

As regards the astrological lore of the Hindus and the customs connected therewith, Tavernier says :—

" The Brahmins possess much knowledge of astrology, and know how to predict eclipses of the sun and moon for the people. On the 2nd of July 1666 at one o'clock p. m. an eclipse of the sun was visible at Patna, a town of the kingdom of Bengal. It was a wonderful thing to see the multitude of people, men, women, and children, who came from all quarters to bathe in the Ganges. But they must begin this bathing three days before they see the eclipse, during which time they remain day and night on the banks of the river in order to prepare all kinds of rice, milk, and sweetmeats to throw to the fishes and crocodiles which are in the river. Immediately on the *Brahmins* giving the word, when they know it is the fortunate hour, whatever kind of eclipse it may be, whether of the sun or moon, the idolaters are accustomed to break all the earthen vessels used in their households, and not to leave one piece whole—this causes a terrible noise in a town. Every *Brahmin* has his book of magic, in which there are a number of circles and semi-circles, of squares and triangles, and many other kinds of figures. They draw divers figures on the ground, and when they perceive that the fortunate hour has arrived they all unite in crying aloud to the people to throw food into the Ganges. A terrible noise is then made with drums, bells, and large disks made of similar metal to that of our cymbals, which they strike one against the other ; and as soon as the food is thrown into the river all the people should enter and continue rubbing themselves, and bathing their bodies until the eclipse is over. As this eclipse appeared at a time when the Ganges was very low, after the end of the rains, which last from the month of July to the end of October, for more than 3 leagues above and below the town, and as many as the river extends in width, nothing was to be seen but heads on the water. As for the *Brahmins*, they remain on land to receive the richest and those who give them most, to dry their bodies and give them dry clothes to cover the middle of their bodies. Then they make them sit in chairs, where the richest of the idolaters have brought an abundance of Indian corn, rice, and all kinds of vegetables, with milk, butter, sugar, flour, and wood. Before every chair the *Brahmin* makes a very clean place of about 5 or 6 feet square, after which he takes cattle droppings steeped in a great dish of yellow pigment in order to rub over all the place through fear lest some ant might come there and be burnt." *

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., page 209.

† *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., page 216.

These observations of Tavernier relating to the rites and ceremonies observed on the occasion of eclipses by the Hindus are very accurate and must have been made at first hand. It is rather difficult to make out what Tavernier means by saying that " they must begin this bathing three days before they see the eclipse." No such practice exists at the present day ; and the bathing is done just as the eclipse is over in order to cleanse themselves of the sin caused thereby. The custom of breaking and throwing away all earthen vessels in use in each household is well-known and probably originated in the belief that ceremonial pollution had been caused by the actual working of demonical agency. The practice of beating drums, blowing conch-shells and striking gongs at the time of eclipses is also well-known throughout Hindudom, as it is based on the idea, so familiar to students of cultural anthropology, that noise scares away demons and, for the matter of that, the demon Rahu especially who is supposed to attack the planet. By the "chairs" which the richest idolaters are said to have brought, Tavernier probably refers to the palanquins wherein the wealthy pilgrims must have come and brought with them an abundant supply of food and eatables for consumption during the days of their pilgrimage. Tavernier's remark that the *Brahmin* makes a clean place before each chair and smears it all over with cow-dung for the purpose of scaring away ants and thus saving them from being burnt death, appears to be incorrect. As fresh cowdung is a scarer of demons, every Hindu takes the precaution of protecting the family cooking-place by plastering it over with the same product of the cow, in order to keep off these evil spirits who are ever ready to enter and make it their abode.

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., pages 247-8.

Bernier has also given a very interesting description of the bathing which he witnessed at Delhi during the great eclipse of 1666. *

I shall conclude this short sketch of mediæval India with Tavernier's account of a curious custom which exists in India even at the present day. It is in relation to the custom of yawning and is as follows: "The idolaters of India observe this custom, that when any one yawns they crack their fingers, while crying out many times *Ginarami*, that is to say, remember *Narami* who passes among the idolaters as a great saint. This cracking of the fingers is done, it is said, to prevent any evil spirit entering into the body of the yawner." †

This observation is quite accurate. The word *Ginarami* appears to be a corruption of the expression "*Jaya Nārāyana*" or "*Victory to Vishnu.*" This is the practice even at the present day. When one yawns, he places his hand upon his mouth and ejaculates "*Nārāyana*". or cracks his fingers to scare the evil spirits away.

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* F. Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*. Translated by Irving Birch. 2 Vols. London, 1826. Vol. II., pages 2 *seqq*. Also see Constable's edition of Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 300-304.

† Tavernier's *Travels* (V. Ball's Edition), Vol. II., page 251.

The Royal Commission on Indian Finance—II.

By Mr. S. V. DORAISWAMI.

VI.

The Hoarding Myth and a Gold Mint for India.

THE baseless and unjust indictment has been made against India that it hoards gold bullion and sovereigns. Let us analyse the imports before and after 1899 when sovereigns were declared legal tender. India does not import the gold bars of international commerce which weigh 400 ozs. each. The absence of a mint makes it impracticable to deal in these bars so well known in Europe and America. Between 1835 and 1900—a period of 65 years—the net recorded import of gold was approximately £ 135,000,000. The annual average absorption comes to about two millions sterling for the arts, industries, and gold coinage of that period. This indicates only a feeble demand for a great country, and does not point to any appreciable burying or secreting of gold. Between 1900 and 1912 India took about 100 millions sterling. Sir Edward Holden who first sounded the note of alarm 'the great drain of gold to India' did not separate the gold bars imported for the arts and industries from the sovereigns. The distribution was as follows :—

1900-001 to 1911-12

			£
Total Imports	£ 154,809,426	Bullion ...	67,598,472
		Sovereigns ...	84,169,672
		Foreign coins ...	3,041,282
Total Exports	£ 53,718,060	Bullion ...	31,601,849
		Sovereigns ...	21,768,729
		Foreign coins ...	347,482
Net Imports ...	...	...	101,091,366

These figures show that owing to the absence of a gold mint and gold refineries in India, about 31½ millions sterling of gold bullion had to be exported to London for conversion into sovereigns. The bullion imported amounted to about 67½ millions sterling. This is for India's demand for the arts and industries and gives an annual average for this period of about 5½ millions sterling. Of the 62½ millions of sovereigns imported, 40 millions are in circulation, and there were 15½ millions in the Paper Currency Reserve on 31st March, 1912. Between 1900 and 1912 only about 7 millions of sovereigns were melted. These figures lead to the conclusion that the hoarded wealth of Hindustan is a myth, and that there is no appreciable secreting or burying of gold. There is no basis for the absurd statement that "the gold which is dug up in South Africa is buried up in South Asia." India's demand for gold for the arts is in no sense abnormal. Since 1900, the Bank of England has only increased its stock of gold by 4 millions out of the 1,000 millions produced in the world.

The free coinage of silver or gold has been denied to the people of India for 21 years. Such a state of affairs does not prevail in any economical well developed country in the world. In 1912-13, £ 2,329,000 light weight sovereigns were remitted to London, and the cost of freight was £ 13,600 If they were recoined in India the cost would have been much smaller. The Bank of England sift out the minimum legal weight sovereigns and heap them up for the exporters. The sovereigns that come to India are collected in London. They are not full weight and naturally soon fall light in India. It is unjust to deny India a gold mint of its own, and that it should be made to send its gold and light weight sovereigns to be minted and returned from London. A gold mint is a vital necessity to India. The publication of the papers regarding the establishment of a mint for the coinage of gold throws a flood of light on the obstructive attitude of the Treasury. As the Treasury is unyielding the only recourse for India is to coin a ten-rupee piece and as a protest demonetise the sovereign.

VII.

The American Crisis and the Indian Gold Standard Reserve.

The Gold Standard Reserve is the fund that has been created to maintain the exchange value of the rupee—a token coin circulating at above its bullion value. The purpose of this Reserve is to ensure the convertibility of the rupee, and as such its proper place is India. This Reserve now amounts to about 23 millions sterling. Its disposition is as follows :—

Securities	£ 16 millions	In England about 19 millions.
Cash short notice	£ 1 million	
Gold deposited at the Bank of England ...	£ 1¾ million	
Silver ,, ,, ...	£ 4 millions	In India.

This Reserve should be kept apart from other reserves and not intermingled at the option of the India Office arbitrarily. The essence of this Reserve is that it should be held in liquid gold. This fund, as at present constituted, is no more a gold Reserve than the investments of the joint stock banks of London are reserves. It is a mistake and a financial danger to invest the greater part of this Reserve in consols and colonial securities. In holding the bulk of this reserve in London, the Government have gone beyond their province in undertaking to provide gold not only for export, but gold ready delivered at a financial centre six thousand miles away. The support of sterling exchange imposes on the Government the obligation of providing gold in India for export if required. It does not extend to anticipating the requirements of the public by laying down about £ 20 millions in London in advance. Though London is the place where the gold may be required, the Government's obligation is discharged once gold is tendered in India for export. To hold about £ 20 millions in London, where it is admitted on all hands that stocks of gold are slender owing to an excessive inflation of credit—and a committee under the presidency of Lord St. Alwyn is sitting to consider this question——is open to objection from two points of view. It on the one hand, weakens India's position in making her dependent upon London for gold, and on the other hand encourages excessive credit—spinning in London on the basis of external gold. The ex-Governor of the Bank of England, Mr. Cole, in his evidence, laid emphasis on this aspect of the problem. He said that had the financial storm-centre been in London instead of in New York in 1907, those securities might not have been realisable at all, or if at all, it would have been at a great sacrifice with a most prejudicial effect upon the financial world all round. If the Secretary of State thinks that he could without loss easily realise the securities when the next crisis arises in London, he is living in a fool's paradise. Sir Edward Holden has declared that if Indian gold is held in London there will be no anxiety on the part of the English bankers to keep the gold reserves of England at the highest figures.

The India Office has never published the full details of its investments. It has never stated the rate, or date of purchase of its securities. The operations in connection with the investments in British Treasury Bills are kept secret. A full statement of the holdings of the Gold Standard Reserve should be published every month in a return to Parliament and simultaneously in the *Gazette of India*. This statement should give details of all the transactions in Stock Exchange Securities, Treasury Bills and Exchequer bonds. The Treasury Bills and Exchequer bonds should not be renewed when they fall due. The India Office should direct the Bank of England to sell consols at their discretion. This would clear the consols holding slowly without disturbing the London market. All other securities should be sold similarly within a year.

The Chamberlain Commission's recommendation that the whole of the Reserve should be kept in London, cannot carry weight. Indian opinion is in entire accord with the views of Mr. Pandya, Mr. Dalal, Mr. Saraya, Sir Vithaldas Thakersay, Sir James Begbie, Dr. Reed, and Mr. Webb. In March 1912, a resolution was moved by Sir Vithaldas Thakersay in the Imperial Legislative Council advocating the holding of the Reserve in India in gold. All the Indian members * unanimously voted for it, but it was lost by the standing official majority of 23 against 24. The Indian people ought to have the right to say where the gold should be held.

VIII.

Council Bills.

The India Office carries on the weekly sales of Council Bills at the Bank of England absolutely at the discretion of the chairman of the

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* The following voted for the resolution:—Mr. Malaviya, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Mudholkar, Nawab Saiyad Muhamad (ex-presidents of the Indian Congress), Sir Cicil Graham, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, Sir Vithaldas Thakersay, the Rajas of Partabgarh, Mahmudabad, Digapathia, Kuruppam, Messrs. Abdul Majid, Shamsul-Huda, B. N. Basu, S. Sinha, Haque, Subba Rao, Dadabhoy, Shafi, Umar Hayat Khan, Jinnah, Maung Mye, Bhurgri, and the Maharaja of Burdwan.

Finance Committee. There is no agency to control his activities in this direction and prevent him from continuing sales even when they are conducted at a loss. In recent years the India Office has been conducting sales in such a way as to divert as much state money from India as possible to London and delay for as long a period as possible the establishment of a gold currency in India. The only object of the weekly sales of Council Bills was and should be, the provision in London out of Indian revenues, sums necessary to enable the Secretary of State to meet India's Home charges on the best possible terms for India. From 1893 the Secretary of State has been selling Council Bills without any regard to the profit or loss of the transaction. In recent years this evil has assumed alarming proportions. Lord Inchcape in 1912 in a letter to the *Times* stated that the practice of regulating sales of Council Bills by the demands of trade and selling beyond the India Office requirements, is one of long-standing. This is no defence but simply shirking the issue. The practice of selling enormous amounts of extra bills came into force after 1901 and it has played havoc with the automatic principle of gold standard, which is based on the free inflow and outflow of sovereigns. Between 1901 and 1913 over £90 millions extra Council Drafts were sold over the budget estimates submitted to the Legislative Council and Parliament. These were sold at rates which were sometimes too low. The Budget becomes mockery if the estimates are to be exceeded by millions year after year, The arrangement being in manipulative hands, the interests of India have suffered considerably. India's credit on the London money market has receded, mainly owing to the mismanagement of her financial affairs by the India Council. It is not fair to build railways on an enormous scale from taxation derived from the present generation at the sacrifice of the educational progress of the 'voiceless and voteless' people of India for the benefit of future generations.

The abuses of the Council Bills system should be done away with. The sales should be limited to meet the Home charges and should not take place below specie point. The India Office's manipulation of these sales and interference with the foreign Exchange, imports of gold, local discounts, and general price levels should be terminated. The Secretary of State has no business to play the part of Exchange banker for the benefit of certain banking and commercial houses in England or the export trading European community in India who want to remit money at rates far cheaper than the cost of moving bullion. The Secretary of State and his financial adviser are not paid handsome salaries for transforming the India Office Finance Department into the Chief Eastern Exchange Bank in London. The doctrine of assisting trade is absurd. The cost of a few movements of gold would be far better incurred in Indian interests than vesting in the hands of the finance committee of the India Office the power of autocratically selling unlimited amounts of Council

Bills. Canada, Australia and South Africa, like India, are paying every year interest on capital borrowed in London. They do not remit these funds by means of Council Drafts, but arrange for the payment through the agency or by means of the drafts of their leading banks. It is high time to come to such an arrangement in India and do away with the Council Drafts system altogether. If the system is to be allowed to continue, the total sale of Council Bills in any year should only be for the amount so definitely budgetted. The Secretary of State should refrain from drawings on Councils when exchange was below 16d. and he should not draw money belonging to India to benefit trade and keep it permanently as an investment in London. The present difference between bills and telegraphic transfers is not strictly regulated on the basis of bank rates in India. The abolition of the sale of bills and an arrangement to sell telegraphic transfers only would produce a better remittance rate in favour of Government. If the Government has a definite Council Bills programme, the course of exchange will be more settled and the uncertainties and anxieties of the Indian money market considerably reduced.

IX.

Cash Balances and 'Approved' Borrowers.

It was Lord Morley who first took counsel from the London bankers and bullion dealers, who, looking only to their own immediate interests, decided that India should not be allowed to import any more gold than could possibly be prevented. This end was secured by the continuous transfer to London of all the Government balances—cash and surplus - from India over and above the India Office requirements. In this game it should be said that the financial advisers of the Secretary of State who are connected with powerful joint-stock banks in London have not played a commendable part. There is no use of Royal Commissions stating that city men have not shown any favouritism. It is difficult to concieve that a human being could do full justice when he has to discharge two conflicting duties under no expert control The Secretary of State is a financial autocrat who carries on—or to be more correct allows the India Office cabal to do so—gigantic operations at his sweet will and pleasure unsubjected to any controlling influence. But for the persistent activity of the members of the opposition and the comment and interest the Marconi and Samuel Montagu scandals have excited, the transactions of the India Office, so hotly criticised during the last two or three years would probably never have seen the light of day. As a matter of fact, information concerning tht approved borrowers was refused in the House of Commus till the latter part of 1912.

The accumulation of excessive cash balances is an evil of recent growth. It has attained an abnormal proportion under the 'liberal' administration of Lords Morley and Crewe. While in 1908 (March 31st) the balances held in London amounted to about £4½ millions, in 1909 they amounted to £8 millions, in 1910 to £12¾ millions, in 1911 to £16¾ millions and in 1912 to 18½ millions, (these figures are exclusive of the Gold Standard and Paper

Currency Reserves). These sums were lent out to approved borrowers and banks with and without security. In 1909 seven leading London joint stock banks enjoyed the use of £7½ millions as deposits without security, of which more than £4 millions were with the three banks, whose directors were connected with the India Office Finance Committee. The first bank on the India Office list is the National Provincial Bank of England, of which Lord Inchcape, formerly Chairman of the Finance Committee is a director. The second is the Union Bank, whose Chairman, Sir Felix Schuster, succeeded Lord Inchcape as Chairman of the Finance Committee. The third bank is the London County and Westminster, of which Sir Montagu Turner, a former partner of Lord Inchcape, is director. The fourth is the London, City and Midland of which Sir Edward Holden is Chairman. The fifth is Glyn, Mills, Currie and Co., in which Mr. Bertram Currie, a former member of Council was a partner, and in which Mr. Laurence Currie, a member of the Finance Committee is now a partner. Since 1908, ten of the principal borrowers have had annual transactions over a million sterling each, with the India Office. In 1911, Sir Felix Schusters Bank had on deposit without security over £3 millions of Indian money. In 1912, Lord Inchcape's bank held on deposit £13,00,000. Ever since 1908 Messrs. Samuel Mantagu and Co., have borrowed and repaid an annual sum averaging £2 millions. Not content with this the India Office borrowed in 1910 and, 1911 and 1912, large amounts, while at the same time they lent millions at a lower rate of interest. Here are the figures.

Cash balance in hand	Yet Borrowed.
1910 1st April, £12¾ millions.	April—£1 million. June—£2½ millions. December—£1¼ millions.
1911 1st April, £16¾ millions.	April—£1 million. June—£2 millions. December—£1½ millions.

Lending at 2 per cent, and borrowing at 3 and 3½ per cent. may be fine finance to some people at Whitehall, but we Indians are unable to see the merit of the transaction from the taxpayers' point of view. When these operations were conducted, Mr. Lionel Abrahams was the head of the financial department. Now he is the Assistant Under-Secretary of State. He has been the chief witness of the India Office before the Chamberlain Commission and it is a significant fact the Report of the Commission on all important points is in entire accord with the evidence of Mr. Abrahams, Sir Felix Schuster, and Lord Inchcape.

X.

The Indian Paper Currency Reserve.

On the 31st March, 1912, the value of notes in circulation was about £41 millions and the constitution of the Paper Currency Reserve was follows :—

Gold	£ 21¼ millions
Silver coin	£ 10¼ ,,
Securities of Government of India	£ 6¾ ,,
Securities of the British Government	£ 2¾ ,,

This reserve is held against the notes equal to their full value. Securities of the Government of India and England may be held under statute up to £ $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of which the amount in British securities should not exceed £ $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions. The remainder of the reserve must be held in gold or silver coin or bullion. The Indian paper currency is purely an Indian concern, issuable and encashable in India. In recent years a portion of this reserve has been diverted to London.

The holding of about £ 10 millions in London is absolutely unjustifiable; and the reasons alleged will not bear scrutiny. The principal official arguments are: (1) It facilitates the purchase of silver (Sir Edward Baker) (2) Investments in sterling securities in London are far better than investment in rupee paper (Mr. Harold Baker, M. P.) (3) the money would be readily available to support exchange (Mr. Montagu, M. P.) (4) The money is not required in India for the payment of notes since a sufficient metallic reserve is held in India (Mr. Montagu M. P.)

These arguments are mutually self-destructive. The wonder is how the House of Commons permits the official spokesman to put forward such preposterous pleas to defend an indefensible act. It would be interesting to know why this Reserve lying idle in London was not utilised in 1912 for the purchases of silver, as they were financed through the agency of Council Bills wastefully sold below specie point.

The present circulation of rupees and notes and the liabilities of the Government can be clearly seen at a glance in the following table prepared by Mr. F. C. Harrison. The paper currency and gold standard reserve are merged.

As at the 31st March, 1913.

Dr.		Cr.	
Circulation	168 crores of rupees.	Rupees ...	... 22·45 crores.
	68 crores of notes.	Gold ...	... 41·04 ,,
		Gold securities	... 25·50 ,,
		Total	... 88·59 ,,
		Uncovered	... 139·05 ,,
Total	... 228 crores	Total	... 228·00 ,,

(a crore of rupees is two-thirds of a million sterling.)

The Paper Currency Reserve being a trust fund, the Government are not justified in loaning or using it for any other purpose than the convertibility of notes. The benefits of the Indian paper currency should be entirely confined to India and not shared with London financiers anxious to unload depreciating securities. It was stated in the House of Commons by Mr. Roberts (April 30th) that the depreciation of securities purchased in April 1911 amounts to £106,000. If the latter had been invested in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. rupee paper bought in India at prices current when the securities now held were purchased, the present market value would have been greater by £101,830, and the annual interest earned larger by £7,742. It is wasteful to keep paper currency gold in London because the cost of sending the gold is in the first instance paid by the taxpayer. The Bank of England charges for storing of gold in London. It leads to the purchase of consols. The existing practice has been injurious to Indian interests. Gold which would have come to India has not been allowed to flow, and depreciating securities have been purchased.

XI.

The Silver Question and the Samuel Montagu Scandal.

Lord Crewe said in the House of Lords (November 22nd, 1912) that by buying silver through Messrs, Montagu & Co. many hundreds of thousands of pounds had been saved to the revenues of India. The fact is that the Indian dealers were thwarted and a London firm of speculators held Government at their mercy. There is no merit in employing the resources of the Indian Government to circumvent one set of speculators in order that others may gain. There was no truth in the statement that an Indian syndicate was cornering the market against the Government. Certain Liberal organs have quite recently asserted that Messrs. Montagu & Co. made the purchases at the instance of India Office. Messrs. Montagu asked for the business in a private letter to Sir Felix Schuster and got it. In their letter Messrs. Montagu stated that silver would be required (January 1912). Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's speech, made after the date of this letter in introducing the Indian Budget, spoke of a change in the habits of India with reference to silver as having "defeated the calculations of silver speculators. It has also absolved me from the necessity of undertaking further coinage in spite of very considerable pressure from interested quarters." The speech and the letter contradict one another. How could the mysterious Indian ring who had not accumulated more than five millions corner the market when the world's annual output of silver was from 25 to 28 millions sterling? Messrs. Montagu wrote that they would not disturb the market. They did disturb the market, and the price did go up. When Messrs. Montagu began purchasing the price had been 26⅝, and when they finished it was 29, the average price being 28¼d per oz. The whole question of brokerage was arranged verbally and the transaction was unbusinesslike from beginning to end. In January 1912 a definite offer of £2 millions of silver was made to the Government at Calcutta at 25½*d* per oz. Another offer was made by the late Indian Specie Bank at about 25*d*. Sir Shapoorji Broacha in questioning Sir Felix Schuster said "I know for a fact that 2 or 3 millions could have been bought last year in India at 2*d* lower than it was bought in London."

The four silver firms of London hold the greatest silver monopoly known to the world. They act not only as brokers but also as dealers and merchants. Each day, they meet and jointly declare the 'fixing price' of silver. Dr. Henry Deutsch in his book on arbitrage (1910) states "The most important silver market in the world is Bombay." The European side of the Bombay silver market is composed of nine powerful exchange Banks. On the Indian side are the principal joint-stock banks, 150 associated *shroffs* or merchant bankers, 15 bullion dealers, 11 dealers in cut bars, and about 1,000 jobbers all of whom do business through some 100 Indian Marwari brokers. The combined force of the Bombay silver market is considerable, and there are no combinations or understandings amongst dealers or brokers. If the Government of India invite tenders periodically, it would be an equitable arrangement in which the whole world can participate. The present frantic and unbusinesslike method of making intermittent purchases of silver in London should be abolished. Then there would be no fear of a corner, nor any necessity to send gold to London for the purchase of silver. For the last 13 years the India Office has disapproved of the purchase of silver in India by the Indian Government. This has been the root-cause of the whole trouble.

XII.

The 'Great Moghul' and the anti-Indian Interests.

I do not propose to go into the technical matters dealt with by the Chamberlain Commission's report. As I have already remarked, it is reactionary and is in entire accord with the views of the anti-Indian financial interests. It should be remembered that the Commission was appointed by the Premier more to evade the embarrassing demand for a select Committee to inquire into the Samuel Montagu silver purchase transactions than to exhaustively review Indian finance and currency and place the Indian system on a stable and automatic basis. Questions vitally affecting Indian finance, such as the Railway Policy, the Debt Management, the Home Charges, Indian Expenditure, were not dealt with by this Commission.

The financial patronage wielded by the Secretary of State for India is so vast that he has been described as one of the biggest money-lenders in the London money market. Lord Morley spoke at a meeting of the Bankers' Association of the magnitude of the financial partonage which he exercised. He boasted that the maturing and lending of his cash balances represented a cash business amounting to sixty millions sterling a year; and that the India Office was responsible in the year 1910—11 for a turnover of one hundred and sixty millions sterling. It is no business of the Secretary of State to exercise financial patronage on this colossal scale. It is dangerous to vest such a gigantic patronage in an irresponsible autocrat of autocrats, who operates through a committee of London bankers in secret. It is imperative in the best interests of India and England that the speedy and rigorous reduction of his wanderings in the financial wonderland to the irreducible minimum should be carried out.

The India Office should be thoroughly overhauled. London joint-stock bankers and other interested persons should be excluded therefrom, and provision should be made for the inclusion of Indians representing Indian banking, commercial, and political interests. No important financial operation should in future be undertaken without reference to the Indian Legislative Council. The India Office should abandon the methods of secrecy and evasion, once and for all. This could only be done by placing the Secretary of State's salary on the estimates and subjecting the Great Moghul at Whitehall to close and detailed parliamentary scrutiny. So long as the Indian Legislative Council remains a purely advisory body without any of the powers of a popular democratic representative assembly, it is of the utmost importance that parliamentary control over the Secretary of State and the Government of India should be strengthened, and made more real, effective, and stringent.

The Renaissance in Europe during the 16th Century and the present Renaissance in India.

By Mr. LAJJA SHANKAR JHA.

INTRODUCTION.

THOSE who have been attentively studying the course of events in this country cannot but have noticed, that India is after all awakening from its long sleep of ages. Signs are getting more and more plentiful that a great change is coming over the spirit of the people and what seemed to be idle day dreams only a few years ago, are slowly and steadily becoming the realities of the present day. Hope has begun to dominate the Indian mind where scarcely a dozen years before pessimism was predominant ; self-confidence is returning and people are daring to do things at the very thought of which they might have shuddered some time back. Look at the number of young men in Bengal who have volunteered to join the Ambulance Corps, to brave the rigours and hardships and the attendant dangers of a war in Europe in the height of the winter season there, all because they want to help suffering humanity. Look at the confidence with which the Indian troops have gone to fight and have actually fought the finest soldiers of one of the greatest military powers in Europe ; or look at the relaxation of the old world restrictions, which permitted the Missers and Bajpayes, Dubes and Tiwaris—Brahmins of the first water to cross the dark waters and who are there on the battlefield of Europe along with others and whose names we come across in the casualty lists we get from time to time. In the intellectual world also, India is beginning to produce men whose productions and thoughts are looked upon with respect in the civilized world—a poet like Rabindra Nath, scientists like Bose and Roy, a statesman like Gokhale, or a speaker like Babu Surendra Nath Banerji and so on. We shall not be far wrong in concluding that this country is at the beginning of a great revival, which, let us hope, will be as fruitful and rich in its results, as the famous Renaissance in Europe which began in the 16th Century A. D. and the results of which we see in Europe and America of to-day in the summit of their power and the height of their glory.

Causes of the Renaissance similar.

If we closely examine the causes that brought about the Renaissance in Europe, and trace its course of development, we shall find more than a passing resemblance between the forces at work in Europe during the middle ages and the problems that had to be faced there, with the causes that have brought about the present. I may be permitted to cull, Renaissance in India and the problems and doubts which confront us at the present day. A careful understanding of the movement in Europe, will I think, help us to solve many of the questions which trouble us and to some extent to foresee what is likely to happen in the near future. Therefore it is that I have ventured to take up the subject, which has been announced, not with a view to give a cut and dried solution of the outstanding questions, but with a view to stir up thought in this direction and also to place the forces at work in their true light.

Christianity a new force in the World.

Before taking up the Renaissance period in the European History, it is necessary to go back a little and get a glimpse of the condition of Europe after the spread of early Christianity. I may begin by saying that those who have read the Bible will agree with me even when they do not regard it Gospel. I hope, that the teachings of Jesus Christ in some respects are such as ought in themselves to have elevated the human mind and helped men to progress rapidly. For example, He taught that every human life is sacred in the eyes of God, that all persons whether born high or low, men or women are equal. He also taught that man no longer belonged to society except in part ; in respect of his soul he was free and owed allegiance only to God. To quote the words in William Tell, though used for a different purpose :—

> ' My life may be in the Austrian's hand.
> My Conscience is my own.'

Such a teaching when accepted goes to give confidence to man in himself and nothing so makes for progress as self-confidence. Give a man to understand that he can do as well as his betters and he will do wonders. Let him but see that the Creator did not really make him inferior to others, and he will dare do anything. The Christian teaching makes man directly responsible to God in spiritual matters and thus indirectly makes him partly free from the control of the state and society and makes him assert himself against undue interference on the part of both. In short, Christianity tried to raise the status of man and its teaching should therefore, have raised Christian Europe in a short time to a high intellectual level. It is one of the factors that eventually raised Europe in the scale of civilization.

Poverty of thought in the 1st 14 centuries.

Causes.
1. Depressed classes accepted the teaching.

But History tells us that for nearly fourteen centuries the seeds contained in the teachings did not bear appreciable fruit. It is not difficult to find out the causes that led to the poverty of human thought in Europe during the earlier years of Christianity. In the first place Christian instruction was addressed to barbarous and uneducated peoples, who could not rise at once or even for a long time, to a high moral and spiritual level. We had a similar illustration of the difficulty in the history of India also. Kabir, a great reformer like Christ proclaimed in language simple and terse, and without mincing matters, the equality of all men in the eyes of God, man's great destiny and tried to raise the poor and the disinherited from their condition of spiritual ignorance and misery and promised them equal rights. Yet because his teaching was accepted only by the lower orders of society, by weavers and Chamars, for instance, it has not yet been able to raise them up appreciably. Guru Nanak again, preached in language as simple and home-telling as that of the Bible, and his teaching was as ennobling and elevating as that of Kabir, and though it was accepted by slightly higher orders of society yet because the Brahmins and Khshattriyas and the other intellectual classes kept away, even his teaching did not bear, and has not yet been able to bear, the fruit as fully as we have a right to expect from it. The harvest will come in plenty, but it will take time, just as it took Christianity 18 centuries to bring about the desired result.

2. Unsettled State of Europe.

Another reason which accounts for the intellectual feebleness of the early Christianity was the unsettled state of Europe ever since the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Peace, security of life and property are necessary if progress is to be made. Intellectual work is impossible when to borrow with modifications the words of Sir W. Scott, ' Glaring bale-fire blaze every now and then and when steel-clad warriors ride on the wild and willow'd shores of rivers.' We know, by experience, that ever since the great war has broken out in Europe, our minds have been distracted more or less, and we have been able to do very little of true intellectual work, though this war is being fought thousands of miles away from our homes and an insignificant portion of our manhood is engaged in it and we hear but little of what is actually happening in the war-zone. What must be the intellectual condition of Europe, particularly in countries engaged in the fight, I leave you to imagine. What intellectual effort unconnected with the science of destruction, is possible, for example, in the University of Louvain—with its wrecked houses, wounded soldiers and starving citizens? War and misgovernment successfully kill all intellectual effort and Europe for several hundred years had particularly strong doses of both and no wonder there was but little progress.

A similar phenomenon is observable in the History of India after the death of Aurangzeb. Bad as some of the Mugal Emperors were, even during their time there was some sort of intellectual effort of one kind or the other, simply because India had a fairly stable government and tolerable security of life and property. But after Aurangzeb's death, there came in a period of chaos and anarchy when to quote a familiar Hindi saying (जाकी लाठी ताकी भैंस) (the sword decided all issues.) Internecine wars and inroads became the order of the day. Today it might be the Marhatta inroad, tomorrow an attack by a band of marauding Pindaris, the third day a visit from a gang of ruffianly Pathans, the fourth day the kind attentions of a neighbouring Thakur bent on plunder and so on. Men could think of nothing but self-defence, the plough-share had to be turned into sword and honour went to the man who could fight best and—defend others. The Pedagogue had no place in such a—society and it will be difficult to find a time so barren in the history of this country as that which succeeded the break-up of the Mugal Empire and preceded the establishment of the British rule. The point to be noted is that some sort of stable rule, even though faulty, it may be very faulty, is better than anarchy and that it is wiser to try to ameliorate the conditions of that—rule than to try to upset it. If, therefore, the present day Rennaissance in India is to continue and not to die out like the shortlived Rennaissance of the 16th century due to Akbar's genius, we must have continuous peace and no change of government, even though it may be considered very faulty.

3. The bigotry of early Christians.

Intellectual advance was not forthcoming for another reason also. The early Christians were persecuted by the Romans; their history was a history of continuous struggle against oppression, of conquest and of organization, which left but little opportunity for disinterested study. In their fight with the ancient world, the early Christians came to include in a common hatred, classical literature and pagan religion. Could they receive with sympathy the literary and scientific inheritance of a society whose morals they rejected and whose beliefs they were bent on destroying?

4. Asceticism.

Partly due to bigotry and partly to the ill-treatment it received at the hands of the old type of society, Christianity began to dislike the world which consisted mostly of heathens and took to monasticism and asceticism as the ideal of life. Christians could not then in that state of society hope to enter the common wealth of man and therefore, by way of recompense, hoped to enter the common wealth of God. They must have thought that society is corrupt, the world is wicked and a true Christian has no place there. He must therefore live away from society, from the world and spend his life in the contemplation of God. Monasticism, therefore, became very prevalent and asceticism along with it. This tendency among the Christians of the time has a parallel in the tendency of the Hindu society during the troubled period of the Mahommedan rule. Outcasted, as if it were, from society, driven from place to place, obliged to conceal themselves from time to time, denied justice between man and man, debarred from every honourable ambition of life, insecure of life and property because of his faith, unable to speak out his mind, the Hindu gradually lost all faith in the present world where he could not get his due, and began to take to mysticism, monasticism or asceticism as the ideal of life. A virtuous and successful life here being out of question for a Hindu, his only chance lay in the renunciation of the world and a life of direct communion with God. No wonder monastic orders grew in number, variety and followers. If you closely study the Hindu literature of the period, you will find the spirit of pessimism prevailing throughout. The teachings of the Upnishads and of Gautam Buddha, that life must be lived a life of charity and uprightness amid the trials and troubles of life, which must be overcome and not run away from teachings like these lost their influence and for the time-being communion with God became the sole resource of men. Asceticism in India and Europe had a similar cause and it had similar results in both the places.

The advancement of Europe suffered a great deal during the 1st fourteen hundred years after Christ, because of the bigotry of the Christians. The old and beautiful literatures of Greece and Rome, their philosophy and sciences were made taboo, because they were in the eyes of the Christian priests of those days, merely heathen literatures. To quote the words of Compayre, as French Historian—" Of the celebrated Doctors, who by their erudition and eloquence, made illustrious the beginning of Christianity, there were good many in whose eyes, philosophical curiosity was a sin and the love of letters a heresay. Tertullian rejected all pagan education. He saw in classical culture only a robbery from God, a road to the false and arrogant wisdom of the ancient philosophers. Even Saint Augustine, who in his youth could not read the fourth book of Aeneid without shedding tears and who had been devotedly fond of ancient poetry and rhetoric, renounced, after his conversion, his literary tastes as well as the mad passions of his early manhood. It was he who influenced the Council of Carthage to forbid the bishops to read the so-called pagan authors.

If the early Doctors of Christianity had occasionally expressed some sympathy for the heathen literatures, it is because, in their youth before having received baptism, they had attended the pagan schools. But these schools once closed, Christianity did not open others and after the fourth century a profound night enveloped Europe. The labour of the Greeks and Romans was as though it never had been. The past no longer existed. Humanity began anew. In the fifth century Apollinaris Sidonius declares that "the young no longer study; that teachers no longer have pupils and that learning languishes and dies." Later, Lupus of Farrieres, the favourite of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, writes that the study of letters had almost ceased. In the early parts of the eleventh century, the Bishop of Laon Adalberie, asserts that " there is more than one bishop who cannot count the letters of the alphabet on his fingers." In 1291 A. D. of all the monks in the Convent of St. Gall there was not one who could read and write. It was so difficult to find notaries public, that acts had to be passed orally. The barons took pride in their ignorance. Even after the efforts of the twelfth century, instruction remained a luxury for the common people; it was the privilege of the ecclesiastics and even they did not carry it very far. The Benedictines confess that "the Mathematics were studied only for the purpose of calculating the Easter."

The effect after 14 centuries of Christianity.

This was the state into which the bigotry of the Christian priests brought Europe. They had shown scant regard for the heathen literatures, but as events proved these very literatures gave new life to Europe.

Not all the priests were so narrow-minded. There were some who continued their study of the old literatures, men like St. Basil and St. Jerome, and thus prevented them from being lost for ever. On the other hand the only schools of that period were those maintained by the clergy. The religious orders voluntarily associated mental labour with manual labour. Yet their mental work did not go far enough. Schools were rare, books rarer still, and the national languages were lacking. Education was given only in Latin and very few could be found to undertake the necessary labour in order to learn it. Learning took refuge in certain monasteries and flourished only in very narrow circles, with a privileged few, and the rest of the people remained buried in unmitigated darkness.

But there is no cloud however dark, but has a silver lining. Those few men, who kept up the torch of learning, preserved the knowledge which in fullness of time, became the staple of the great Renaissance.

The three Renaissances. The First.

It has been truly said that in fact there were three Renaissances in Europe. The first was shortlived one due to the efforts of Charlemagne in the 8th century and Alfred the Great of England in the 9th. It was due to the efforts of individual kings and as time was not ripe till then, it died with them, just as the shortlived Renaissance of great promise, due to the happy genius of Akbar, faded shortly after him. Then came the second Renaissance of the 12th Century, known as Scholasticism.

The Second. Scholasticism,

The characteristic feature of Scholasticism was the importance it attached to the Deductive method of reasoning. This method was introduced in Europe by Aristotle, the Greek philosopher; the Inductive method, as a definite method of finding out truth was formally introduced by Bacon the English philosopher, as late as the 17th Century. Now you know that the Deductive method makes use of two premises or statements, the truth of which is taken for granted on the strength of reliable authority or correct observation and then tries to come to some definite conclusion about individual cases. By way of illustration I will give the following syllogism:—

(1) All good men go to heaven after death.
(2) X is a good man.
(3) He will go to heaven after death.

In this reasoning there is the major premise, *i.e.*, that all good men go to heaven after death, the truth of which is taken for granted on the strength of religious books or the word of somebody we can trust; then there is the minor premise (*i.e.*, X is a good man) based on observation; and lastly we come to conclusion about a particular person. The point to be noted is that the conclusion gives us no new truth, that X will go to heaven is included in the general statement that all good men go to heaven. But at the same time it gives us a more definite knowledge of that particular person, X who now we feel sure will go to heaven.

This kind of reasoning is very useful in life and almost every moment we have to make use of it. But it must be borne in mind that for finding out new truths we must have recourse to the other kind of reasoning, *i.e.*, the Inductive, which was practically unknown at that time. Scholasticism made use exclusively of the Deductive-method of reasoning and could not therefore do much for human progress, But still it did give some sort of intellectual training, though of a comparatively weak kind. Scholasticism resembles our Indian system of शास्त्रार्थ. Learned men assemble, take some text or book for authority say धर्म सिन्धु or मनुस्मृति and try to find out what is right and what is wrong in a particular case. Some time back I had an opportunity of listening to a discussion between two Pandits, as to whether a particular kind of food was suitable for being taken on a journey and in a Railway train and one of them pointed out, in order to support his view, the following shloka :—

घृत पक्कं पन्य : पक्कं पक्कं केवल वन्हिना ।
तदन्नं फलवद्ग्राद्य न दोषो मुनिरब्रवीत् ॥

that is food which is cooked only in Ghee or with milk or only in fire is considered as fruit and Manu has no objection to its being taken outside the cookroom. Of course there was disputation regarding the exact privilege of such a food, as understood from the wordings of the quotation, but not for one moment did any of the arguers, venture to doubt or examine the truth or otherwise of the ruling that was quoted and the fitness of the ऋषि in question to give such a ruling. This attitude of the mind beautifully illustrates the methods of the Scholasticism also. Whatever was found in the Bible or in Aristotle's works was considered ब्रह्मवाक्य i.e. something which must be accepted without challenge. There might be some difference of opinion regarding the exact meaning of the texts, but the faith of men in these texts was supreme authority beyond question. The following story illustrates the spirit of Scholasticism in Europe. At the time when rumours regarding the discovery of spots on the sun, first began to circulate, a student called the attention of his old professor to the rumour and received the following reply. "There can be no spots on the sun, for I have read Aristotle twice from beginning to the end and he says the sun is incorruptible, clean your lenses and if the spots are not in the telescope, they must be in your eyes.' That Aristotle could possibly make a mistake is unthinkable ! Such was the attitude of Scholasticism.

The narrowness of view natural to a dependence on the Deductive Method of reasoning only, was still further intensified because education in those days was entirely in the hands of the clergy. The priest, no matter whether he is a Padri, or a Purohit or a Mullaji—the priest, all the world over, has a great faith in authority, because all that he has to do is to demonstrate immutable dogmas without ever thinking of making an innovation on established belief. His is the domain of faith, of truths which cannot be demonstrated, but which must be implicitly accepted. In religious matters the authority of the sacred books cannot be questioned and it is considered blasphemy to venture to examine the truths or statements made therein. The mind of a priest gets so habituated however to accepting things on trust, that he unconsciously transfers the attitude in matters secular also, where no man's authority can be supreme.

Scholasticism notwithstanding its defects, helped the civilization to some extent and prepared the ground for the greater Renaissance, by drilling people in systematic reasoning, and by teaching them to be careful in interpreting the meaning of words and sentences. The religious conception of life, made men serious and resolute and averse to the vain pleasures of life.

The third and the Great Renaissance. Forces that worked for it.

(a) A Common Church.

Forces, however, were gathering strength which gradually freed men's mind and stimulated the spirit of free enquiry. The conclusion of the whole of Christendom in one commonwealth, under the domination of the Pope, obliged people to travel from one place to another and thus gave them opportunities of exchanging thought. While the Popes may have thought that they had brought all Christians under their thumb, the very success of their efforts paved the way for movements that eventually dethroned them from their place of power and prestige.

(b) Islamic culture.

The conquest of Spain by the Moors, brought Islamic culture to the doors of Europe. Whatever may be said of the Turks in Europe, the Moors in Spain exercised a very stimulating effect on the European civilization. The Mohammedan universities of Granada and Cadiz attract students from the various parts of Europe, who on return spread Arabic knowledge and culture round-about their homes and open people's eyes to the fact that non-Christians too could impart valuable knowledge and culture not possessed by the Christian priest.

(c) Discoveries and Travels.

"The world was again passing through changes more momentous than any it had witnessed since the victory of Christianity and the fall of the Roman Empire. Its physical bounds were suddenly enlarged. The discoveries of Copernicus revealed to man the secret of the Universe. Portuguese mariners doubled the Cape of Good Hope and anchored their merchant fleets in the harbours of India. Columbus crossed the untraversed ocean to add a new world to the old. Sebastian Cabot, starting from the port of Bristol, threaded his way among the iceburgs of Labrador. This sudden contact with new lands, new faiths, new races of men, quickened the slumbering intelligence of Europe into a strange curiosity. The first book of voyages, that was published, were soon in everybody's hands! The 'Utopia' of More, in its wide range of speculation on every subject of human thought and action tells us how roughly and utterly the narrowness and limitation of human life had been broken up." I am quoting from Green's History of the English People.

(d) The fall of Constantinople and the spread of the so-called heathen culture.

"The capture of Constantinople by the Turks and the flight of the Greek scholars to the shores of Italy, opened anew the science and literature of the older world at the very hour when the intellectual energy of the Middle ages had sunk into exhaustion. The exiled Greek scholars were welcomed in Italy; and Florence, long the home of freedom and of art, became the home of an intellectual revival. The poetry of Homer, the drama of Sophocles, the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato the histories by Thucidides and Herodotus—all worked to life again under the genial sky of Italy." People learnt that there were more things on this earth than were dreamt of by the philosophy of the Church of Rome. Foreign scholars instead of flocking to Rome, the home of Popery, went to Florence to learn Greek, the key to the new knowledge. The prejudice against Heathen literatures gradually began to vanish to the huge disgust of the bigoted priesthood. The new learning spread to other countries and began to find a place in the different universities.

(e) The Printing Press.

"The silent influences of the time worked steadily for its cause. The printing press made books the property of all. Large number of books began to be published and became cheap enough to be obtained by the poor scholar also. The human mind seemed to gather new energies at the sight of the vast field which opened before it. It attacked every province of knowledge and transformed it. Experimental Science, the Science of Philology the Science of Politics, the critical investigation of religious truth—all took their origin from the Renaissance. Art, if it lost in purity and propriety, gained in scope and in the fearlessness of its love of nature. The Vernaculars were crushed for the moment by the over-powering attraction of the great models of Greece and Rome, but revived later on with a grandeur of form, a large spirit of humanity, such as they had never known before."

(f) A New Philosophy.

When the new learning had stirred up men's minds as they had never been stirred before there came in the beginning of the 17th Century, a new Philosophy, a new way of finding out truth which was destined to change the very nature of civilization. Bacon, the English philosopher, introduced or rather formally recognized and systematized a new method of finding out truth known in Logic as the Inductive method, by which people could find out a new general truth, by carefully observing concrete realities, by a slow and patient interpretation of facts. Nothing was to be taken for granted, no dependence upon authority, however august, but a slow and careful accumulation of facts and coming to a general inference based on them. This is the method followed in the study of Physical Sciences and in Research work. Bacon's philosophy not only opened an unknown route to knowledge, but changed man's place in the world altogether.

Just as the Reformation was a break with authority in matters of religion, Bacon's Philosophy was a break with authority in matters of philosophy, and there was a break with authority in matters of Politics in the struggle between King John and his barons or between King Charles and the Parliament later on. These are not really different phenomena, but varied illustrations of a single spirit which resulted from the new learning, *i.e.* the increased importance, which man began to claim in society and the greater amount of self-assertion he began to make. In the old state of society an ordinary man had a very insignificant place. As a farmer, he had no will of his own, but that of his feudal lord : if the lord declared war he must join it and not think about its justice or otherwise. His personality had to merge in the personality of his overlord. As a citizen he had no place and he had to sink himself into the will of his king ; as a trader he had no place except as a member of his guild ; as member of the church, he may not think, or judge for himself, but must be guided entirely by the priest ; as a member of the family he had to merge himself and his wishes in the head of his family. Nowhere could he stand as he himself, everywhere as a 5th wheel in the coach. The new movement gave him a far more important place in society. The Protestant movement aimed at the assertion of the Individual man against the absurd claims of the Church of Rome and taught him to read the Bible and know what is wanted of him. It made him directly responsible to God and thus raised his place in the world. When people were able to read the Bible in the Vernaculars, they saw what an important place Christ wanted to give them and they began to try to have it. The Baconian Philosophy gave a greater importance to man's own observations and experiences, than to the words of another man, however great. All this gave increased confidence to man and self-confidence means progress. The ideal of the old state of society was communism, : the ideal of the Renaissance was the sacredness of the individuality in man. The human mind took a great bend, a bend which had far-reaching results, in changing the current of civilization in Europe.

Conclusion.

It was not Christianity alone that brought about the new civilization, but Christianity, helped by what they called the Heathen literatures and culture, by a new philosophy and by the coming into contact with other faiths, other lands and other modes of thought.

Forces working in India.

(a) The Religious revival

Similar forces have been at work during the last fifty years in this country also. Hinduism has in it elements, which if properly understood and accepted (mind I am speaking of the Hinduism of the Vedas, Upanishads and the Shastras and not of the Bazar Hinduism as it prevails to day) should be able to raise man to the highest stage of evolution and glory. The evolution theory of पुनर्जन्म of the law of कर्म hold out the highest hopes to man. Extraneous ideas, not pertinent to our faith, have in the long course of ages managed to find a place in popular belief, and like grit in a machine prevent the true ideas from producing their beneficent influences.

Besides it is the law of nature that a good idea gets rusted in the course of time, looses its meaning and force, while only the form remains. Reformers appear from time to time to give back the spirit and take away the form. Hinduism is suffering acutely, because at the present time it is the form—the ceremonials that have a predominating influence and not the real spirit. Reformers have appeared from time to time and have tried to bring back the true spirit to remove the grit, but not quite successfully as yet. A great religious revival is one of the probabilities of the near future. But the Almighty in his inscrutable wisdom has at the same time brought about other great forces which are working steadily and surely to bring about the desired uplift.

(b) The completeness of the conquest.

No Hindu or a Mohammedan can read the history of the closing years of the 18th and the first half of the 19th Century in India, of states and kingdoms, gradually falling into the hands of the British without bitter pangs of sorrow and humiliation. But the very completeness of the conquest, has done for India, what the complete domination of the Church of Rome over the whole of Christendom did for Europe. It has made the whole of India a single unit of Government enabling men to travel freely, to interchange ideas. Thoughts confined to one part of India, are easily carried to the other parts. Dyaneshwari and Dasbodha no longer belong to the Mahratta people only. Tulsi Das and Kabir Das are now read and honoured by people outside the Hindi-speaking area. The thoughts of Ranade on Mahratta History or on Political Economy, Swami Dayanand's views on religious reform, or the felicitous writings of Bunkim Chandra, or the mystic words of Rabindra Nath, become the common property of the whole of India. The very completeness of the British conquest has added to the intellectual wealth of the country. What belonged to a part only, now belongs to the whole.

(c) Communications, Voyages and Travels.

The Railways, Steamships, the Post and Telegraph Offices have done their work. Communication is easy. Men can easily come and go. People have begun going not only from one place to another in the country, but also across the black-waters, to Africa, to China, to England and other countries and bring back new ideas and new experiences. The physical bounds within which Bazar Hinduism had confined its adherents in the dark ages have become suddenly enlarged. The Indian student is found not only within the walls of English universities, but also in Continental, American and Japanese Universities. The Indian soldier is seen fighting in France and Belgium, in Egypt, in Asia Minor, in East Africa, in China, in the four corners of the globe. The Indian trader quietly pursues his trade in Africa, in China, in the Malay Peninsula and where not. The Indian coolie is to be found going to and coming back from the West Indies, British Guiana, the Pacific Islands, and a large number of other places. The narrowness and limitations of the old Indian life has been utterly, and perhaps, roughly broken up and the country has been brought into immediate contact with the whole world; and this contact is rousing the slumbering intelligence and activity of the people of this land.

(*d*) European Literature and Culture.

But contact with the British people has been of still greater use to us. During the Middle Ages Europe had exhausted its intellectual energy in Scholasticism with but a meagre conception of life and when that energy was at its lowest, the new learning gave a fresh and vigorous start; in the same way during the troubled period that followed Aurangzeb's time, India's intellectual energy had become almost extinct; Scholasticism had exhausted itself. The British came, started schools and universities and threw open the flood gates of Western Science and Culture and of English Literatur These schools and colleges are doing the same work, as was done by the Florentia Schools in Europe. The poetry of Milton and Tennyson, the plays of Shakespear the philosophy of DeCartes and Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer, the ethical writin of Emerson and Carlyle, the vigorous writings of Burke and Macaulay, the Hi torical productions of Greene and Froude—all are greedily swallowed by th scholars that flock from towns and villages to the Indian universities. Th printing press, becoming more and more efficient every day, is silently doing th same useful work as it did during the European Renaissance. So great is th field of knowledge opened for us that the mind stands aghast at its vastness an variety. But the Indian mind seems to have gathered new energies and is attacking with avidity every subject and province of knowledge that is opened to it. I has not yet been able to transform or improve any. It is in the recipient stag just now; the other stage will come later.

As in Europe, so in India, the Vernaculars were, at first, crushed out by the overpowering attractions of the great models from the English Literatures, bu as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow, they will revive before long with a grandeur of form, a large spirit of humanity and with a richness of style an diction characteristic of the modern European languages.

Just as the Christian teaching, elevating in itself got an added beauty, forc and meaning by coming into contact with the literatures of Greece and Rome, s also the great principles of the Indian faiths, admirable in themselves, have begun to signify a richness and variety of meaning, by coming into contact with a ne civilization, in new literatures and new problems of life.

(*e*) A new philosophy.

But above all the British people have brought us a new philosophy—a new method of finding out truth, a new way of looking at things. Hindu logic was chiefly Deductive with a little of Inductive reasoning But the favourite method of finding out truth was to look within and to close th outside gates of knowledge, *i.e.* the senses. The Hindus believe that man is a microcosm, a little world, a cosmos, and if you want to find out the secret of Nature look within yourself, and you will find it. The favourite Hindu method is of looking within for everything, the favourite European method is of looking without for everything. The former method may be called the method of Self-introspection, the latter the method of Observation. The Hindus have achieved gloriou results by their method as a study of the योग शास्त्र will show; the Europea method has startled humanity by the research work it has done in the domai of Objective Sciences. The introduction of the Baconian method was not mean to oust the Aristotlian method, but in effect has supplemented it. Let us hope that in a way the Baconian method will supplement and not take the place of the Hindu method. There should be room enough for both the methods, but it is a question which is hanging in the balance and is undecided as yet.

But the introduction of the European method is creating certain tendencies in the social and religious life of the people which it may not be out of place here to consider. The old Hindu conception of life is one in which the individual learns to merge himself in some bigger entity. The soul of the man, his Atma, yearns to merge itself in the bigger Atma, *i.e.*, the परब्रह्म : the social ideal is for a man to sink his personality in the personality of the caste, the domestic ideal requires a man to merge himself in the individuality of the head of the family ; in political matters he must have no wish other than the wish of the state. The ideal of निलन्य rules everywhere. In such a society comes the disturbing influence of the Baconian Philosophy which wants every one to observe, reason and judge for himself, the Cartesian Philosophy which says that we should take nothing for granted unless it has positively been proved to be such ; that all men have got the latent ability to judge well, to distinguish the right from the wrong ; of the English Law which holds an individual responsible for his action and not his tribe, village or family as of old, and lastly come in new conditions of life and civilization which require a large dose of individual initiative and effort. The methods of teaching in schools and colleges have changed accordingly and try to stir up the individuality in man. And what is the result ?

Result.

Go wherever you like you find a break with tradition and authority. In the realm of thought it is a break with the authority of Kapila or Shankeracharya, in the school it is a break from the Scholasticism of the past ; in society it is a break with the authority of the grey-haired leaders ; among the lower and depressed classes it is a break with the traditional superiority of the higher classes, in villages the tenants resent the authority of the landlord and have begun to challenge it. The priest, finds that his interpretations are no longer so meekly accepted as in the past and are now freely commented upon. The state, too, finds that its actions are now subject to a more questioning attitude of mind and are often openly criticized, resented and opposed. The joint Hindu family system is getting more and more difficult to maintain. The younger brothers are not ideally mute and obedient like Laxman, the modern daughter-in-law does not meekly remain under the thumb of the mother--in-law. In fact in all the domains of life where man controls man, the same spirit of individual assertion is to be found. It is one big fight for the right of the individual against the privileges of those set in authority. Old ties and associations are being sundered and society is ruptured, but new associations and ties have yet to be formed.

Old men are shaking their heads and are making gloomy forebodings. They say that the world is going to a very bad place—a place which I may not mention. But it should be borne in mind that the thought in India is at present taking a great bend and at such a time there must needs be more or less of social anarchy, like the one we are witnessing. Individualism is taking the place of communism. If you throw green wood into fire, nothing can come out for a time but smoke; but after some time the smoke will pass away and we shall have an added warmth.

Individualism is a force that makes for progress and the progress in the future will be tremendous provided we learn how to discipline ourselves from within in place of the discipline from without which communism gave. What we need in fact is the discipline of freedom. Without it Individualism will lead to anarchy pure and simple.

There are many men who are enamoured of the ideals of the old and regret very much the changes that are taking place. But change there must be, even for the sake of the old ideals. I, for one, think with Tennyson that—

> 'God fulfills himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should currupt the world.'

Prevent the change we cannot ; the great social and religious forces mov onwards with irresistible force in their might and majesty and will prevent us fro remaining where we are. It is for wise men to understand the forces, get all th advantages that can be got out of them and to try to prevent the evils that accrue from change and to lay down lines that will smoothen the way for progress. Because there is an awakening it does not necessarily mean that it will last long and will end in a new and glorious civilization. There are problems to be solved, dangers to be faced and the rising generation to be trained to fit itself for the coming evolution. These questions cannot be dealt with here. It is for the wise men and leaders to consider and settle them, and then only will the prophetic words of a Hindi poet be realized by the course of events :—

> आवैंगे मौर रसालन में और कोकिल डारन में विहरैंगे ।
> एक दिना न तु एक दिना यहि भारत के दिन फेर फिरैंगे ।।

A time will come when the mango tree will bloom and the sweet voice of the *koel* wil again be heard from its branches, Similarly the fate of India will change for the better, if not to-day then tomorrow.

The Sterling Debt of India—I.

By Mr. S. K. SARMA, B. A.

AN item of considerable importance which accounts for the growth of the Home Charges is the interest payable in England on the sterling loans raised in that country. Nobody can pretend that it is an extravagant charge or that the Government of India can refuse to pay it once they have raised the loans on a sterling basis. Sir David Barbour says that when the proposal of closing the mints to the private coinage of silver was under contemplation an eminent person told him that far better than tampering with the currency would be to proclaim bankruptcy; but no self-respecting country can stoop to taking such an extreme step, though it shows that it is at least an arguable proposition compared with the policy of Government interference in the matter of the supply of funds for currency purposes. But the declaration of national bankruptcy was not at that time called for by the exigencies of Indian finance and the crisis could have been tided over with prudential management. As it is, it is out of the question, and if only a true and far-sighted policy is pursued, it must be possible yet to save the country from financial embarrassments and worse than embarrassments, which are sure to be accelerated and hastened if the policy of accumulating sterling debts is to be steadily and defiantly pursued. Out of a trifle of over twenty millions sterling charged against revenue and spent by the Secretary of State for India in England nearly nine and a half millions are accounted for by the sterling obligations of India and that is by no means a small sum judged from the point of view of the tax-paying capacity of the people or the financial requirements of the country. It represents nearly eleven per cent. of the annual revenue.

If the exportation of this sum alone represented the true extent of our liabilities, it must have a positively depressing effect upon the material well-being of the people. But unfortunately this is only a fraction of the country's indebtedness. The extent of the commercial indebtedness of the country is unascertained and unascertainable. Rough calculations have been made by financiers as to the amount invested by foreigners in India and their estimate varies between three hundred and five hundred millions. If the investors expected and obtained nothing more than five per cent. upon the sums laid out in India, they should be making at least a minimum profit of fifteen millions sterling annually; and there can be no doubt that it must be considerably larger. Whatever it is, it must be confessed that the Government could have done nothing to prevent the inflow of foreign capital, especially English capital. That it has done a great deal to develop the resources of the country must be admitted, although the sons of the soil get but coolie wages. It may also be admitted that to a certain extent, the importation of foreign capital has stimulated a like effort on the part of the people to exploit the resources of the country by the employment of indigenous capital. No sustained and organised effort has been put forth for protection for indigenous capital; and the policy of free trade which the Government profess to pursue in the matter of industry and commerce and which has helped in dwarfing the growth of indigenous industries, has also been followed in the matter of the importation of capital which has but partially succeeded in dragging out the shy capital of Indians. To secure even partial protection for local industries seems a Herculian effort, although without it many a struggling industry now in its last gasp must give up the ghost without any ado; but no less important is protection for indigenous capital, which, if it cannot be won over by the adventurous commercialists and captains of industry, must be dragged out of their hiding-places by the powerful arm of the Government.

There has never been any conscious effort made by the Government to protect Indian capital or give it employment, though they have systematically held it forth as their view that for public works in India, loans must be raised only in India and that sterling loans must be restricted and given up. But unfortunately that policy has never been pursued and although the Government raise rupee loans in India, they have mainly depended upon the London money market for managing their public works and the rupee loans are to the sterling loans today in the ratio of 1 to 2. Why this policy is being pursued, why the Government shall not endeavour to raise their loans entirely in India and, if that is not possible, why the capital expenditure should not be cut down to the amount available in the Indian market are questions which do not seem to trouble them at all. That there are interests, powerful and influential interests, which are forcing the Government to commit themselves to a policy of extravagance and feverish activity in the matter of capital expenditure, cannot excuse them, and they cannot ignore the plain dictates of duty if they come into conflict with those interests. And yet we must confess to a feeling of surprise that those who are responsible for the efficient financial administration of the country have allowed their principles to be abandoned because of the interested cry of certain people who want the country to be interspersed by a net-work of railways at whatever cost and sacrifice to the public exchequer. Mr. Lionel Abrahams said before the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency that it was the heavy borrowings in recent years on account of public works that swelled the cash balances of the Secretary of State for India in England, which he was not able to expend: Such is their anxiety to anticipate the wishes of the mercantile community.

I.

When the administration of India was transfered from the East India Company to the Crown the registered debt of India stood at about sixty millions sterling, of which the amount held in London was less than four millions. From a return presented to Parliament in 1881 on the motion of Sir George Balfour it would appear that the debt of India on the 30th April, 1842 was 33,577,414 *l* On the 30th April, 1857 it amounted to 51,327,958 *l*. The state of Indian finance was at that time one of perennial deficits and between 1814 and 1860 there were only 13 years of surpluses amounting to 8,895,437 *l*. and there were 33 years when the deficits totalled 72,195,416 *l*. Sir James Wilson said in 1860 that the normal state of Indian finance was deficiency of income and addition to debt. The Mutiny came and it cost the country 38,410,755 *l* of which 26,649,000 *l* was raised in London. The 30th April, 1862 marks the close of the Mutiny expenditure and the permanent debt of India had increased to 97,037,062 *l* which was an increase in 20 years of 190 per cent. Of this, less than one-third was held in London and the rest in India. The financial condition of the country did not improve however. In 1869 the Government of India wrote to the Secretary of State for India that 'the accumulated deficits from 1860-69 exceeded 10½ millions sterling. The chronic condition of our finances is deficit, things seem to be getting from bad to worse. In the three years ending with 1866-69 the total deficit was 6¼ millions, the public debt was increased by 6½ millions and the cash balances were reduced by 3½ millions.'

The Welby Commission examined the question of Indian debt in pretty good detail and they found that whereas the public debt stoood at 97,037,062 *l* in 1862, it had been reduced to 72,721,161 *l* in 1897, being a reduction of 25 per cent. The reduction in fact might have been greater. Since March 1867 the payments for famine relief had come to Rs. 17,292,217; famine insurance had cost Rs. 17,809,207; and frontier wars had eaten up Rx. 22,865,965. In all, about fifty-eight crores had been so spent or about thirty-nine millions sterling, which would have left a public debt of only about thirty-four millions. In introducing the financial statement for 1915-16 Sir William Meyer said that the ordinary debt on the 31st March, 1914 had been reduced to 12·8 *l* millions sterling, a matter on which the Finance Department could well-nigh congratulate itself.

But we do not know if the policy of reducing the public debt by taxation proper is one which can commend itself to the public who pay that tax or is in consonance with the dictates of sound finance. The reduction of the public debt has not been achieved as by the magician's wand. In 1867-68 the Government adopted a new policy of dividing the public debt account into two categories. The interest on sums spent in irrigation works and railways went to the account of Public works. There is no sinking fund in India to which may be applied the surplus revenue. All spare revenues or surpluses are devoted to capital expenditure on works for which the Government would otherwise have to borrow. In order to show accurately the amount of this capital expenditure the revenue so expended is charged to the "public works" portion of the debt and a similar amount is deducted from the "ordinary" debt. If there is a surplus of two millions, the "public works" debt is charged with that amount and the "ordinary" debt is reduced by that amount. If, therefore, the ordinary debt is reduced to 12·8 millions sterling, it only shows that between 1897 and 1914 the surplus revenue had reached the abnormal sum of sixty millions sterling or 3½ millions sterling per year. The wisdom of such a step cannot be apparent to any but those who are responsible for the financial administration of the country ; and if the recent pronouncements of Sir James Meston and Sir Fleetwood Wilson represented the considered opinion of the Government, it would seem that th policy is not likely to be changed for a better one.

When the ordinary debt is reduced to such a small amount as twelv millions sterling, any criticism of the policy by which it had been reduced i the past and by which it may also be wiped away in the future must be onl of academic interest. But we may refer to it all the same, lest we forget Only in the year 1911 the late hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhable referred to th question and animadverted strongly against the fetish of reducing the ordinary debt by means of taxation. The debt then stood at 37 millions and he suggested the creation of a sinking fund of 4 per cent. which would be an annual charge of two crores on the revenue. At that rate the debt could have been wiped out in a generation. A sinking fund of 4 per cent. is certainl more than what the European countries allow. It is eight times what England was allowing after the Crimean War and four times as much as she allowed after the Boer War. At the close of the Boer War the United Kingdom had a debt of 800 millions and yet her statesmen thought a sinking fund of on per cent. was enough. She is now engaged in a gigantic war the like of whic has never been witnessed before and the daily cost is estimated at thre millions. The expansion of the ordinary debt at the rate of eleven hundr millions per year cannot be viewed with equanimity by any financi genius ; but of one thing at least we may be certain, namely, that it canno be wiped out by surplus revenue. They can only pay it off by means of th Sinking Fund. But with thirty-seven millions, the Finance Department i India could think of paying it only from excess taxation. Sir Fleetwoo Wilson promised to consider the question of the creation of Sinking Fund in the summer of 1911 ; but neither he nor his successor has done anything in the matter. The virtues of a sinking fund are not yet apparent to the Finance Department.

The present policy of reducing the ordinary debt from revenue surplus has been defended on the ground of the poverty of India and that her credi can be kept high only if her debt is extinguished. The best way of appreciating the poverty of the people is not to keep taxation at a high level and pa off the debt from revenue proper. It stands to reason that the burden o taxation must on the contrary be kept as light as possible, so that there ma not be any undue encroachment upon the savings of the people. Nor can th argument about credit hold good. The public works debt is fully secure and when the interest is not earned by the railways the Government guarantee it. There is no doubt in the mind of the foreign investor about the capacity of India to pay back her loans and if capital does not flow freely the reasons must be sought for elsewhere than in the resourcelessness of the country. The time of the floatation of the loan, the rate of interest and the state of the money market have all to be considered. People who have invested in commercial undertakings or private account anywhere between three hundred and five hundred millions and who have further advanced on account of public works over a hundred and eighty millions in sterling alone, cannot be accused of fighting shy of Indian credit.

II.

Coming to the sterling portion of the debt, the Welby Commission declared that it was the accepted policy of the Indian Government not to borrow in England for public works or current expenditure "except under abnormal circumstances". Surely, as the enunciation of their pions intention their observation is perfectly correct. When the debt account was separated into ordinary and public works account in 1867-68, it was deemed prudent to borrow money for permanent improvements and Sir John Strachey said that for public works which were not reproductive, they ought not except under the pressure of extreme necessity, to borrow a six pence. The increase of debt was, in his opinion, so serious an evil that they must strive to reduce the borrowing to a minimum even for remunerative public works. A few years later he suggested that no effort should be spared to present the increase of sterling loans and urged the desirability of converting railway liabilities in terms of silver. In 1876 the Government laid down the guiding principle in the following terms :—

> 'The Governor-General in Conucil is of opinion that it is inexpedient to incur any public loan, for the present, implying future obligations to be discharged in gold. If money be needed by the State for the prosecution of extraordinary works, it must be borrowed in India and in the currency of India.
>
> Meanwhile it is important that Government should continue to use the resources at the disposal of the State for the development of trade and productions of India. The Governor-General in Council does not, therefore, intend to discontinue borrowing for the construction of Public Works (the remunerative character of which is thoroughly established) as much money as can be judiciously expended on them ; provided always that money can beraised for the purpose on advantageous terms in the country itself. There are in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council, grave objections to any present increase of the liabilities of India fixed in gold.'

The reason for the recommendation of this policy of circumspection may perhaps be discerned in the nature of the expenditure incurred by the Government which has been well described by Sir John Strachey in the following terms. Describing the character of the loans and how they were spent he wrote in 1874 :—

> 'The only works for which we now borrow are railways, and works of irrigation. There has been a good deal of misapprehension on this subject

and I wish therefore to refer to it. It is often assumed that in borrowing money for our State Railways in India we believe that they will be reproductive works, in the sense that they will directly pay the interest of the money expended on them. Although it may be hoped that this will ultimately turn out true, this is not at all the assumption on which the State Railways an being constructed. Some of the lines notably those from Lahore to Peshawar and down the Indus valley are being made for political reason only and it is hardly probable that within time to which we can look forward, they will repay anything like the interest on the capital expended o them. The system of running into debt for these great works has bee one of the greatest danger of our Empire in India and the danger is not only financial but political. The Government had spent at least twice as much as we need have spent on the Railways and they have been constructed on almost uselessly expensive scale under an extravagant and mischievous system.'

Condemnation could not be stronger and His Majesty's Government were naturally alarmed at the way in which public works were being managed The result was the appointment of a Committee of the House of Common to consider the question. They recommended that a very large reductio should be made in the expenditure on Productive Public Works and wrot that 'the amount to be annually expended should mainly depend upon th financial condition of India, and should, therefore, for the present be limite to an amount of 2,500,000 *l.* as recently fixed by the Secretary of Sta for India in Council.' In his financial statement for the year 1880-81 Sir John Strachey summed up the result of the correspondence between th Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General in Council on th subject. The conclusions arrived at by them were these :—

i. That any money which it may be necessary to borrow for the constru tione of such works shall be borrowed in India in rupees, and not sterling money.

ii. That not more than 2,500,000 *l.* a year, on an average, shall b thus borrowed, in addition, however, to any capital expended upo the East Indian Railway or any other undertaking which may be hereafter acquired by the State in like manner ; in addition also to any money which may be lent to the Government of India by Nativ States for construction of Productive Public Works.

iii. That the yearly grant for the construction of productive works sha not exceed 2,500,000 *l.* in addition to the capital expended upon the East Indian Railway or any undertaking similarly acquired hereafter, and to the expenditure upon any works the funds for th construction of which are lent to the Government of India by Nativ States.

iv. That the unexpended portion of the grant of the past year may be regranted for expenditure in thee following year. The object of this provision is to prevent the waste and inconvenience incident to the lapse of unspent grants for the construction of public works.

It should indeed be a matter for congratulation that both the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India in Council should have arrived at so reasonable a conclusion as the above not only restricting the amount of loans to be raised, but also laying down in definite terms that the loans should be raised only in India and that in the currency of the country. There were indeed reasons for doing so, though there were equally strong reasons for pursuing a vigorous policy of railway construction from sterling loans raised in England. The Indian Government were then faced with a financial crisis of unparallel severity having involved the country with a fatal war with the Amir. The total cost of that war was to reach over twenty millions. But war was not the only calamity from which the country suffered. The enemy peculiar to Anglo-Indian administration, had done its worst and famine had devastated the land. The Government felt compelled to take measures, if not to prevent its recurrence, at least to mitigate its evils when it came, and it was proposed to budget for an annual surplus of two millions from extra taxation which amounted to 1,345,000 *l.* subsequently claimed to have been reduced to one million. In the ten years ending 1880-81 the Government had spent 36,848,000 *l.* over and above the revenue. Productive Public Works, including doubtful works estimated by Sir John Strachey to have cost 11,076,000 *l.* had cost 35,881,000 *l.*; the war in Afghanistan 9,250,000 *l.* and famine 14,607,000 *l.* or 59,738,000 *l.* in all. To this expenditure public revenue had contributed only 22,890,000 *l.* Faced against these heavy expenses, partially met by increased taxation, and by no means certain that there would not be any need for further taxation, and the dead weight of the cost of the Afghan war pressing heavily on them, it is not surprising that the Government, both here and in England, should be loath to sanction a scheme of public expenditure on works under whose weight the financial bark may sink.

But the arguments for inducing them to pursue a forward policy were equally strong. The famine had demonstrated the value of railways and improved means of communication and Lord Lytton began his administration with a grim determination to fell the monster of famine by connecting the country with a net work of railways and irrigation works. He said in a speech which he delivered on the 27th December, 1877 that 'it is an unquestionable fact, that the railways, and the railways alone, were the salvation of the situation in Northern Bihar during the famine of 1874; and that they have again been the salvation of the situation in Madras during the famine of the present year. Had there been no railway within reach of these districts, the people where they have now died by hundreds, must have assuredly succumbed by thousands.' He was therefore satisfied that the development of a network of subsidiary lines of railway giving the means of transport through every district of British India, had become a matter of vital necessity for the attainment of that object. This view was subsequently endorsed by no less an authoritative body than the Famine Commission. They wrote : ' Until the whole country is more completely supplied with railways or canals by which food can be transported cheaply and in large quantities to every par where severe want may exist, the possibility of some unusual demand fo Government interference in particular localities, or for special classes o people, cannot be shut out, nor the danger of the occurrence of a grea calamity altogether removed. It is therefore to the improvement of the interna communications and the removal of all obstructions to the free course of trad accompanied by the extension of irrigation in suitable localities, and a improved agriculture, that we look for obtaining security against disastrou failures of the food supply in tracts visited by droughts.'

This might have been a charter for the Government to push on railwa construction at whatever cost and wherever the funds may be raised fro But they were strongly impressed by the political and financial considerations against it. Unfortunately this resolution was not long kept. Grea Britain soon after passed through a period of depression of trade and a Roya Commission was engaged in finding out the causes. Assuredly there wa spare capital in England which wanted a market and her workmen we idle ; and why not India come to the rescue ? The Committee of Parliament which considered the question recognised the political and financia reasons for borrowing in India if the money could be had ; but they recommended that if the difference between the rates of interest in India a England was so considerable as to afford compensation for the disadvantag which attend borrowing in England, loans should be raised in England enable the Government of India to carry out their general scheme for pub works. The Committee on the Home charges might hold that the great caution should be exercised in borrowing in England for public works India especially as long as the rate of exchange was so variable as practica to make of little value all calculations as to the charge for interest and th might further warn them againt the political inexpediency of doing so. B when British trade is depressed and British capital is waiting idle see ing fresh fields and pastures new, political considerations or even the financial exigencies of India must be subordinated to them. Acting upon th recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee, the Secretary of State fo India raised two loans in 1885 and 1886 to the extent of 7,700,000 *l.* i England in sterling. The loans raised between 1875 and 1895 came 65,409,000 *l.* and in the year 1897, when the Royal Commission on India Expenditure finished their labours the total sterling obligations came 114,841,953 *l.*

The official explanation for this policy was given by their witnesse before the Royal Commission and the Commission declared it to be thei opinion that it was the accepted policy of the Government not to borrow i England for works or current expenditure in India except under abnorma circumstances. When they borrowed it was mostly for the purchase of specific railways, deposed Mr. Jacob, the Comptroller and Auditor-General. If exceptions were pointed out, they would undoubtedly be accounted for by 'abnormal circumstances.' But Sir Henry Waterfield gave the true explanation when he said that 'the policy of the Secretary of State in 1868 when the Government first entered on the system of constructing State Railways was that the capital charge should only be met by borrowing in India. So far as dispatches go that has been the normal policy, although on certain occasions it has been impracticable to pursue it and resort has been had to borrowing in this country. But as it happens, the figures work out so as to show that the increase of the ordinary debt and the amount of capital outlay are very nearly equal; and therefore it is perhaps a not unreasonable assumption to say that the capital out lay has in fact been met by sterling borrowing.'

Village Panchayats.

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IT is my purpose to say a few words about the possibilities of forming Village Panchayats of a suitable kind in Southern India. Of most subjects connected with Local Self-Government this is, perhaps, the most difficult. Most readers of this *Review* doubtless know the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralization made in regard to this important matter. It is possible, most also know how the Government of India has thought it fit to leave the settlement of this particular subject, in its scheme of Local Self-Government, to the Local Governments and Administrations in India. There has been a disposition in certain quarters to blame the Government of India for the apparently luke-warm interest it has shown in the treatment of this subject. This, I rather think, is a harsh judgment to pronounce on the Government of India's Resolution on the subject. The difficulties that beset this aspect of Local Self-Government are so great that Local Governments and administrations should have a free hand in devising their own schemes. It does not mean that the Local Governments and administrations should do nothing in the matter as it has been supposed. The subject is a vast one ; it relates to conditions of society widely different in different areas ; and it is obviously difficult to evolve a satisfactory scheme suitable for all localities. Its difficulty, indeed, is so great that the Government of India has found it difficult to say nothing more on the subject beyond leaving `it entirely for the careful attention of the Local administrations concerned. The importance of the subject ought to be manifest to any one who has taken any interest in local or national affairs. A very able writer, who devoted a life-time to the study of the subject of Indian peoples, summed up in a few words his ideas as to the only manner in which nationality could be devolved in India. "The vast majority of the people of India," he says, "are as yet untouched by the idea of nationality. This cannot be impressed upon them through their own vernaculars, the influence of which would make for separatism rather than unity. Nor can they be reached through English, at least not for many generations. But they might be drawn together by the common interests which would be created by a genuine form of popular Self-Government. This should be built up from the bottom on the basis of two indigenous institutions—the village community and the village council—the common property of the Aryan people both in Europe and in India. Reconstruction on these lines offers the best prospect of realising the national ideal and of controlling the separatist tendencies of caste. It may be that in the first instance the process will produce not an Indian nationality, but a number of provincial nationalities, but history shows this to be natural course of evolution. Everywhere particularism has come first, just as crystallisation takes place by centres, and nationalities have been formed by the agglomeration of the particularist units into a larger whole." He later adds :—" The orderly development of the indigenous germs of such institutions (*i. e.* self-governing institutions) ought to be the immediate object of the Indian nationalists. In this direction and, I believe, in this direction alone, is it possible to advance towards real political representation. Progress will in any case be slow, but nothing will retard it more certainly than the impatient idealism which insists upon beginning at the wrong end." That is the last word of an administrator and a sociologist who had unrivalled knowledge of India. When I say that it is fully in agreement with the views of the late Dewan Bahadur R. Raghoonath Rao, than whom no one knew better the true position of the village in the political or social evolution of India, perhaps, readers will at once be able to appraise this advice at its true value.

It is, however, more easy to make a general recommendation than to suggest means to give effect to it. It is this that has stood in the way of most who have had to tackle this subject. Can we *revive* the old village community? Can we bring to life the old village council? Can we, in a word, bring back into existence the older conditions that made possible the smooth working of village communities and councils? That is the problem that confronts us. On the nature of the answer given to these questions, depends largely the quality of the solutions offered. It seems to me, that the old world village community can no more be revived to-day than many another good thing whose disappearance from our social or political life we deplore. They served their purpose in their time, and they have gone. But the spirit that underlay them, the corporate life that sustained them, is still there and it needs to be buttressed in every possible manner, and if possible a newer model of village community suitable to the present needs can and ought to be raised. Those who have bestowed any thought on this question know that the village community and village council have been in existence in India time out of memory. There are those who say the village community is an Aryan institution and that it was introduced into India by the Indo-Aryans as they began to spread over it. Whether this view is right or not, there is the fact that it is a very old institution, that has satisfied the needs of the people everywhere in India for many centuries and that it still exists in one form or another—though largely decayed—in many parts of it. Manu, whose laws as they have come down to us probably date back to the 2nd century A. D., refers to it. It has been said that Manu set down as law not what actually passed as law but what Brahmans in his day thought ought to be the law. This is, gentlemen, one of those unhappy generalizations that have done so much damage to the proper study of Indian history. Manu's laws in the last resort are based on custom, and one reason why Indian law has proved so stationery has been due to the fact that his laws crystallised custom into law and made progress all but impossible. A sort of reverence for custom was formulated in Manu, somewhat akin to the traditionary. *It ascriptum est* in the middle ages which made progress impossible in Europe, grew up in India and stunted progress. There are passages in Manu that are not understandable without a knowledge of current customs even to this day and it seems certainly unfortunate in the face of this to state that Manu does not represent what was actually law, or passed for law, in his time. However this may be, Manu refers to village communities in his laws. They were apparently flourishing institutions in his time. According to him, if I understand him correctly, it was an institution of the Indo-Aryans which in later times was adopted to suit the needs of the people amidst whom they settled. The Dravidian and even the Pre-Dravidian was brought into or rather under it by the manner in which it was now and again adapted to suit local needs. My knowledge is in most respects limited to portions of Western India, Mysore, and Madras Presidency, and in these parts of India it has shown remarkable adaptability during the centuries it has existed. According to Manu the village community was, in brief, made up in one of two ways; first it was made up of a number of families either really or by fiction taken to be related to each other; and in the second, it was made up of a number of individuals who settled on a piece of land and claimed or actually exercised joint ownership over it. This settlement was made in one of two ways. A group of families, probably closely related to each other, finding it difficult to maintain themselves in their original abodes, owing possibly to growth of population and consequent pressure on land made up their mind to settle themselves on fresh ground. These moved on and made a permanent settlement on a fair extent of waste land and began a new life on the old model. Or they made a fresh clearance with the assistance of their non-Aryan dependents, and spread themselves out on it. In either case, the settlers—that is the families making the settlement-divided the cultivable land, and used up the waste land available as pasture in common. The non-Aryan dependents settled beside the settlement in various capacities, and though they did not at first form an integral part of the settlement, they slowly came into it in later times and by contact, they even—at least this was so among the higher type of non-Aryan—set themselves up on the Aryan model and made in the decadent days of Aryan history, the Brahman a dependent on themselves ! In its highest form the Aryan village was a unit by itself. The village (or *grama)* was the smallest political unit; a number *gramas* made a *vishaya*, or settlement ; and a number of *vishayas* made up the *jana* (tribe or section of people.) Each had its own assembly and the assembly of the *jana* elected the chief, The development was a natural one ; from the lowest to the higher and from the higher to the highest. Turning to the village, we note that it was a self-sufficient unit in itself. It consisted primarily of people either closely connected by blood, or taken to be so connected, with one another. The families forming it were made up of freemen, each having a potential voice in the welfare of the village. The village council which managed its affairs was made up of these freemen. They chose of their own free-will their headman, whose office in later times showed not infrequently a tendency to become hereditary. He not only managed the internal affairs of the village, but also represented it to the outside world. For instance, he it was who settled with the king the revenue to be paid by the village; he it was who sought immunity for it in times of trouble; and he it was who, when the occasion demanded it, organised resistance against a foreign oppressor. In internal affairs, he was the mouthpiece of the local assembly ; he apportioned the revenue among the villagers ; and he decided the disputes arising in the village, with the aid of the local elders. This last is an important point to note. According to Manu even learned judges should not decide causes without the aid of capable assessors assisting them. The village had a full complement of officers, who helped to maintain its self-sufficient character. There was the accountant, the priest, the schoolmaster, the physician, the barber, the astrologer, the watchman and others who in later times, were, on this side of India, sometimes known as the *barabaluti.* They had allotments in the village land, but it is necessary to remember that they did not go to form the village assembly. The village assembly was *different* from the village executive. The executive was formed of the headman and the officers directly working under him. These had allotments of village land, but it was only a mode of requiting their labours rather than anything else. In fact some of them could have been only members of the Dravidian or pre-Dravidian tribes or castes. Besides these, there were also artizans attached to each village, but there is reason to believe that they lived, originally, in a distinct part of the village, and rather outside of it than inside of it. They had no allotments of land made to them; their services were paid for by payments in kind after the crop was gathered in at harvest time. There were also attached to each village a number of families of the lower orders, who lived in quarters of their own. They probably belonged to the pre-Dravidian race, or were degraded members of the higher

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tribes and castes. To them were allotted the duties of scavengers, caretakers of burial grounds, watchmen, messengers etc., duties which, it was thought, could be performed by only the lowest classes of people. These too did not form part of the village community proper, though they formed useful adjuncts to it and lived mainly on the services they rendered to it. It is necessary to grasp this point, because otherwise we are likely to miss the real constitution of the village assembly proper. It was made up of freemen, who elected their own headman, and who, in his turn, was assisted by a number of officers, some of whom belonged to the village community proper and others who did not, but were largely dependent upon it for its means of sustenance. This will help us to consider, presently, how far we can remodel our existing conditions. At present, I may add, anticipating a little, while we have in each village, a headman, who is not elected by the villagers either collectively or through their representatives in an assembly of their own, but whose office is hereditary, and a complement of officers to help him in his duties with the general administration of the country, he had no assembly to keep him in check, to threaten him, if necessary, with deposition, for misconduct. The village headman, while he has become an autocrat in his domain of activity, is no more the real or titular spokesman of the village. He is nothing more than the representative of a centralized Government in the village dumbly carrying out its behests and helping it to drive what has been described as the lifeless, soulless machinery of Government. He has thus lost the power of initiative, and is often times more an instrument for mischief than for good in the village. How has this inversion of duties and responsibilities come to exist? What causes have contributed to this dire result? Can a knowledge of the past help to rectify the errors of the present? That is the question that confronts us.

The history of village administration shows that if we want to restore to the village some of its old vitality we should, if possible, devise means to give back to its assembly some powers to keep in check, if not elect, its own headman; to make him its real mouthpiece and to make him its representative rather than the automaton of Government in it. We must, in fact, endeavour to make the village assembly the more inportant factor in village life than the village headman. If we did this, we would be restoring to some extent to the village its old power of initiative. This would enable it to some extent at least to look to its local wants, and devise ways and means to meet them. While the village headman represents it to the outside world, the assembly itself would look to local requirments, and thus help to keep the village, both internally and externally, a self-contained unit.

That left to itself, and to a certain extent given the scope it needs, a village can manage its own affairs is evident from a close study of the village institutions of the south. At the dawn of history in the south of India, we find the country divided into a number of kingdoms which were more or less at war with one another. One of these the Cholas, became very powerful between the 10th and 13th centuries A. D. They had conquered practically all the country between the Mahendra mountains and the Cape Comorin, besides all that is now the State of Mysore, the northern portion of Ceylon and a portion of Burma. Their system of Government was organised on a large, Imperial scale, with Provinces, districts, taluks and villages. Many lithic inscriptions have brought to light the fact that in their days the system of village administration was in many respects a typically good one. Each village had perfect liberty in its own area, and its assembly was all powerful in it. The Mahasabha, as it was called, devised ways and means to govern its internal affairs in a manner which is probably reminiscent of its best days. Its authority extended to every department of village life. Its members were highly educated and they were elected annually by ballot. The franchise was apparently much coveted, but the only restrictions on it were those dictated by common sense or ordinary rules of morality, and justice, equity and good conscience. The assembly was made up of the leading members of the people, the men whom we would, in these days, take to be those most interested in the welfare of the village. To make its working more thorough and efficient, it divided itself into committees. The members who formed these committees, were known as "the great men of the year," the committee members of our day. Among the committees mentioned are the committee of justice, the committee for the supervision of wards, the committee for the supervision of tanks, the committee for the supervision of fields, and the committee for the supervision of gardens. A committee known as the committee of supervision which probably answers to our standing committee of to-day is also mentioned. It had apparently some undefined powers of control over the work of the other committees. That these were no mere empty names but represented actually working committees of the village assembly is made known to us from many inscriptions, in which its working is disclosed. The king had certain powers of control over the work of the assemblies, and it is clear from the evidence thus far traced that these assemblies and their committees worked satisfactorily during the time the Cholas held supreme power in Southern India. As inscriptions found in the Tamil and the Telugu country refer to them fairly frequently, we may take it that they formed part of the system of Government of those days in Southern India generally. That their work was appreciated by the people is shown by the fact that they left property in trust to them to be managed *in perpetuum* by them; also from the fact that theos assemblies undertook kinds of work in which the people were directly interested. This is an important point to remember for it speaks much in favour of bringing into existence an institution of the kind to-day. What was possible for Indians of the 13th century cannot surely be impossible for Indians of the 20th century. The village assembly was trusted by the people and the Government of those days and the result was that the trust was rarely betrayed. It collected the state revenue due by it and forwarded it to Government. If any person liable to pay made default the assembly sequestered his land as its thought fit, and paid up the dues. This done the defaulter's liability ceased. Things have, with the lapse of ages, changed here too very considerably, but if the past is any guide to the future, it is of value to note the extraordinary powers that the village assembly of Chola times enjoyed.

How long this system of village administration lasted it is not easy to determine. But as the interval between the fall of the Chola Empire and the coming into existence of the new Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar was not very great, it is possible that it continued to exist during the best part of the Vijayanagar period of Indian history. This brings us down practically to the middle of the 16th century. Not much is known of the internal governance of the Vijayanagar Empire but the highly military character of its rule apparently affected its mode of civil administration. The keeping at bay of the Mahommedan kings of the north was a continued menace to the peaceful development of the country. Development there was and development of an arresting and admirable kind too in certain departments of life but it is to be feared that the necessity for keeping up large armies made civil administration no easy thing. If there was nothing like interval revolt, it was partially at least due to the presence of the common foe across the northern border. The Empire was doubtless parcelled out into provinces, the provinces into districts, the districts into parganas, and the parganas into villages. But the levies necessary for fighting the infidel left their impress on each division of the Empire. The country was practically ruled in the interests of the military. For maintaining a large standing army such as the Vijayanagar Emperors had, and their Viceroys and their dependents in their turn kept their own small armies to help their liege lords when called upon to do so, they had to get as much out of the people as they could. While anything like general oppression of the peasantry may have been avoided as a matter of policy, it is to be feared that as much was got out of them as could be. The system of farming public revenue which came into vogue in the decadent days of the Vijayanagar kings, and which became in reality an engine of tyranny in the hands of later Mahommedan potentates had apparently deeper roots in Vijayanagar polity. It was responsible for much avoidable misery among the people for many years and that is one blot on the otherwise admirable Empire of the south during the days prior to British advent into India. This system of Government should have led to the break up, of the village system to a certain extent. If it did not actually break it up it at least seems to have prepared the way for it. But I would not enlarge further on this aspect of the matter as the need for further evidence on it is still very great. Of this, however, we may be fairly certain. The system of farming revenues increased the rapacity of renters. This rapacity of renters led to extreme demoralization in the people, and this in its turn to loss of dignity, to meekness and even to servility of a type about which Sir Thomas Munro somewhere half humorously observes quite a decent volume could be written. The vice had eaten into the very vitals of the nation long before the British supremacy was established in the land.

The first British administrators in the South were more anxious to pacify the country than reform evils of a kind that could well wait for a time. Gradually with the change in their position they changed their ideals as well. They found a system of government which they touched up here and there and so long as it served the ends in view, they never troubled over much. The village had had its vicissitudes, but its glory was all a thing of the past. *Sic transit gloria mundi.* Even as it was, it won the approbation of officers of the type of Wilks, Sir John Malcolm and a host of others, great and small. Sir John Malcolm, I may incidentally add, was so charmed with what he styles the republican character of the village administration of his times that he wished for its being carefully kept up. What secured this admiration from him was not the village assembly I have spoken of above, but the relic of it which lasts to this day in the village headman and his proverbial twelve officers. These had by the time the British established themselves in the land usurped in full the rights and duties of the old village Assembly which by then had passed silently out of sight.

The causes which have still further disintegrated village life in modern times may be summed up in a very few words :—(1) The growth of the ryotwari principle, which opened the way for direct dealings with each holder of land in the village; (2) the growth of a highly centralized system of government, which sacrificed unconsciously the needs of a village to the needs of its own machinery; (3) the growth of foreign competition in the industrial field, which broke up the peaceful industrial life of villages and converted skilled artizans into agriculturists or day-labourers dependent on agriculturists ; (4) the opening up of the country and the keener struggle for existence which has depleted the village of its best talents ; (5) the gradual decay of old-world ideas, and with it the slackening of the bonds of customs and institutions and of the joint family system, which have given a fillip to the growth of the individualistic spirit even in the village ; (6) the growth of civil and criminal courts and introduction of a general police system ; and to these perhaps may be added, in recent years, (7) emigration to foreign countries.

I have taken the reader through this labarynth of historical narrative just to make one or two points clear. The first is the fact that where the central authority is sound and sympathetic towards village administration, it is possible to make it a success. This is proved by a study of the past history of village institutions. In the past the village as an unit in political government was a success whenever the central government itself was something more than a mere tax gathering Empire. The second is that the village to be a success as an unit in local self-government ought to consist of a village assembly, Panchayat if you so choose to term it, besides its executive head, the Patel or Munsiff, with his twelve officers to serve its needs. I do not know if I have made these two points sufficiently clear, but I trust that the summary I have given of the history of the village as an unit in the administration of the South will induce some of those interested in the subject to look into the matter more closely. The point to remember is that so long as the village was governed by its assembly and so long as the assembly's executive, the patel and his confréres, were kept under check, so long it continued to be the centre of a healthy public life. So long as the village assembly lasted, there was vitality, enterprize and the desire for mutual co-operation in it. And so long as these elements of public life existed in it, it took the initiative in matters affecting communial life and fulfiled the functions of an unit in the body politic. Immediately the attitude of the central government changed, through internal decay or disruption brought about by a change in the political conditions of the land, the sympathetic hand was withdrawn, and the village lost its position as an unit in the economy of the State. Now the conditions are largely altered. We have a central government in India as a whole which is, perhaps, the strongest that the country has known in its history. We have a system of Government, too, which favours the rehabilitation of the village as an unit of political society. We have, what is more important, a general desire in the authorities to actively aid in the work of the restoration of the ancient village. What is wanted is a knowledge of the true conditions governing it, a knowledge of the possibilities of villagers being turned into useful members of the re-vitalized village, a knowledge, in fact, which would lead to a change in the mental attitude of both Government and the public, official and non-official, in the potentiality of the village. This knowledge in the more likely to strike root now since the desire for re-modelling the village has attracted wide attention all over India.

This desire for improving conditions in the village deserves to be directed into useful channels. There has been a tendency so far to make the village a more wheel in the huge machinery of government. While it should continue to serve its purpose in the general adminstration of the country, it should not be altogether sacrificed to the exigencies of a centralized government. The effect of such an attitude towards it in the past has been the demoralization of the village, and rendering it useless for any purpose other than for speedily collecting the State revenue due from it. This h emphasised the importance in the village of the tax-gathering officers of Government to the detriment of the village and its natural leaders. While the hereditary nature of the officers held by these dignitaries has added to their hold on the village, it has made them subserve more the interests of the Government than of the people in it. This deserves to be checkmated without delay. For this the old village assembly should be revived to suit the needs of the present day. This would render the village a true political unit. This would keep in check the village headman and his officials, and make it subserve as much the interests of the village as of the centralized Government whose representatives they are now in the village. Much of the venality and corruption now existing in the village would be discountenanced if not entirely rooted out, before very long, and with it possibly, the existing spirit of litigation, quarrel and scheming would receive its death blow, if the old village assembly were revived in a new form.

While the need for restoring to the village its ancient institution of the village assembly may be conceded, it is not easy to devise a scheme suitable for the conditions we find to-day. Much of the practical difficulty of the village Panchayat problem lies in this. Any scheme that is to satisfy the requirements of to-day should take note of the past history of the village, more specially the immediate past during which time its history may be summed up in the single word 'disintegration,' the genius of the people living in it now under normal conditions, the separatist tendencies of caste, the needs of the central Government which can never be forgotten, and the needs, too, of a growing desire for local self-government generally in India. A Panchayat may be large or small—this would naturally depend on its size, population, and its material condition—but it should have full control over its own staff of men. This staff of men would naturally include the headman and his twelve men. The tendency to look on the Patel (or headman of a village) as everything has gone on for too long a time. It has made an ignorant rustic but a tool in the hands of clever, scheming people—in some cases at least, it has made life in the village all but intolerable. While the character and tenure of the offices of village dignitaries from the Patel to the Talari need not be changed, it is necessary to make them look more and more to the Panchayat as their master. The central Government and its representative should deal with them through the Panchayat. This would give the Panchayat its true *metier* in the economy of the village, and would help to keep its forces in good trim. The difficulties involved in changing the status of the village officers are no doubt great; but as progress seems impossible otherwise, it appears necessary we should brace up to the situation and make a small beginning. This beginning may be made by creating Panchayats repres entative of the chief castes and tribes in the village in certain selected villages, and making them be directly responsible for the governance of the village, the local officials from the Patel to the Talari, being directly responsible to them in the first instance. This is nothing new or revolutionary. We have municipalities and unions doing this in the larger cities and villages, and there is no reason why an experiment should not be made in certain selected smaller villages in the same way. The question how far the revenue would be affected by this change is, it may be admitted at once, a difficult one. In fact it is one of the primary points to be considered in regard to a scheme of this kind. At present the Patel is responsible for the demand; he is sat upon if he does not collect and remit it within the due date. Could this service—and it is very important public service—be rendered by a Panchayat? *Prima facie*, there is no reason why it should not? Are not municipalities and unions doing their collection work regularly? It may be said that the talent available for them may not be available in the smaller villages. The hour will bring the men, Create the opportunity for talent to step in, and it will before long step in. Again, in the smaller villages the work is much more simple and easy and is therefore not beyond the means of the local talent at present available. If Presidents of urban municipalities, and chairmen of union Panchayats, could be trusted to do their work for the larger places under their councils, chairmen of village Panchayats may be trusted to discharge similar duties for their own places. So far as revenue collection is concerned neither the chairman of a village Panchayat nor his colleagues need attend directly to the work ; it may, and should, as a matter of course, be left to the Patel, as at present, and he should be made directly responsible to it subject to the control of the Panchayat, one of the Panchayatdars being the chairman of that body. After all the duty of collecting the revenue is only one of the duties of the Patel or Munsiff. He is now asked to do kinds of work for which he possesses neither the time nor even the necessary talent. If for nothing else, at least for the efficient discharge of the duties now demanded of him by Government, the Patel should be replaced by a better person or body of persons. The Patel (or Munsiff) is a necessary dignitary ; the Shanbog (or Karnam) perhaps a necessary evil. The one is the symbol of Government's authority in the village and is necessary to fill the Government's coffers ; the other is necessary for making up the accounts, cultural and monetary, on which all our statistics in the last resort are based. They cannot be done away with, but they ought to be brought under control of the villagers themselves if they are to subserve their interests as well. If a Panchayat system were introduced, the work which the Patel (or Munsiff) now does on the demand side would fall to a suitable person who knows how to read, write and cypher too, and not as now to one who hardly knows the three R's. This is a state of affairs that long familiarity has made us all but blind to the real necessity there is in the matter of village improvements. In no other country would this state of affairs be countenanced. There is hardly any reason for complaint why the village is not responsive ; why it is made up of warring elements ; and why it is, generally speaking, not progressive in its tendencies. The average village headman may be a truly estimable person. He may be and often is the only respectable or rich man in the village ; and is often himself thoroughly above petty jealousies and enmities. But he is ignorant to a degree, is often wholly illiterate or nearly so, and is in most places a mere tool in the hands of scheming individuals, who without possessing his many good qualities are able to get the better of him solely because they are in a position to keep him under their thumb in the matter of transacting his daily or periodical duties as headman of the village. If there were a higher organization in the village, the probabilities are that the Patel's (or Munsiff's) duties would go down in the estimation of the richer and more respectable folk in the village, who would readily find a new rôle for them in that organization itself. Thus he who is now a Patel (or Munsiff)—and his office is coveted not for its splendid emoluments but for the dignity and honour it is supposed to confer on its holder—would be absorbed in the Panchayat, where his better qualities would be both appreciated and found more useful. On the other hand, the Patel's duties would be discharged by a person suited to hold that office. He would be both efficient and good in his place, as the old Patel (or Munsiff) would be in his new. The present position is that of the square man in the round whole, a position whose rectification would be as much in the interests of the Government as of the village.

In discussing the constitution of the village thus far I have assumed that it should have a Panchayat of its own, to which the village officers should be subordinate, and who should themselves in their own turn be directly responsible to Government for everything connected with the village. I have also assumed that the Panchayat should have a chairman. The idea of a chairman is not new to Indians in villages. Among many castes and tribes, a person occupying a position nearly analogous to that of the modern chairman, conducts the proceedings. However this may be, nearly every section of the Indian community is familiar with the office of chairman and it seems advisable that the idea of the orderly progress of a deliberative body, however small it may be, under the guidance of an elected or nominated chairman, should be always kept in view. There is no fear of the chairman becoming an autocrat or a petty local tyrant, for his powers are necessarily limited by rules and regulations on the one hand, and by his own inherent sense of propriety on the other. Legislation in Mysore, for instance, has already recognized the office of chairman in regard to the special Panchayats it has already created whether by statute or by executive action. I refer, of course, to the Mysore Tank Panchayat Regulation (No. I of 1911), the Mysore Village Court Regulation (No. VII of 1913), and to the G. O. relating to the constitution of Village Forests in Mysore to be managed by Village Panchayats. In the first and last of these a chairman of the Panchayat is recognised, and as regards the other a President for a Bench of judges is made a *sina qua non*. Even in Madras, Presidents of village courts are not unknown. It seem unnecessary to labour this point further. It will, therefore, be considered that a Chairman is necessary for these Panchayats and he should be a man knowing the language of the locality and capable of doing the ordinary duties pertaining to his office. As regards the members of village Panchayats they may in the first instance be not less than three and not more than seven in each village, except where the local requirements specially require more, all resident in the village. They may be partially selected and partially elected; and in the first instance they may all be even selected by the Deputy Commissioners or Collectors of the District on the recommendations of the Divisional Officers concerned. The usual restrictions as to qualifications of members and voters—such as those affecting sex, age, character, physical or mental fitness, may be laid down specifically. Then, again, the term during which they should hold office should be specified. This should not be less than three years and not more than five. It seems the modern tendency to allow as many a chance to hold office of a responsible kind in deliberative assemblies, small and great. But we have not come to annual Parliaments or Legislative Councils yet and so we may well rest content with the period specified. It should also be laid down that committees of the Panchayat may be formed and shall in certain cases be formed for looking after certain specific interests of the villages :—as (1) village forests (2) village improvement generally, (3) village tanks etc. It may also be laid down that a Panchayat may be established in a village in which no less than two-thirds of the people paying kist to Government require it and the Government think it expedient to establish, the same in it. It may be also established, in cases where the villages are very small, for a number of villages, not more than say 5 to 6, grouped together for the purpose. Any legislation undertaken for this purpose would, of course, take power to frame the necessary rules for holding elections, for maintaining lists of voters and persons eligible for election, for transacting business meetings, casting vote of chairman and such other matters. The primary point to remember is that the constitution framed should be an elastic one, and should be capable of meeting the requirements of the sit uation in average villages in the South of India. It is necessary too that it should be worked with sympathy, insight and interest. It should in fact start with something in its favour and not with a prejudice against it. Confidence begets confidence, especially in matters affecting the people. That seems but a truism, but it will bear repetition at the present moment.

The history of legislative and executive action in Mysore in regard to the village has, it seems to me, gone on right times and affords an object lesson to other parts of India. A sustained interest has been taken in the revival of village life during the past four years, with the result that some little spirit has been infused into the village folk. The present position may be thus briefly set down :—

THE LEGISLATURE AND THE VILLAGE.

I. Passing of the Tank Panchayat Regulation (No. I of 1911). This gave to a Panchayat, partially elected and partially nominated, control over tanks and the right to administer funds assigned for restoration work.

II. Village Courts Regulation (No. VII of 1913). This gave to villages or groups of villages the right to get cheap justice at their own doors.

THE EXECUTIVE AND THE VILLAGE.

I. Between February and November 1914, as many as six Government Orders were passed in connection with the village improvement scheme. The characteristic of these orders is that they recognize plainly the duty of the State towards the village. It ought to be patent to any one who reads them through that they evince a paternal interest in the village, an interest reminiscent of the days of Asoka's famous edicts.

II. The restoration of minor tanks was, by an order passed in December 1914, virtually made over to ryots of the villages concerned, the Government agreeing to pay 2/3 of the cost estimated if the ryots agreed to contribute the remaining third.

III. The management of village forests was, in January last, made over to a Panchayat, partially elected and partially nominated and presided over by a chairman elected by the members themselves.

So far so good. Only one reflection occurs to me in regard to these legislative and executive measures of Government in regard to village life. They are likely to create more Panchayats in a village than it can conveniently bear. After all a village of the type for which a Panchayat is required is a small one and it could only contain a few inhabitants, say between 300 and 5,000 at the utmost. Different Panchayats are likely to bewilder the people. It seems desirable that they should be accustomed, if possible, to a single Panchayat, with committees of it if necessary to look after distinct and specified interests of the villages, such as tanks, village improvement, forests etc. This would make them approximate, in so far as such approximation is possible, to the "committees of supervision" of the best Chola days of which I have already spoken. The Panchayat itself would resemble the Mahasabha of those ancient times. This, however, is only a matter of detail. Mysore has made a good beginning, but it should consolidate its work, and this it can easily do, it seems to me, if it chose. A comprehensive law would pave the way, though it would be unwise to expect that it would by itself revolutionize things in the village. It would, indeed, be altogether wrong to imagine that the establishment of a Panchayat under a new code in each village or group of villages or in selected villages or groups of villages, would bring about the millennium in them. Other improvements as well are necessary. Among these are a re-awakened public conscience in the village itself, which can only be brought about by popular education; the diversifying of occupations in the village, so that the present dependence of people on agriculture may, to some extent, be checkmated; the symapathetic interest of district executive officers in village matters generally and specially in the working of the new Panchayat and its committees as proposed above; a jealous watchfulness in the Central Government itself; and above all a movement in favour of 'back to the village' cry. As regards the last of these, what keeps back many good retired officers and others with leisure is want of opportunity to do useful work in small places. Panchayats would attract such talent to the benefit of the village and help in its rejuvenation, if not regeneration.

What has been possible in Mysore ought to be possible in Madras, Bombay and other parts of India. At any rate, so far as Southern India is concerned, a scheme devised on the lines set out above ought to pave the way for a better system of local governance in villages. I understand that a similar system of village administration exists in Baroda, which would seem to show that if a genuine attempt were made by the local Governments and administrations some satisfactory scheme, suitable for each local area, could be evolved without much difficulty or delay. What is wanted is the right spirit to approach the subject and the right spirit to do it. If these are forthcoming I can see nothing to mar rapid progress in the work of evolving a suitable Panchayat scheme for villages.

THE

Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

Italian Writers of the Present Day.

By Miss MARY HARGRAVE.

OUTSIDE Italy little is known of contemporary Italian literature. It presents no striking originality and conveys no new message to the world, hence it does not influence the literature of other nations. Italian writers, besides, usually deal with matters of exclusively Italian interest. Italy is absorbed in realising herself as a nation and is being rapidly commercialised; time alone can shew in what direction the national soul will develop.

Among the poets D'Annunzio, of course, stands alone, and since the death of Carducci, the poet of the Revolution, represents Italy to the world. Both in prose and poetry he is the greatest master of the Italian language and style. In his adoration of beauty, his frank Paganism, he is a true descendant of the old Latin race; the race whose spirit still dwells in modern Italy. The flaming outburst of patriotism, which has come as a surprise to many who only knew D'Annunzio from his earlier works, was foreshadowed in his *Odi Navali* ("Songs of the Sea"), in heroic vein, patriotic and beautiful, whilst in his drama *La Nave*—"The ship"—(1908) Venice symbolised Italy's future empire on the sea and the defeat of Austria. But the work of D'Annunzio is not within the scope of a short article like the present.

Among minor poets Ada Negri (born 1870) deserves mention. Her first poems, written when she was a young teacher in an elementary school, created a sensation. Her passionate sympathy with the poor and suffering, her rebellion against injustice of all kinds (*Fatalita*, *Tempeste*) were very striking, but some of her more recent work (*Esilio*, for instance) lacks the glow and inspiration of those early poems.

A dramatic poem "*Cesare Borgia*" by Ettore Moschini, has recently excited interest, and the young dramatist, Sem Benelli, is one of the most remarkable writers of the day. In 1910, when he was barely thirty, his drama "*La Cena delle Beffe*" was performed in Paris with Madame Sarah Bernhardt in the rôle of Gianetto Malespina, a young Florentine nobleman. The translation into French as Le Souper de la Farce was by M. Jean Richepin. The scene of this drama and of a subsequent one, *Il Mantellaccio*, is laid in Florence of the 15th century. The "Supper of the Farce" depicts the cruel practical jokes played upon each other by the lawless young noblemen of the period and is intensely dramatic with its plot and counterplot.

But the life of a people is reflected chiefly in its novelists. Italian novelists are especially valuable in this respect, because as a rule they devote themselves to portraying their own country—are not cosmopolitan in their writings. Frequently they are "regional," each one taking as his own peculiar province some region or district of the peninsula and describing its scenery, manners and customs, characteristic types, perhaps with dialect. The sharp distinctions of various Italian districts are rapidly disappearing with the spread of education and increased means of communication, but they still exist and offer splendid material for realism and picturesque description.

Thus Verga laid the scenes of his stories in Sicily, depicting the the hard toil, the appalling poverty of the peasants in the Island of the Sun, whilst Matilda Serao has taken Naples for her province, and Grazia Deledda gives wonderful pictures of her native island of Sardinia. Verga, of course, belongs to the generation of Carducci, Fogazzaro and the popular De Amicis; the work of all these is now finished. Matilda Serao (born in Patras, 1856) still writes, although her latest books will scarcely add to her great and deserved literary reputation. Of Greek-Italian parentage, Matilda Serao has the warmth of the South, its glow and its exuberance. She began to write when a girl and her literary activity in all kinds of journalism as well as in novel-writing has always been marvellous. Her novels depict every phase of Neapolitan life and society: *La Ballerina* gives us the ballet girl in love with the dissolute young aristocrat: *Anima Semplice* analyses the "Simple Soul" of a nun: *All'erta Sentinella* paints the wretched existence of convicts on the Island of Nisida: *Riccardo Joanna*, the career of a journalist, whilst *Fantasia* and *Addio Amore* are laid in middle-class circles. Several of Madame Serao's works are translated into English. Their brilliancy is marred by lack of restraint and lengthiness.

Another woman, Grazia Deledda, is now in the front rank of Italian novelists. A native of Sardinia (born 1875) of middle-class parentage, she grew up in a small town on the island and began to write when a mere girl. She has a natural, unaffected style and describes the scenes and the people of Sardinia with love. Her stories are not remarkable for plot; they usually follow the fortunes of a family or a person for some years, until we seem to have lived with them in their joys and sorrows. Sardinia, like Sicily, is a land of poverty. The soil yields little; there is no money to develop it; the young folk have no outlet. Sardinia is farther from the mainland than Sicily, and is in consequence less developed. It is not exploited by tourists and still retains in parts a primitive wildness, with characteristic types, costumes, superstitions. Grazia Deledda makes artistic use of all this material, giving us vivid pictures, but with more restraint than Madame Serao. In *Canne al Vento* ("Reeds in the Wind") we have the story of three sisters, unmarried for lack of dowry, who live on in their old family house, served faithfully by an old peasant named Efix, who never demands the wages he knows they cannot pay. The house is dilapidated, but they cannot repair it; life is sordid in the brilliant southern landscape. The same conditions are in *Edera* ("Ivy"), in which the last generation of a noble family live in their old house in the same poverty. In this the love of Annessa, the maid, for Don Paulu, leads to tragedy and crime. *Colombie Sparvieri* ("Doves and Falcons"), too, contains beautiful descriptions of Sardinia and its people. But Grazia Deledda's books are more than realistic pictures, however artistic: they give us something of the soul of the people, a soul divined by the authoress with loving intuition. Her books end nearly always on a note of reconciliation and hopefulness very different from the pessimistic realism of a previous generation.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

"The Arya-Samaj."*

By Mr. G. A. CHANDAVARKAR.

THE history of religious movements of India affords an interesting and an instructive study to all the lovers and critical students of history. By sheer force of circumstances some movements like the one founded by *Nanak*, ultimately developed themselves into 'political' movements while some others as the one founded by *Mahavira* or *Chaitanya* remained purely religious or social. In any case they continued to exercise a profound influence on the Hindu Society. To such a history after the advent of the British in India, two more chapters were added and the part these two are destined to play in the regeneration of Hindu India in particular and non-Hindu India in general lies in the womb of futurity. The signs of the times, however, clearly indicate that the two protestant movements have a bright future before them. The *Brahmo Samaj* founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the *Arya Samaj* established by Swami Dayananda Saraswati are the two important religious movements, the progress of which deserves a careful study. The Brahmo Samaj had the good fortune from the time of its birth of possessing English writings which, as they explained their doctrines, enabled the representatives of the ruling race even to study the movement. Raja Ram Mohan Roy himself was a good English scholar and even in the 19th century there were good English writers among the Brahmos. But with the Arya Samaj the case was quite different. Its founder was blissfully ignorant of English. Among his immediate successors also, English-knowing men and scholars well-versed in western sciences were lamentably few. All the earlier Arya Samajic literature was either in Sanskrit, a dead language, or in Hindi, a language not much known to western scholars. In the history of the Arya Samaj in the course of 30 years of its existence there are not more than half-a-dozen good English books. This was or is one of the causes why the activities of the movement were or are rousing suspicions among the English-knowing people who are not in a position to clearly understand the significance of the movement. Now-a-days attempts are slowly being made to issue books in English which endeavour to explain the movement. Of such laudable attempts is the one made by Lala Lajpat Rai, who, both by his immense sacrifices and sufferings and by his long and loyal connection with the organisation, is eminently fitted to issue a book on "The Arya Samaj" giving in chaste English an account of its aims, doctrines, activities and an interesting biographical sketch of its founder, a romantic figure in the history of protestantism in India. Prof. Sydney Webb, of the London School of Economics, writes to this a short but an interesting introduction and there are six beautiful illustrations in the book which add to its grace. Lala Lajpat Rai explains the circumstances of, and the necessity for, bringing out this book and none can deny its usefulness. In the first place, it gives us a clear insight into the activities of the movement, and in the second place, the British official who cannot understand "what it is that these people are after" here finds an opportunity to study this powerful growing organisation in all its aspects.

The first part of this interesting book gives an account of the life of Swami Dayananda, whom the author describes as a 'born rebel.' To be sure, from his childhood to his last days he rebelled against several 'orthodox' beliefs and dogmas. This spirit of 'rebellion' ultimately developed itself into a spirit of intolerance for everything and anything that he (Dayananda) considered '*anti-Vedic*,' Enemies of the Arya Samaj made capital of this "spirit of rebellion" and the *Satyartha-Prakash*, his *magnum opus*, afforded an excellent opportunity for an eminent lawyer to quote chapter and verse in a court of law in a Native Sikh state for his purpose. Dayananda in the last three chapters of that 'Bible of the Arya Samaj' has assumed an uncompromising attitude towards the beliefs of the followers of religions other than Vedic. Mr. Lajpat Rai describes in detail the incidents of the life of the founder, the strange way in which he left the home of his parents, how he sat at the feet of that blind Sanyasin, Virajananda Saraswati, and last but not least, his years of public life when he carried on a crusade against idolatry and other accretions of orthodox Hinduism and finally established the Arya-Samaj to carry on his work. Reviewing the condition of India at the time when Dayananda was subjecting himself to severe discipline and acquiring knowledge, the patriotic author observes :—

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*The Arya Sama. By Lajpat Rai (Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay. Price, Rs. 2-8)

"In his (Dayanand's) wanderings through that beautiful and noble land of his—land of the loftiest, the purest ethics and the noblest traditions, land of the Vedas and the Upanishads, land of Kapilas, Kanadas, Gautamas, land of Patanjalis and Vyasas, land of Yudhistiras and Ramas, land of Kumarilas and Shankaras—he found everything upside down. Even the repositories of the sacred lore of the Aryas, the representations of the authors of the *Upanishads* and *Darshanas*, the descendants of *Manu* and *Yajnavalkya*, were steeped in ignorance and superstition. The religion which once allowed liberty of thought and conscience to every human being ; in which difference of opinion was not only tolerated but respected ; which imposed on every one the duty of reading and understanding the Vedas for himself : which taught that every one was master of his own soul, directly responsible for his thoughts and deeds to his God,—this magnificent religion had been reduced to a soul-destroying system of blind faith in authority. Persons who had no mediators and who had gloried in their freedom from spiritual or religious bondage, had created 30 millions of gods.........He found that in that land of eternal sunshine, physical, intellectual and spiritual everything was steeped in darkness. Light and knowledge had left the land. Even the best, the purest and the loftiest among men were only moonlike.........It made his heart bleed to observe that a land once distinguished by freshness and vigour of intellect and force of mind should be so stale, shallow and feeble in its intellectual and mental products. It grieved his soul to find that his people should have lost all originality of thought and that the descendants of the boldest intellectual pioneers that the world ever produced should stagnate in intellectual bondage and spiritual bankruptcy.........."

The passage is well worth a perusal and worthier still of digestion. Chapter II gives a vivid account of his Benares *Shastrartha*—a religious discussion.—In the year 1875 the first Arya Samaj was established in Bombay and Dayananda then travelled up and down the country holding debates and convincing people of the greatness of Vedic Religion and organizing Arya Samajees throughout Northern India. Dayanand's death took place in the year 1883 and this event Lalaji describes with a feeling heart and by quotations from *Theosophists* brings home to the mind of the reader that even the enemies of Dayananda had nothing but admiration for him. In these chapters there are *two omissions, viz.*, (1) we read nothing of Dayanand's connection with the Theosophical Society and Madame Blavatsky. That in the beginning both these associations had close connection cannot be denied. Very soon both these parted company and in Lajpat Rai's book we find no mention of the causes which brought about the rupture between them. It may, however, be said that references to old controversies should be safely avoided but we feel that at least a layman should know something of this connection and no biography of Dayananda can be complete without a reference to this question. Secondly, in describing Dayanand's travels no reference is made to his travels in Southern India. As a matter of fact Dayananda seems to have travelled as far as Calicut and Mangalore. When we were collecting materials for a short biography of Dayananda, a Calicut acquaintance of ours was kind enough to inform us that he himself had seen Dayananda preaching in his town and that he had to surmount many difficulties before he could be heard. An Arya Samaj seems to have been founded at Mangalore also. The exact date and other events of Dayanand's tour in that part of India are not mentioned by his biographers. Details are not forthcoming. We addressed a letter to one veteran Brahmo-Samaj leader at Mangalore but were not fortunate enough in getting a reply. Lala Lajpat Rai's book is not a mere biography of Dayananda and as such these omissions may not be considered serious. The first part gives such events as are necessary for understanding the life of the reformer as a whole, and this the writer has successfully done.

In the chapter on Dayanand's teachings we have been furnished with a faithful translation of his beliefs. As far as Dayanand's propagandism is concerned his views are definite and admit of no equivocation. He believes in monotheism pure and simple, regards Vedas as the revealed scriptures and rejects everything *unvedic* such as caste, child-marriages &c. Enemies of the Arya Samaj would do well to study the opinion of Lajpat Rai on the much vexed question of *Niyoga*, *Dayanand's Interpretation of the Vedas.* The *Vedas* are the foundations on which the edifice of the Arya Samaj is built. The interpretation of Vedic *Mantras* as given by Dayananda is not accepted by many. Lala Lajpat Rai acknowledges that the correct rendering is a supremely difficult task and that Dayanand has only shown the way to the coming generation how to approach the Vedas and to interpret them in a spirit of reverent humility. Lalajee follows Guru Datta Vidyarthi, M.A., closely and has nothing original to say on the question of revelation. This question of the revelation of the Vedas is of absorbing and vital importance to an Arya Samajist. If he has not fully made out his case he has little or no chance of being heard. With many who are in full sympathy with the other aspects and activities of the Arya Samaj, this matter of "*Revelation*" seems to be a stumbling block. It is in the interest of the Arya Samaj that we suggest the publishing of a capital book in English on "Revelation and the Vedas." Lajpat Rai's book gives us a meagre explanation of this important subject with which is closely bound the welfare of the Arya-Samaj.

The II Part treats of the Principles of the Arya Samaj, its religious observances—*Sanskaras*—and its social ideals and aims. The Arya Samaj does believe in the doctrine of *karma*, transmigration of soul, and the infallibility of the Vedas. The *Varna-Ashrama Dharma*—division of society into 4 original *Varnas* determined by worth and not birth and the 4 stages of man's life—is also its creed and it believes that the social salvation lies in the revival of this *Dharma.* The ten principles of the Arya Samaj are catholic enough and the last principle which is intended to make personal freedom subordinate to the general welfare seems to be a most ingenious one and reminds one of a similar doctrine propounded by J. S. Mill. One may or may not fall in with the views of Dayananda on some religious doctrines but surely one will have to admit that the philanthropic and educational work of the Arya Samaj deserves admiration. Some Christian missionary writers have held that the Arya-Samaj has copied wholesale the methods of Christian Associations as far as their propagandism is concerned. We for one cannot subscribe to this view. The Arya Samaj maintains institutions worked purely on *national* lines and their organisation as well the organisation of the Samaj has much in it that is quite original and to those who have yet to wipe the dust of prejudice from their eyes we recommend the study of the last four chapters of Lala Lajpat Rai's book. In carrying on the work of social and religious reform the Arya Samaj had to surmount many difficulties. The ship was launched on a stormy ocean and in her voyage there were many more storms yet to blow which were to drown her. The most dangerous of such storms was the one that occurred in the year 1907. The British Government, as represented by some of its officers, considered it a dangerous movement; deportations, arrests, dismissals followed; some newspaper correspondents with Sir Valentine Chirol at their head subjected the movement to a cross-fire of unjust criticism. Lala Lajpat Rai, being himself a victim of such misrepresentation, put forward a bold defence in favour of the Arya Samaj which is well worth a perusal. The *Shuddhi-work*, the uplift of the 'depressed' classes, the education given to women, the founding of the D.-A. V. College at Lahore and the Gurukula at Hardwar and the famine-relief work organised by the Arya Samaj, all indicate the usefulness of such an indigenous national movement and a lay reader will find in this book ample materials to chew the cud of reflection before he accuses the Arya Samaj of anti-British or anti-Hindu tendencies. Regarding the future of the Arya Samaj Lalajee has made certain thoughtful remarks. He says that it can, as alleged by some, never end in becoming a Christian movement. It is, he says, bound to reform Hinduism first, and then pave the way for an all-round progress of India. Prof. J. C. Oman once wrote that it will become one more Indian caste and this view too Lala Lajpat Rai seems to refute.

We heartily congratulate the author on bringing out this excellent book which gives in a concise form everything about an important religious movement in India and venture to recommend its study to all the lovers of Indian history.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore: Poet and Mystic.*

By Mr. LOUIS I. BREDVOLD (OF " THE DIAL".)

THE award of the Nobel Prize for " Idealistic literature " to Rabindranath Tagore suddenly made him an international figure. At that time his work was scarcely known, except to a limited circle; the award was due, according to Mr. Earnest-Rhys, to " a distinguished Swedish Orientalist who had read the poems in Bengali before they appeared in English." Tagore has since translated a number of his representative books into English, in which the finer harmony of prose has been rendered with a sensitiveness and refinement rare in our Western literature. But as a man he has remained shadowy to us. And inasmuch as circumstances have made him in some sort an ambassador of the East to the West, we have come to desire a larger body of biographical fact concerning him, as well as an account of his place in the traditions of his own land.

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* *Rabindranath Tagore:* A Biographical Study. By Ernest Rhys. Macmillan & Co, London.

Rabindranath Tagore: The Man and His Poetry. By Basanta Koomar Roy. With an Introduction by Hamilton W. Mabie. Dodd, Mead & Co. New York, U. S. A.

To fill this need we now have two biographies : one by Mr. Ernest Rhys, a friend of the poet, and temperamentally fitted to appreciate him ; the other by Mr. Basanta Koomar Roy, a fellow countryman who is endeavouring to make his native land better understood in America. Both biographers have gathered their information at first hand, and so have made their books authoritative ; but Mr. Rhys, partly because of his style and partly because of his merely appreciative and interpretative rôle, has given no very definite outline to the character of the poet and mystic. Mr. Roy has been more conscious of the difficulties in interpreting the East to the West, and has maintained a more critical poise throughout his book.

The impression we derive from Mr. Roy's volume is of a personality of rich charm and great activity. Tagore's varied career as manager of his father's country estate, as poet, musician, essayist, dramatist, novelist, editor, national leader, and finally as educator, seems to us too prolific and energetic to be truly Oriental. Moreover, quotations from his letters prove him a keen observer and thinker, with decided opinions on such dangerous subjects as feminism, education, and the defects of Americans. "Tagore is a voracious reader. Every month he buys many books on literature, philosophy, economics, politics, sociology, and history. He reads them all." He is not ascetic or soured. "He loves the world as passionately as a miser loves money." It is reassuring to the Western mind to find a spiritual hero so human, a seer so practical and near.

To rehearse the main incidents in the quiet life of Tagore is not necessary ; they have been known since the publication of "Gitanjali" with Mr. Yeats's introduction. But in the full account of the poet's career given in Mr. Roy's book, it is interesting to look for important points of contact with the romanticism of Europe. Thus we read :

"The realistic love poems of Tagore's youth shocked many old-fashioned Hindu moralists, who received them with disdain. They were up in arms against Rabindranath, thinking that he was likely to demoralize the youths of India by the sensuousness of his love poems and songs. They were afraid that he was going to introduce the romanticism of the West, of Byron and Shelley, in India, and to depart from the classic serenity of Indian literary treatment of the human passions."

In his love of nature, also, he wins at once the sympathy of those who have been nourished on Wordsworth. How near he approaches the nature worship of European romanticists may be seen from a letter written in his youth from a house-boat on the Padma River, where he was superintending his father's estate :

"Truly, I love this Padma River very dearly, it is so wild, so undomesticated. I feel like riding on its back and patting it caressingly on its neck......I no more like to take a part before the footlights of the stage of publicity. I rather feel like doing my duty in silent solitude amid these transparent days that we have here. Here man is insignificant, but nature great and imposing. The things we see around us are of such a nature that one cannot create to-day, mend to-morrow and throw them off the day after. These things stand permanent, amidst birth and death, action and inaction, change and changelessness. When I come to the countryside I do not look upon man as anything separate from nature. Just as rivers flow by through many strange lands, similarly the current of humanity, too, is incessantly following its zig-zag path through dense forests, lonely meadows, and crowded cities, always accompanied by its divine music. It is not quite right to make the river sing, 'Man may come, man may go, but I go on for ever'—for man, too, is going on for ever with his thousand branches and tributaries. He has his one end attached to the root of birth, and the other to the ocean of death—both enveloped in the mysterious darkness, and between these two extremes lie life, labour and love."

Such evidences of parallel movements of romanticism in the East and the West seem even more conclusive when we read that "Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the father of modern India, introduced an age of reform in India. Well versed in the literature of the East and of the West, he strove to unite the cultural life of both for mutual benefit. With his towering genius he handled the social, political, religious, and literary life with the hand of a master...... At his death, he left a unique worker as his intellectual descendant, Debendranath Tagore, the father of Rabindranath.'' Frequently Rabindranath Tagore is praised for uniting the wisdom of the East and the West, and so being able to see the defects of both. One begins to wonder if the whole national renaissance of India was due to European stimulus.

But the Hindus see that materialism and luxury are dominant in our civilization, and by their clear vision are defended against our influence. "I am afraid," wrote Tagore, "that the present-day civilization of Europe is imperceptibly extending the arid zone in its social life. The superabundance of luxuries is smothering the soul of the home—home that is the very abode of love, tenderness, and beneficence—a thing that is, above all, most essential for the healthy development of the human heart. In Europe homes are disappearing and hotels are increasing in number." In a letter he once wrote that "as the streets in the European cities are made of hard stone, brick and mortar, to be made fit for commerce and transportation, so the human heart becomes hardened and best suited for business. In the hard pavement of their heart there is not the slightest opening for a tender tendril, or a single blade of useless grass to grow. Everything is made bare and strong."

Contact with European civilization has, of course, had a liberating influence on Tagore. But his true antecedents are members of the great poetical and religious tradition of India. In his poetry of nature he was deeply influenced by the Viashnava poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, "even though," says Mr. Roy, "in the poems of Tagore the love fervour of the Vaishnava poets fades a little." In his devotional and religious poetry he was profoundly influenced by Kabir, Chandidas, and Joy Dev. In the translations which he himself has given us of the songs of Kabir, the fifteenth century mystic and poet, we find the same religious universalism, the same acceptance of actual life, as in the work of Tagore. Kabir was a Mohammedan youth who was admitted to discipleship by the great Hindu teacher Ramananda, even though a Mohammedan, a weaver, a simple and unlettered man. "Hating mere bodily austerities, he was no ascetic, but a married man, the father of a family—a circumstance which Hindu legends of the monastic type vainly attempt to conceal or explain—and it was from out of the heart of the common life that he sang his rapturous lyrics of divine love." This disregard for letter of the law, however, is not popular in India, and the religious songs of Tagore are not the songs of the masses. "The masses have no comprehension of the Brahmo Samaj —the religious Unitarians of Hindusthan......One might sing Tagore's religious songs to a Bengali farmer, but he would listen unmoved and might even ask the singer to stop if he happened to detect it to be a Brahmo song. The orthodox hatred for Brahmo disregard for Hindu mythology is very intense."

It is interesting to note from Mr. Roy's book that admiration for Tagore is much more critical and reserved in India than in England and America. His countrymen admit his greatness; but not that he is the greatest Bengali poet for many centuries, as is sometimes hastily said. One literary Bengali in America commented : "If Mr. Tagore had ever attempted to write profound books like 'Raibatak' or 'Kurukshetra' of Nabin Chandra Sen, his lyric brain would have burst before finishing even one canto of either." Another said : "His love lyrics are poor imitations of the poems of our Vaishnava poets of old, and his philosophy is the philosophy of the Upanishads. Let the Europeans and the Americans rave over Tagore. But there is nothing new for us in his writings." Tagore himself pleads guilty to dabbling with too many things : "I am like a coquettish lady that wants to please all her lovers, and is afraid to lose a single one. I do not want to disappoint any of the Muses." Nevertheless "no other literary man in Bengal has done so well in so many things. Even the most adverse critics of Tagore are bound to admit that he has adorned every department of Bengali literature by his transcendent genius. He has become a representative, especially in poetry, of the Bengali renaissance which is saving the classical culture of India. "He was needed in India as Dante was needed in Italy, Shakespeare in England, and Goethe in Germany."

In seeking to define and estimate the significance of Tagore for the West, it is interesting to recall that poetry had been drifting in the direction of mysticism before Tagore became known to us. "These lyrics," wrote Mr. Yeats in his preface to "Gitanjali," "display in their thought a world I have dreamed of all my life long." Poetry had sought to become a symbol, a musical suggestion. And so we were prepared to understand an art which proceeds, not by definition and outline, after the Greek manner, but by suggestion and symbolism. But it is out of the question that the main body of our poetry and art should ever become merely suggestive and mystical; the hold of the Greek spirit on us is too great; Phidias and Plato make us afraid of intellectual twilight of emotional dissipation. In one respect, however, the literature and life of the Orient are a deep challenge to our civilization. "If I work in my garden and prune an apple tree," wrote Emerson, "I am well enough entertained, and could continue indefinitely in the like occupation. But it comes to mind that a day is gone, and I have got this precious nothing done." It is characteristic of our civilization, however, that we continue the activity without reflecting upon its vacuity. We are not happy unless active. Hindu poetry should reveal to us that the lack of a core of thought accounts for the fatuity of our religious efforts, the charlatanism in our culture, the restlessness and materialism of our life. "You people over here," Tagore once remarked to Mr. Rhys, "seem to me to be all in a state of continual strife. It is all struggling, hard striving to live. There is no place for rest, or peace of mind, or that meditative relief which in our country we feel to be needed for the health of our spirits." When the Nobel Prize was awarded to him, he gave all the money to his remarkable school at Shanti Niketan; but, overwhelmed by publicity, he wrote, "They have taken away my shelter."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Books of Reference.

The India Office List for 1915 (Harrison and Sons, 45 Pall Mall, London). 1915. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.

The Statesman's Year-Book for 1915. Edited by J. Scott Keltie, LL.D., (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London). 1915. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.

The American Year-Book for 1914: A Record of Events and Progress. (D. Appleton and Co., 29—35 West, 23rd Street, New York, U. S. A.) 1915. Price 15*s*.

The New International Year-Book 1914: A Compendium of the World's Progress for the year 1914: (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, U. S. A.) 1915. Price £1.

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings. Vol. VII (T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh) 1915. Price £1 10*s*.

Familiar Quotations. By (the late) John Bartlett. Tenth edition (Macmillan & Co. London), 1915. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.

Colloquial English-Persian Dictionary. By D. C. Phillott (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta) 1915. Price Rs. 10.

Heroes and Heroines of Fiction in Modern Prose and Poetry. By W. S. Walsh. (J. B. Lippincott & Co. Philadelphia, U. S. A.) 1915. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.

The World's Press 1915. (Sells, Ltd., 168 Fleet Street, London, E. C.) 1915. Price 5*s.*

The Newspaper Press Directory 1915. (C. Mitchell, & Co., Ltd., 1 and 2, Snow Hill, Holborn Viaduct, London, E. C.) 1915. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

Books on the Great War. By F. W. T. Lange and W. T. Berry, Vol. II. (Grafton & Co. 8 Coptic Street, Bloomsbury, London. W. C., 1915. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

Directory of Merchants and Manufacturers in India 1915. (Laxmichand Dossabhai and Bros. Rajkot, Kathiawar) 1915. Price Rs. 3.

THE *India Office List* which is issued annually, in the month of May, by the India Office, is compiled from official records by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Its usual contents comprise the following sections :—The staff at the India Office, the India Civil Service and all other holders of civil appointments with a substantive pay of not less than Rs. 500 a month (in classified lists under the various provinces), the Royal Indian Marine, chronological lists of heads of administration in India and in London, going back as far as 1600, the Indian orders and lists of members of the Indian Services holding British honours, the various regulations for appointment to the services, extracts from civil and military regulations, an instructive article entitled "India," statistical tables, a record of services and the casualties for the past year. The Index contains nearly 10,000 names. The arrangement of the *India Office List* is, on the whole, admirable, and it is full of sound and useful information about India, from the excellent map of the Indian Empire with which it opens to the list of casualties with which it ends. In fact, we know of no other work of reference which supplies such a mass of most valuable and useful information—within the covers of a single volume—to every one interested in India. Our only regret is that its price is prohibitive for the purse of the average educated Indian, and we would impress upon the authorities the desirability of reducing it at least by half. Considering the vast range of the subjects dealt with in the *India Office List*, the book is remarkably free from inaccuracies, though it is hopeless to expect that any work of reference, and least of all one dealing with so complex a subject as the Indian Empire, will be absolutely accurate. To the general reader the most interesting portion of the book is the article on "India," which gives in some forty pages the quintessence of the four volumes called the *Indian Empire*, constituting the general section of the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The current edition is fairly up-to-date and it will be found a valuable work of reference by all interested in Indian problems.

Next to the *India Office List*, the book of greatest value to the student of Indian questions, is undoubtedly the *Statesman's Year-Book*, of which the edition for 1915 is the 52nd annual publication. It would be idle to say anything in praise of this most valuable work of reference, to students of Politics, the merits of which are acknowledged all over the English-knowing world. It has long been recognized as the one indispensable book of reference for the statesman, the politician and the publicist. The book is now divided into three parts, the first dealing with the countries constituting the British Empire, the second with the United States of America, and the third with "Other Countries." Historical and statistical information about each country (and about each State separately, of the federal commonwealths and republics) is given under most of the following heads:—Constitution and Government, area and population, religion, instruction, justice and crime, pauperism, finance, defence, production and industry, commerce, shipping and navigation, internal communication, money and credit, weights and measures, and diplomatic representatives. The information being derived from official quarters, the results recorded in the new issue of the *Year-Book* are as full and accurate as is possible at the present stage. A very useful list of books of reference supplements the account of each country or state. The events of the past year have necessitated many changes in the new edition of the *Statesman's Year-Book*. The preparation of the new issue of this invaluable year-book has been a matter of great difficulty, owing to the impossibility of fully revising the details concerning Germany and Austria-Hungary, while the affairs of both Belgium and Serbia are of course completely disorganised. However, the latest available information is given, and the pages relating to Turkey have been greatly improved by the assistance of an authority on that country. With regard to China, the statistics have been entirely revised and the information re-written, and many new details are included in the chapters dealing with Greece, Spain, and the Panama Canal zone. A vast amount of information on the British Empire takes the first place in the volume, having been revised by Mr. A. D. Webb, while Mr. Fred T. Jane has brought up to date the details of the navies, and Major C. H. Wylly has dealt with the military sections. An important new feature is the list of the principal books on the war, arranged according to the countries of origin and including the German publications, added to which is a record of the principal events of the war. Special attention has been given throughout the book to the bibliographies, while the four maps, dealing respectively with the ethnography of Central Europe, the expansion of Prussia, the partitions of Poland, and the Colonial Powers of the world, are a valuable addition and add much to the usefulness of this statistical and historical annual of the States of the world. Thanks to the co-operation of the Government Departments of the various countries included in the *Year-Book* and of special authorities all over the world, the new issue will be found to be thoroughly revised and brought up-to-date. The volume is a marvel of condensation, and the editor deserves to be congratulated on, not only the completeness and the accuracy of the information supplied, but for having brought it down to the latest available date.

We welcome the fifth annual edition of the *American Year-Book*—the previous editions of which we noticed in terms of high appreciation. It records events and progress in almost all departments of human activity during the preceding year—of course, with especial reference to American affairs. It gives most accurate information on scientific, historical, literary, sociological, economic and kindred subjects; American and international statistics; a chronology of notable events; a select bibliography; and a variety of tabular matter. A full subject index thoroughly analyses the contents. The volume is easy to handle. It claims advantage over other works of its class in having attained the highest point of authority and accuracy, and its contents having been contributed by acknowledged experts, and arranged on such lines as to serve the busy seeker after information. While giving a smaller proportion of space to statistics than the *Statesman's Year-Book*, it makes up for it by supplying authoritative summaries of progress in the various departments of science. The work is thus broader than a handbook of government and deals with more of the essential facts of contemporary history, and in so far it marks a distinct advance in the compilation of works of reference of its class. It is not a political annual, for political and statistical details are sharply condensed. It is in reality an appreciation of American activities in every line, social, economic, scientific and literary; and each division of the field is covered by an expert, who endeavours to select for his record the facts of permanent significance. We are thus furnished with a fully-informed and authentic summary in each department, which will keep workers in other departments and readers generally, accurately informed as to the really significant advances all along the line. Every field of general interest has been thoroughly and carefully covered in the scientific spirit to be expected of the men responsible for the publication, and every subject handled is critically discussed and its true significance brought out. Not merely occurrences, but actual advances made are so presented as to make this a most useful work of reference for writers, students, and public men. The arrangement, indexing, and chronology are all exceedingly well-planned. No public worker in India, desirous of keeping in touch with the various phases of contemporary progress, can dispense with the *American Year-Book* on the production of which we sincerely congratulate all concerned, and specially the enterprising publishers.

The New International Year-Book for 1914 is the eighth of a new series which began in 1907 and may be regarded as an annual supplement to the *New International Encyclopædia*. Its plan is to furnish an annual encyclopædic survey of the principal events of the preceding year, together with a record of progress in Art, Science, Letters and Industry. Though dealing largely with American affairs, it is a valuable work of general reference. The information is not only quite up-to-date, but—in some respects—even ahead of events. Put shortly, it covers the whole field of human activity and progress, during the preceding year. For convenience of reference it is alphabetically arranged, and the copious use of cross references renders an index unnecessary. There is an index, however, to the preceding volumes of the new series, which facilitates reference to their contents. This is a most useful feature, as each new issue of the *International* consists of new articles and not of articles revised, from year to year, which gives to its articles a freshness and crispness that would hardly be expected in a publication of this character. Information that is scattered through many statistical, historical, economic and political works is here drawn upon, digested and succinctly presented in a single volume. The book is, therefore, rightly recognized all over the English-speaking world as an indispensable and highly useful work of reference. The latest volume lives up to the high standard of its predecessors for scholarship and accuracy, and includes the complete record and statistics for 1914, both American and foreign. We strongly commend the use of the *New International Year-Book* to publicists and public men in India, specially to the tired editor who would do well to keep it at his elbow, alogside of the *American Year-Book* and the *Statesman's Year-Book*, of which it is a worthy compeer, as an accurate and all-embracing record of the important events and progress in almost all branches of human knowledge, during the period it covers.

We welcome the seventh volume of Dr. Hasting's monumental *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. At the rate of a volume a year this great work proceeds toward completion. This issue is supposed to carry the work past the half-way point. But if the twelve volumes promised complete the work the later contents are likely to be reduced, and we, therefore, trust that the scope of the work will not be curtailed. The worth of this massive compilation of present knowledge is again conspicuous in this its latest volume, especially in certain elaborate articles. Fifty-seven pages are given to Hymns, ancient and modern, of many races, nations, and religions. An article on Jesus Christ, occupying forty-seven pages, reaches a distinctively modern forecast in its anticipation that biology and psychology " will yet exert powerful influence on Christology, as well as on other sides of theology." Law—natural, primitive, racial, religious—takes up eighty-four pages with its manifold details. A comparatively brief article on the Inquisition by a Roman Catholic contributor is noteworthy for fair impartiality. The inclusion of such subjects as hypnotism, insanity, and kissing suggests how wide is the range of interests related to religion and ethics. As a work for reference this work has no compeer in its special field. The standard is fully up to that maintained in previous volumes, with a greater uniformity in method of treatment. There is also less of the bizarre. One asks, it is true, what an article on " Insurance " is doing here—that belongs in the department of Economics. Or why " Ignorance " and " Invincible Ignorance " should be separately treated, or " Judaism " and " Liberal Judaism." But one can do no other than offer congratulations to the editors on the whole as to the choices they have made and the excellence of the articles, and to ourselves on the mass of reliable information furnished. The work—which reflects the highest credit on its organizers is an incomparable treasury of knowledge.

Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* has long since been a classic among books of its class. Unrevised for twenty-three years and passing through nine editions, it has become accepted as the standard reference books of its kind. Now, nine years after the compiler's death, a tenth edition, revised and enlarged by Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole, has been just issued. This, the tenth, edition, of one of the most valued books of quotation, is in a sense the second edition, for now for the first time the revision includes a considerable amount of new matter. To revise " Bartlett " in this way was a delicate and difficult task, for what gave the book its peculiar value was the emphasis on the " Familiar " in the title ; we loved it for what it left out as well as for what it put in. About three hundred additional pages are now included ; selections from Matthew Arnold, Keats, and many others are judiciously amplified by twice the original space; names like Ibsen, Tolstoi Nietzsche, Maeterlinck, Rostand, or George Meredith (names that, naturally enough, are unfamiliar in the original edition) here appear. A revision, bringing the work to date, was essential, and Mr. Dole's faithful effort to preserve the spirit of the original will ensure for his compilation a warm welcome from those who are familiar with the work of Bartlett. The work of revision and addition has been done by Mr. Dole with discrimination. Quotations from nearly two hundred " new " writers are added ; in all we have fourteen hundred pages of quotations from one thousand authors. It is trite but true to say that this reference book is absolutely indispensable.

The appearance of a modern *Colloquial English-Persian Dictionary* by so well-known a scholar of Persian as Lt.-Col. C. D. Phillott, supplies a long-felt need. European languages, especially during the last half-century, have received considerable accessions of words and expressions corresponding to the extraordinarily rapid multiplication of new objects and the development of new forms of thought. If, therefore, the Englishman and the Persian-speaking Oriental are to meet on the basis of present-day topics and interests, a presentation of the Persian method of expressing linguistically these new precepts and concepts was essential. Although, structurally, the Persian language has undergone fewer changes since, let us say, the tenth century, than perhaps any other living language, yet in all living languages words attain new meanings, and new forms of expressions must inevitably be evolved. Moreover, amongst all nations, and not the least amongst the Persians, the colloquial must differ from the literary language. In view of these facts, Colonel Phillott has rendered a signal service by facilitating the intercourse between Englishmen and Persians, not merely on the basis of ancient or even modern Persian literature, but also on the basis of practical, everyday life and interests. The lexicographer, it is true, must work largely on foundations laid down for him by predecessors in the same field, and the best that the most assiduous and long-lived scholar can hope to do in this field of lexicography is to bring as nearly as may be up-to-date what had for a time lagged behind and ceased to meet the requirements of his day. Colonel Phillott has employed the available material already accumulated by others, but credit must be rendered to him and to his collaborators for a vast body of new material well-arranged and, on the whole, carefully sifted which makes up the dictionary. The only regret that must be expressed—a regret in which the author shares —is that the Persian words in it could not, for financial considerations, have been printed in the Persian characters. For the rest, Col. Phillott's *Dictionary* will long hold its own as the standard work on the subject.

The ordinary book of reference suggests itself for only the one purpose indicated in the phrase. There is something that one wishes to know more about ; he turns to whatever book of reference covers that subject, looks up the right paragraph, closes the book and that is the end of it. But Mr. William S. Walsh's *Heroes and Heroines of Fiction in Modern Prose and Poetry*, although primarily a book of reference, is something more. It is a book to browse through, even when one is not in quest of anything in particular. Mr. Walsh has not been content with compiling a mere list of leading characters in fiction. He presents a compact, running account of them,—their characteristics, the things they do, the things that happen to them, and their relations to the other characters in the story, together with critical estimates of their significance. Readers who recall stories or poems which they read long ago and who have a haunting but vague memory of the characters in them will find it a delight to look them up in this book. They will rarely look in vain, provided of course that the stories or poems in question were worth while, and their characters possessed of some individuality. The book may also well serve the purpose of a lure to reading, for, turning over its pages at random, one comes upon references, extracts and criticisms which tempt to a fuller reading of the tales and poems referred to. Mr. Walsh's range of selection is a wide one, covering three or four thousand " heroes and heroines." Indian students will find Mr. Walsh's book not only useful and instructive, but interesting and entertaining.

Of the British press directories, which still continue to be published, year after year, *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory* is the oldest, the issue under notice being the seventieth annual publication. It is also one of the most comprehensive and well-arranged and replete with most useful information. The present volume contains the usual special articles which are quite topical and which are the striking feature of *Mitchell's*. Besides giving the fullest information about the periodicals, journals and newspapers of the United Kingdom and the British Colonies, there is a section devoted to the press of the Indian Empire. It is fairly exhaustive, but requires careful revision and condensation, as it includes a large number of names of insignificant publications. On the whole, *Mitchell's Directory* is one of the most useful books of reference dealing with the world of journalism.

The World's Press, founded by the late Mr. Henry Sell and now edited by Mr. H. W. Peet, is one of the most famous press directories, by reason of its wealth and variety of useful information. Besides furnishing elaborate lists of periodicals of almost all the countries of the civilized world, it is enriched by a series of special contributions written by experts on subjects likely to be of interest to publicists. The section devoted to the press of India is useful so far as it goes, but may be expanded with advantage to those in search of information on the subject. The thirty-fourth issue of this handbook of the Fourth Estate, in view of special prominence being given to the journalistic interests of Canada, the United States and South America, is aptly announced as "A New World Issue." The talented editor, Mr. Hubert W. Peet, has done his share of the work of this exceedingly useful volume in a markedly creditable manner. He has enhanced the usefulness of the work by including in it a "Bibliography of Journalism," this being the first comprehensive attempt to compile an adequate list of books dealing with the craft of newspaper-making. This bibliography has, we are glad to find, been also issued separately at six pence and it should find a large circulation as a highly useful work of reference. We hope it will be revised from year to year and form a permanent feature of *Sell's World's Press*.

We noticed some time back in terms of appreciation the first volume of Messrs. Lange and Berry's very useful bibliographical work—*Books on the Great War*. We now welcome the second volume which, like its predecessor, is a classified and annotated bibliography of literature dealing with the great European conflict and issued between January and April last. A large number of foreign titles are included. Messrs. Lange and Berry's *Books on the Great War* will be found highly useful by students of contemporary affairs.

Though professing to be a *Directory of Merchants and Manufacturers in India*, the book comprises a deal of miscellaneous information about things Indian, which would be found useful by seekers after general knowledge. At the same time there is room for considerable improvement in the get-up of the book. With improved mechanical execution and thorough revision of its contents from year to year, the book will secure for itself an honoured place in the range of Indian annuals. But even as it is, the *Directory* should appeal to the industrial and commercial classes as a useful work of reference.

Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

UNDER the general title the "Religious Quest of India" (Humphry Milford: Oxford University Press, London and Bombay.) Mr. J. N. Farquhar and Dr. H. D. Griswold have started a series with the intention that the authors shall "endeavour to work in the sincere and sympathetic spirit of science," and shall set each Indian faith by the side of Christianity. The writers are all "persuaded that sooner or later the age-long quest of the Indian spirit for religious truth and power will find in Him at once its goal and a new starting-point, and they will be content if the preparation of this series contributes in the smallest degree to hasten this consummation." The first volume of the series is *Indian Theism from the Vedic to the Muhammadan Period*, by Dr. Nicol MacNicol. This has been followed by *The Heart of Jainism* by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, and there are in preparation *The Religious Literature of India* by Mr. Farquhar, *The Religion of the Rig Veda* by Dr. Griswold, *The Vedanta* by Mr. A. G. Hogg, *Hindu Ethics* by Mr. John MacKenzie, *Buddhism* by Mr. K. J. Saunders, and *Islam in India* by Mr. H. A. Walter. Dr. MacNicol's work gained him his doctorate of letters in the University of Glasgow and deals with the obscure subject of Indian Theism. The volume on Jainism by Mrs. Stevenson is introduced by the Rev. G. P. Taylor (the Principal of Stevenson College, Ahmedabad). Jainism has under 1,300,000 adherents, but it is a faith that goes back to the sixth century before Christ, and an adequate discussion of the early faith is important. Mr. Taylor attributes the survival of the Jainas "in large measure to their having opened the doors of the Synod of their Church to lay representation." Mrs. Stevenson's learned and elaborate book traces the history of the faith, and we are made to realise the life-story of a "Jaina" both in formal ceremonies and in the religious aspect of the daily "lay" life. Both the volumes are exceedingly well-executed and are written, on the whole, with sympathy and discrimination. The new series ought to be popular in India, since judging from the first two volumes, the books included in it will be far above the level of average missionary literature, and they will be valuable contributions to the study of Indian religions and philosophies.

A book which, alike by its learning and originality, should appeal to the thoughtful student is Mr. Alexander F. Shand's volume encitled, the *Foundations of Character*: Being a Study of the Tendencies of the Emotions and Sentiments (Messrs. Macmillan & Co. London). It endeavours "to bring together the various aspects of the subject—which, in literature, are treated in isolation from one another; to lead up to a general conception of it; to study the methods by which the knowledge of it may be increased in accuracy and extent." The author has brought together the thoughts of successive ages on life and character in the hope that from such opinions the picture of an orderly development may be derived. Mr. Shand tells us that "if we are to have a complete science of the mind, this will include a science of character as the most important part of it." We appreciate Mr. Shand's profound appreciation of the saying: "If youth but knew," and we agree with him that it is right to formulate approximate "abstract laws of character," though whether youth could be made to appreciate these laws is a different question. In an age that has an emotion for law, Mr. Shand's monumental work and his efforts to formulate laws of character should help teachers to teach and to understand by placing before them "a map or plan" that may help to classify "the intricacies of human character." The work is equally learned and luminous and the author has brought to bear upon the discussion of the subject a ripe experience of human life and a rich and rare scholarship. The result is a treatise which is a contribution of the highest value to the study of a new branch of knowledge of no mean importance.

Messrs. Duckworth & Co. (London) have published from the pen of an annonymous author, giving an account of the life and doings of Raymond Poincare, the President of the French Republic, and in view of the fact that France is at the present moment so closely united with England, and the armies of the allied nations are co-operating so bravely and so zealously in stemming the tide of German militarism, the publication of such a volume is very opportune. M. Poincare is a convinced Republican, a moderate Liberal and a thorough believer in the *entete*, and therefore he is perhaps best fitted to control the destinies of France during such a crisis. The present war has aroused some interest in Continental politics among our countrymen, and they will do well to read this short and succinct life of M. Poincare, the present ruler of the most chivalrous and romantic, if not the most fortunate of European nations.

Messrs T. C. and E. C. Jack (London) have brought out an important new book for readers, teachers, writers and students of English, called *A Guide to the English Language*. It is a composite work and the list of authors includes such names as those of Mr. Dendy Agate, Mr. Henry Alexander, Mrs. B. Bothwell Maye, Mr. E. Classen, Mr. Roland Edwards, Mr. Austin K. Gray, Mr. A. S. Neill, M.A. and Mr. A. E. Stirling,—all well-known students of English philology, linguistics and lexicographers. *A Guide to the English Language* is designed to teach anyone all that can be known or taught about the English language. Questions as to the right use of the language arise every day, and it is remarkable that no one book existed so far which dealt with every branch of the subject. *A Guide to the Englisn Language* can scarcely, therefore, fail to become an indispensable work. The book no doubt makes a special appeal to teachers, literary men, journalists and students, but it ought to find a place in every cultivated home. Its contents are of a comprehensive character, and it is the work of competent scholars. It extends to 480 closely printed pages, and is very cheaply priced for its bulk and usefulness. No student of English can afford to neglect it.

Dr. Paul Carus—well-known as the editor of the two philosophical periodicals, the *Monist* (quarterly) and the *Open Court* (monthly) and the author of several books on Theology and Philosophy—has just brought out a work called *Goethe*. (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U. S. A.) The author offers "this presentation of Goethe with the special purpose of bringing out those features of his life which characterize him as a thinker or, perhaps better, as a philosopher." Now Goethe was not strictly speeking a "philosopher"—he would have been the first to disown that appelation—but his works were certainly characterized by a philosophic spirit and tendencies. Dr. Carus has, therefore, done well to devote himself to the task of elucidating this underlying philosophy and he has produced a work of singular merit and interest. He passes in review all the works of Goethe and skilfully analyses their contents in search of the Goethian philosophy. A large number of excellent photographic reproductions embellish the book and make it more attractive.

Mr. Roby Datta's *Echoes from the East and West*, (Das Gupta & Co., College Street, Calcutta) is a distinctive, literary achievement. The scope of the book is to "bring together the voices of some of the Indic, Persic, Hellenic, Italic, Romance and Teutonic makers of melodies" and to show that "a true song floats above race and age and land and may be heard by all." In excellence of rendering no less than in selection of matter we recognise in Mr. Datta a poet of exceptional merit. A characteristic feature of the book is a short note at the end of each poem which will prove useful to the general reader. Towards the end of the book there are appended a few of the author's original lyrics which are charming. As an anthology of some of the best poems of the world Mr. Datta's *Echoes from East and West* deserves appreciation at the hands of students of literature.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton (London) have brought out a superb edition of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's *A Song of the English*, illustratsd by Mr. W. H. Robinson There are several beautiful illustrations in colour. The volume makes an ideal gift-book.

The "Library of Notable Books" (T. Nelson & Sons, London) is one of the most commendable publishing enterprises of recent years. It offers for a shilling a volume many of the literary masterpieces and notable books, which are still copyright and the original editions of which are expensive. The series ought, therefore, to enjoy a large sale in India. The latest addition to it is Mr. Edwin Pugh's *The City of the World* which is a graphic and vivid sketch of the lights and shadows of London.

Messrs. Chapman and Hall (London) have done well to bring out a new, cheaper edition of the late Dr. A. R. Wallace's *The World of Life*, in which that famous scientist "attempted to summarize and complete" his "half century of thought and work on the Darwinian theory of evolution". In doing so he extended the scope and application of the theory and showed that it is capable of explaining many of the phenomena of living things hitherto thought to be beyond its range. In the result, Dr. Wallace came to the conclusion that the investigation of the evidence establishes an "organizing mind", a creative power, directive energy and ultimate purpose. It is a book which no student of Science or Religion can afford and do without.

It is likely that in a short time Mrs. Besant's contributions to Indian political literature will assume the same vast proportions as that to Theosophy. Her lectures and papers on various "Indian grievances" have been brought together in a handy form under the title of *India and the Empire.* More recently she has started a series of "New India Political Pamphlets," in which the first two on *Self-Government for India* and *The Political Outlook* are from Mrs. Besant's pen. These are all valuable contributions to the discussion of current political problems in this country, and deserve a very large sale amongst English-knowing Indians. They can all be had at the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The literature of Sikhs and Sikhism is pretty large, and the history of the community has been written by Sir John Malcolm, Dr. Macgregor and Captain Cunningham. Nevertheless a popular up-to-date sketch was a desideratum and we have therefore, read with interest Mr. C. H. Payne's *A Short History of the Sikhs* (T. Nelson and Sons, London) and have much pleasure in commending it to students of the subject. Though professedly a compilation it is exceedingly well put together and the maps, illustrations, chronological tables and bibliography add materially to its value, both for purposes of study and reference.

Professor Inayet Khan of Baroda is a well-known Sufi and musician. His *Diwan* has been rendered into English verse by Mrs. Westbrook (Sufi Publishing Society, 100 D, Addison Road, London) The translation is very well done and the Sufi ideas of the Indian professor are thus presented to the Western reader in a garb at once attractive and agreeable. Professor Inayet Khan has also started a quarterly magazine, called *The Sufi*, to popularize Sufism. His efforts to make known to the western world some of the highest spiritual teachings of the East deserve acknowledgment.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye has done well to reprint from the July number of the *Fergusson College Magazine*, his sketch of the life and labours of the late Mr. Gokhale. The booklet—*Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (Arya Bhushan Press, Poona) is interesting by reason of the very intimate relations which subsisted between the great Indian leader and the writer of the sketch. We commend it to our readers as perhaps the best, short survey of Mr. Gokhale's career.

The latest volume of the *Wisdom of the East Series* (John Murray, London) is the *Spirit of Japanese Art* by Mr. Yone Noguchi, a well-known Japanese critic, who has contributed a volume called the *Spirit of Japanese Poetry* to the same series. Both the books are well calculated to introduce the stranger to the poetry and art of the Japanese.

Kant's *Perpetual Peace* is perhaps the best known among "philosophical essays." Published in 1795, it is of the greatest interest at present, in view of the peace that will follow the great war. It has been rendered into English by Mr. M. Campbell Smith, who has enriched it with an excellent Introduction and notes (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London) and it should find a large circulation.

IN THE PUBLIC EYE :

The Hon. Mr. Justice Jwala Prasad.

By "ONE WHO KNOWS HIM."

THE elevation of Rai Bahadur Jwala Prasad to the bench of the Patna High Court is a matter of more than usual interest, for it means the vindication of public opinion in Behar. For the last few years there had been keen agitation in Behar—in which Hindus and Mahammedans had both joined—for the appointment of a Behari Hindu to the bench of the High Court, and the Rai Bahadur's elevation is an adequate fulfilment of one of the most earnestly-expressed desires of the people of the province. And now that the appointment has been made, the Government deserve the thanks of the Beharees not only for having responded to their wishes, but also for the excellent selection they have made.

There is yet another noteworthy aspect attaching to the appointment of Rai Bahadur Jwala Prasad. No names shed brighter lusture on the roll of the illustrious judges of the Calcutta High Court than those of its Kayasth Judges—Dwarka Nath Mitter, Romesh Chandra Mitter, Chandra Madhav Ghose and others—and it has been the privilege of the Rai Bahadur to be the first Hindustani Kayasth in Upper India to be appointed to the bench of a High Court. It is therefore a proud position to which Rai Bahadur Jwala Prasad has been called—proud not only from the communal point of view, but the more so because he is the first Behari Hindu to be elevated to that dignity.

Rai Jwala Prasad comes of a much-respected family in the district of Shahabad. He is the eldest son of Mr. Jagdam Sahai, who after a long and meritorious service in the Provincial Executive Service is now enjoying well-deserved leisure and rest. His son, Jwala Prasad, was born in the year 1875. Young Jwala was admitted early into the Zillah School at Arrah, and soon gave proof of his intelligence and industry. He was always one of the "top boys" in his class, and won several prizes. He passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University at the rather early age of thirteen, and removed himself to Calcutta for his studies for the Intermediate in Arts Examination, which he passed from there with distinction. The humid climate of Calcutta he found positively unhealthy and he therefore removed himself to the Muir Central College, Allahabad. Here young Jwala soon fell under the highly-elevating influence of two such powerful personalities as Dr. Gough and Dr. Thibaut whose good-will and esteem he earned by his habit of persevering industry and remarkable intelligence. He passed the B. A. with honours in 1893, and headed the list of the successful candidates of the Allahabad University, and in consequence was able to secure the much-coveted Queen Empress Jubilee medal. He would have also secured the Elliot scholarship of the University tenable for studies in England, but social and domestic reasons stood in his way and he had to forgo the great opportunity and honour that he had come so richly to deserve. He continued his studies for law in the Muir College, and in 1895 he followed up his success by standing first in the LL.B. examination of the University and by securing the Jubilee Bursary—another coveted distinction—and was duly enrolled as a vakil of the Allahabad High Court in 1896. Rai Jwala Prasad's career at the University was not only remarkable for the brilliant successes he attained in the examinations, but also for the whole-hearted way in which he threw himself in the academic and social life of his Alma-Mater. While yet a student, he officiated as a superintendent of the College Hostel, and was Secretary of the Friends' Dabating Society and also of the Literary Institute of Allahabad. The latter enjoyed more reputation than is generally done by a mere College institution, because not only students but high personages, eminent professors and learned judges took active interest in its working. Intelligence and industry such as of Rai Jwala Prasad, with his high academical attainments and family respectability could not go unnoticed by the public authorities, and the Rai Bahadur was offered a place in the Executive Service of Agra and Oudh. But the reasons which induced the Government to make him this offer, were exactly those which made his father wholly decide against it—Time has now borne out the wisdom of the decision—for he expected that his son's great capacity would have better play in the rather wider and freer latitude of the profession of law.

Although Mr. Jwala Prasad was enrolled in the Allahabad High Court, it was his intention to practise at Arrah—the headquarters of his native district of Shahabad in Behar—and there he came to practise. But here a formidable difficulty stood in his way, and the manner in which it was surmounted by him forms a most interesting incident of his life. The Calcutta High Court has been always generous in the matter of enrolment of graduates in law of the different

Universities in India as vakils,—graduates from Madras, Bombay, the Punjab and Allahabad being enrolled with the same facility as those of the Calcutta University itself. But the Allahabad High Court confined the enrolment only to Allahabad graduates,—and the Calcutta High Court, in its turn paid back the compliment in 1894 by shutting its doors against the legal luminaries of the Allahabad University! With Law as the most popular profession among Beharis, such a restriction on the LL.B.s of the Allahabad University was bound to be not merely a great obstacle, but also a positive deterrent to the proxress of legal education in Behar. Allahabad was then fast becoming a great centre of education for young Beharis due not only to its closer procimity than Calcutta, but also to better facilities and especially its healthier climate. Public life in those days, however, was not so vigilant as it is to-day, and it was left to Rai Jwala Prasad to fight, almost single-handed his own battle as well as that of the Beharee students in law of the Allahabad University. With characteristic zeal and energy he got together statistics pertaining to the subject—the number of students from Behar studying in colleges affiliated to the Allahabad University—and after setting forth the reasons for their preference of the Allahabad University, and many similar details, he memorialized the Calcutta High Court with such effect that it withdrew, in 1896, the restrictions that had been imposed on the Allahabad graduates. The battle was thus won, and the victory can be attributed entirely to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. Jwala Prasad.

The profession of law has been facetiously, though not inappropriately, called a profession of waiting, but Mr. Jwala Prasad had not to wait long, although, like all cautious practitioners, he had taken care to get himself registered as a candidate for a munsifship! He was enrolled as a pleader in the District Courts of Arrah in 1896, but after the favourable decision of the Calcutta High Court he got himself enrolled as a vakil of that Court in 1899. Talent like that of Rai Jwala Prasad could not take long to be recognized, and within three or four years of starting practice he was able to make a considerable headway in the profession. His practice was evenly divided between civil and criminal sides, and in each he gave undeniable proof of great, forensic ability. At a comparatively young age was appointed the Government pleader, perhaps the most unique distinction to which a junior lawyer can aspire in the mofussil. His great abilities in this capacity were fully recognised by not only the members of the bar, but also by the Bench, and this is how Mr.

T. S. Macpherson, the Sessions Judge of Arrah, spoke of him recently on the occasion of the unveiling ceremony of Rai Bahadur's portrait: "He has held this important office (of Government pleader) for many years with much credit to himself, and with much acceptance to all. In his forensic encounters the Rai Saheb maintains the calm, uneager demeanour so entirely appropriate to a Government advocate who must count it a defeat to score a victory except on the merits." This is more than can be said of an average Government pleader and on account of this distinction the Rai Bahadur always maintained the best traditions of the profession. Never has it been my fortune—and I am assured it has been the case with several senior members of the bar as well—to see a public prosecutor conduct a case for the Crown with such absence of feelings of partizanship and with so much desire to accommodate the defence as Rai Jwala Prasad, and it is this virtue more than any other that inspires respect for him in the hearts of his opponents. Recently in the course of argument in a rather sensational appeal before an Additional Judge the Rai Bahadur frankly conceded several points in favour of the defence. It was too much for the young civilian and he asked: "are you appearing for the prosecution or for the defence." At once came the reply "For neither, I appear for the Crown." This is characteristic of the man, and well may the aspirants to the office, which he now vacates, keep the Rai Bahadur as their model In civil cases he has equally distinguished himself by his indefatigable energy to get at the main facts and by his grasp of legal principles. He was engaged along with Sir William Garth, and Sir Ali Imam on behalf of the Court of Ward in the famous Dumraon Raj adoption case, when his ability, industry and tact were most generously recognized by his colleagues. Even Sir William Garth said: "I am specially indebted to him for his arduous research not only into authorities, but into Sanskrit texts and slokas which it would have been very difficult for me to follow without his aid." The one dominating characteristic of Rai Jwala Prasad's life has been his capacity for prolonged and sustained industry, and there can be no manner of doubt that it is this more than any other which goes towards the making of a successful judge.

As the Government pleader of Arrah with duties of advising and acting for the Government in matters concerning Civil Law, as also of conducting public prosecutions, added to which he had very considerable private practice, one can imagine the Rai Bahadur had a very busy time of it. It has not therefore been possible for him to take part in the public life of the Province. Law is proverbially a jealous mistress and the Rai Bahadur very early in life had bestowed the best of his affections on her.

But Rai Bahadur Jwala Prasad has never lacked generous impulses or self-sacrificing instincts. In the public life of his district he has taken a most leading part. As the President of the local board, a prominent and active member of the Municipality and the District Board, President of the Pardah School, as the founder at Arrah of a boarding house described by His Honour Sir Charles Bayley as "the best boarding house in the Province," Rai Jwala Prasad has a good record of public service. It was on account of these services as also in recognition of his work and worth as a lawyer that the Government honoured him with the title of Rai Saheb in 1914, which was however soon followed by a more fitting distinction in the shape of a Rai Bahadur last June.

The Rai Bahadur is the very pink of courtesy. His frank, open countenance, his genial temperament, and his obliging manners make him at once the most loved and as well as the most trusted of friends. Courteous to a fault, but dignified and thoroughly uncompromising in matters of principle, Rai Jwala Prasad is bound to make an excellent Judge. With his high attainments and large experience, and his capacity for industry now more seasoned and regulated, Rai Jwala Prasad is bound to prove himself worthy of the high dignity to which he has been elevated.

The Supreme Goddess : A Poem.

From Vidyapati.

By Mr. N. Gupta.

Thick dark tressed Goddess, O manifest Thyself !
O Many in One, holding a thousand in Thyself,
filling the battlefield of the enemy,
Thy dark image we call Kali, Saraswati
Thy shining white form ;
In the sphere of the sun Thou art the Terrible ;
among waters Thou art the Ganga ;
In the house of Brahma Thou art Brahmani,
they call Thee Gouri in the house of Hara ;
Kamala art Thou in the house of Narayana ;
Who shall tell whence thou comest ?

THE OPEN FORUM :

Criticisms, Discussions and Comments.

BRITAIN AT WAR.

THE place of honour in the *Hindustan Review* for July has deservedly been given to an article by Mr. Austen Verney setting forth certain impressions of the part being played by Britain therein, the form such action is taking, and the fashion in which the tremendous ordeal thus suddenly imposed upon her national life is being met. The circumstances which drove Britain to war are well known. She joined the fray because there was no alternative, and almost unanimously therefore this business was entered into. As was to be expected, she has proved a factor in the war to be reckoned with. That she would do so was known all the world over, and a sky-lifting chorus of welcome hailed her first appearance in France. In reply to the compliments of the civic dignitaries Sir John French said the English were pleased to be there. The only question was where they should find a place amid the legions of France. "You will," was the reply, "undoubtedly make a place for yourselves." How completely the British have fulfilled this courteous anticipation is sufficiently demonstrated, says the writer, in the story of the last few months. For in speaking of Britain at war he includes every race and people who are participating in the defence of her world-estate. Among the impressions of the British in this war the writer gives a prominent place to the following account of the arrival of the Indian Corps at Marseilles and their reception by the impulsive southerners of France :—

"First came a detachment of stalwart Sikhs for the greater part head and shoulders above the spectators. Immediately the police guarding the route were swept aside, the ranks were rushed ; men and women shook the laughing soldiers by the hand, and young girls showered flowers upon them, pinning roses in their tunics and in their turbans. Tricolours were distributed with prodigality. When the sturdy little Gurkhas, still smiling of course, came marching along to the strains of 'The Marseillaise' played marvellously well on a weird collection of reed instruments, the crowds considered that they could better show their regard by allowing the soldiers the right of the pavement instead of the cobbled streets. Accordingly men, mountain battery mules, and officers' horses marched along under the very awnings of the café terrasses, men and women meanwhile standing on chairs and tables waving hats, sticks, and handkerchiefs, and expending every ounce of lung energy in shouting 'Vivent les Anglais, Vivent les Indians!"

The steadfast devotion to British destinies expressed by all classes in India at this crisis, reflected in the proud spirit of these warriors, has "deeply touched English hearts," says the writer, "and we have since learned a little of their proved prowess." They were soon called upon to take part in the fierce and fateful struggle in the Flanders during the efforts of the Germans to turn the Allies' flank or break their line and all the world knows how by their valour and determination, the situation was saved. Indeed, it is to the British that Germany owes her first repulse in this war and the present limits of her position on the Franco-Belgian frontier. The great event is thus described by the writer:—

> "As the French line continued to fall back the British followed with intermittent fighting until, with improved organisation, a general forward movement was arranged. Meanwhile the British force—the advance guard of an ever-expanding army—had been reinforced by fresh divisions and the ranks depleted by these engagements filled up. After furious exertions the German invaders were driven across the country, watered by various tributaries of the Seine, to a position they had prepared in their rear along the north bank of the Aisne, which they have retained. The war has since been a struggle to turn the flank of either defensive front, or pierce it at some weak spot, accompanied by an elaborate system of entrenching which has at length stretched to the coast of the North Sea. Here they hold each other up while organising for the final effort when weather and circumstances permit."

Some months' experience of the German has bred in the British, says the writer, a sense of individual superiority apart from scientific organisation and employment of profuse mechanical instruments of destruction. Owing to their robust quality both of mind and body, they appear to be largely preserved from any permanent impression of brutalities in which they are involved, as one feels in talking to returned wounded soldiers. And behind all this movement and endurance there remains the silent service of the Navy, demanding the fullest exercise in another fashion of similar virtues. From the day of mobilisation the fleet has disappeared from public ken. When it looms up for a moment it has revealed either a masterly feat of arms or some untoward disaster from the perils which compass it about in the sleepless vigil that contains the enemy's main fleet in his harbours; disasters met with all fortitude and discipline. The new warfare by air and under-water destruction has intensified the danger and difficulty of naval operations of the kind going forward in home waters. Yet the normal commerce and industry of the Kingdom and Empire continue with only such hindrances as are inevitable in a world-wide war, while the enemy's trade is swept from the sea. Little opportunity has so far been afforded for displaying the fighting tradition of the service. Complete confidence, however, animates every rank of the seamen strengthened by their present experience. The spirit typified in Nelson is alive.

So it has come to this that a nation accustomed to think in terms of civil society, at a time when its leading council are earnest for peace and the pursuit of social amelioration and advancement, must play a decisive part in strife with another nation trained for years past to think in terms of military prowess to ascendancy. Here is a significant passage in Mr. Austen Verney's remarkable article :—"We hear in England of hatred felt for our country in Germany on account of the unexpected potency of its intervention. Few people have any such feeling in return. Rather is the general attitude one of indignation at this disturbance of our peace, at the outrages accompanying it, and unquestioning resolution to finish the business so begun." And in this attitude lies the greatness of England.—The *Bulletin*.

THE RULERS AND THE RULED.

"How to establish happy relations between the Rulers and the Ruled in India" is the theme of an article in the *Hindustan Review* by Mr. K. C. Kanjilal. In the article itself there is nothing that is not familiar to us. But the conditions of happy relations, which the writer starts with, are of interest. He says that happy relation is dependent on our faith that the policy underlying the British Government in India is benevolent and beneficent, on our realisation of the beneficial results from the pursuit of such policy, on our hearty and active co-operation with the Government in its efforts to promote the best interests of India, and our realisation of the helplessness to which we shall be reduced if the British protection is suddenly withdrawn. As to the beneficent policy which is the inspiring motive and force of the Government in India, nobody entertains any doubt. When people in India were quite incapable of realising their future under the Government, when they thought nothing of self-government and all that it means, Parliament was laying down principles of Government which would stand for all time and satisfy the aspirations of any people. Educated Indians understand this best, and they have full faith that it will be realised in due time. Nor can there be any doubt about the results accruing from the pursuit of such a policy. If that policy is pursued, the results expected from it must follow. Adherence to the policy of the Acts of Parliament and of the Royal Proclamation is what educated Indians insist upon as a matter of right, and it is the failure to comply with them that is the cause of complaint. Parliament and the Sovereign can only lay down the principles, it is for their agents in India to carry them out. Mr. Kanjilal admits that the fault lies with the agents who change from time to time, and who do not invariably enter into their spirit. The complaint of the critics is never against the Government, but against those who carry on the Government. That is at once its strength and drawback. The strength lies in the faith of the people that the agents, however bad they may be, cannot modify the principles of Government; and the drawback consists in the practical inability of the masters to enforce what they have laid down. But time has its effect; a policy may be disregarded at times; but it cannot be disregarded always. Individual predelictions vary, and with their variance, come changes which are welcomed by the people. There is, however, the certain fact that thought and opinion advance, and with their advance the inclinations of men exercising authority approximate to them.

In a system such as exists in India action and reaction are inevitable. That depends upon men, not upon principles. Lord Curzon interpreted the Royal Proclamation itself, as Lord Morley said, in a petty fogging sense, whereas Lord Ripon had risen in indignation when a member of his Council put it down as not intending what it expressed. Both were supposed to carry out the intentions of Parliament and the Sovereign, but both understood their responsibilities in a different way. But neither professed to act contrary to the principles laid down for them. One evaded them by a petty-fogging interpretation; the other attempted to observe them in the manner he understood them. With different men the policy and the principles of Government in India have varied; but at last they swing back to their original point. That is the reason of the popular faith in the policy laid down from England. Everybody realises that the heart of England is sound; and however much mistakes may be made, they are not beyond rectification and remedy. Today you may be dissatisfied; to-morrow you will find the order reversed. Individual ingenuity is used to fit in principles with individual conceptions. The policy and principles never change; it is only the conceptions of men that change; and while men are not permanent, the policy and principles are permanent. Long experience of the conflict between policy and action is what has led people to think that, unless they are enabled to shape their own destiny, it will never be shaped as it should be, as it was intended by Parliament that it should be shaped. Appreciation of our standpoint and sympathy with our aspirations are essential to carrying out the policy as intended by it; and these are often wanting. This it is that makes hearty and active co-operation between the rulers and the people so difficult; this it is that makes them think differently of the aim of the British Government. The cry for co-operation is frequently heard, but it is impossible to expect co-operation in the absence of a full understanding between the two parties. The officials proceed in their own way and expect people to follow them. That is not co-operation which implies a thorough understanding and thorough concurrence of opinion and feeling. We do not think that in this matter the people are as much at fault as are the officials. Without making any concession to public opinion they expect the public to go with them.

The people sufficiently realise the helplessness to which they will be reduced if the power that protects them is withdrawn, and this is shown on every occasion when danger is threatened to that power, and never more intensely than now when the Empire is engaged in a world-wide war. Whatever differences of opinion there may be between the rulers and the people, from whatever different standpoints they may view their respective interests, both parties agree when a crisis comes; both think it essential to uphold the power and prestige of England. Nothing makes people think and feel alike than a common misfortune, and from this point of view the war is not an unmixed evil. It has strengthened the intensity of devotion to the Empire; it has for the moment effaced the feeling of racial differences. It has made Briton and Indian think alike. The feeling that has been created by the war has conduced to this consummation; and India expects, after the war, as she has been told by British statesmen themselves, to occupy a position of equality in the Empire. There is nothing to make this impossible except the prejudices of those who have learned to regard themselves as superior beings, entitled to enjoy superior privileges. These prejudices cannot survive the better sense of the British people who have understood and appreciated the attitude of Indians in this crisis, and are anxious to treat them as brethren. Indians made sacrifices in men and money; the most valiant of India's sons are shedding their blood in the battlefields of Europe and conducting themselves so as to win the admiration of the world and to rouse the chagrin of the German Emperor. From this conflict India will emerge with pride, with a title to equality in the Empire, which long promised has never been realised. And it will be impossible to deny her claim. On that we rest our hope and our faith. India does not seek any favour, any reward, but a recognition of her claim, vindicated by her valour and sacrifice. India does not seek anything more than her due, anything more than what has been promised to her. What she claims she has justified by her ability to participate on equal terms in the defence of the Empire.—The *Indian Patriot*.

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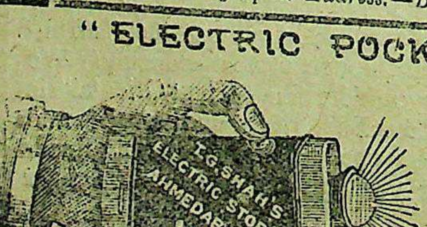

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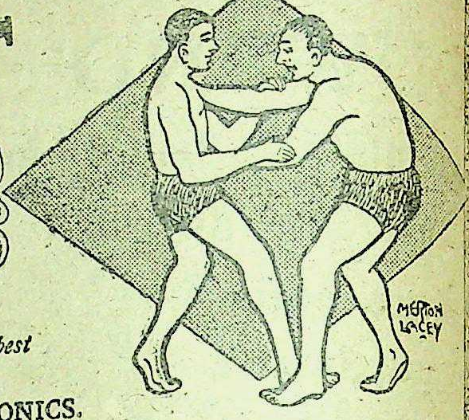

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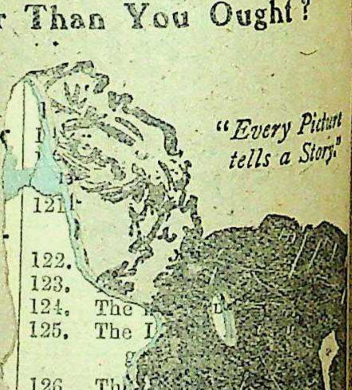
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THE
Hindustan Review

EDITED BY
SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C. M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."

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Indian Students and Non-Co-operation.

By Mr. GEORGE S. ARUNDALE,
PRINCIPAL, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, MADRAS.

I have been asked by the Editor of the *Hindustan Review* to express my attitude towards the q[illegible]tion of the participation of students in the Non-Co-operation moveme[illegible] As a teacher of nearly 20 years standing, I unhesitatingly declar[illegible]self an uncompromising opponent of Mr. Gandhi's efforts to induc[illegible] students of this country to associate themselves with him in his Non-Co-[illegible]on scheme. I have watched with the greatest pain his propaganda [illegible] student population, and especially his attack upon that wond[illegible]ional institution, the Aligarh University. I have personal exper[illegible]e undesirable effects this propaganda causes in the minds of studen[illegible]lly. There is growing a distinct tendency to ignore those ancien[illegible] virtues for the exercise of which the Indian student has hitherto [illegible] unstinted commendation even from the foreigner. There is pitiable loss [illegible]elf-control, a constant vulgar jeering at earnest workers in the servi[illegible]he Motherland, a loss of respect and reverence for age and wisdom, [illegible] augur ill for India's immediate future.

I can quite und[illegible]d the attitude of the student—of the older student—who, after anxious deliberation, after earnest consultation with his parents and elder friends, after seeking advice from his teachers, decides, perhaps against the advice of all, that he must cease attending an institution in touch with the Government. If he withdraws himself after earnest thought, and with a full sense of the difficulties in which he is likely to find himself in the future, there is no more to be said; especially if he asks help from no one. After all, with the older student, the active exercise of conscience must come first, however ill-informed, even before parents and teachers. But those who are advisers of Indian youth, or who are trusted by them, as Mr. Gandhi unfortunately is at present, are gravely failing in their duty if they do not guard those who trust them, or those who are placed in their charge, against action fraught with serious consequences taken without the necessary forethought. It is another matter as regards persons who have reached maturity. They ought to know their business. They are already face to face with the problems of life. They are settled down and have their convictions and their outlooks. But with students it is otherwise. They still belong to the emotional period of life. They have yet to settle down. They are highly changeable as regards their opinions. It is almost certain that however radical they may be in immaturity, in maturity their radicalism is likely, under stress of difficult circumstances, to undergo definite and, perhaps, startling reaction. They have no business to be committed to an action which is likely seriously to hamper them in after life, unless and until they have been given the opportunity of weighing the judgment of their elders upon the course suggested. If, after weighing such judgments they decide to act, I, for one, could have little to say.

But what does Mr. Gandhi do? He strikes at the root of the family relationship. He strikes at the root of that spirit of reverence which is the safeguard of the youth's emotionalism. He harangues the students in impassioned language, hurries them into precipitate action, knowing full well the magic his name and words exercis[illegible] upon the student mind, and regardless of the consequences. I am not for [illegible] moment concerned with the advisability or otherwise of the Non-Co-[illegible]ion movement. What I earnestly protest against, as a lover of Indian [illegible]th, is the manner in which Mr. Gandhi seeks to enrol the younger g[illegible]on in his political army. Passing over the propriety of his addressing [illegible]dents of the Aligarh University in effect he substituted himsel[illegible] parents and teachers of the youths whom he addressed. He disp[illegible] fathers and mothers and friends. In effect, he exhorted his yo[illegible]ience to ignore their parents, for his advice was to come out of the G[illegible]ent-tainted University without delay, not to think the question over [illegible] consult those nearest and dearest to them. If he had urged his a[illegible] to think things over, to write to parents, guardians, friends, to weigh [illegible] before acting, but on no account to hesitate to act, if the matter finally [illegible] one requiring action even though parents, elders and friends decided a[illegible]t him, I might be less emphatic in my condemnation. I would understand, even though

I would still condemn his advice. If he had not asked the students to sacrifice themselves without at least thinking what they were doing, there might be some excuse for him. But, as it is, Mr. Gandhi has now become the father, the mother, the friend, the guide of all whom he has torn from the family relationship, whom he has by the use of his influence forced to take steps without considering their results. How is he going to fulfil this overwhelming obligation? Has he thought of his responsibility in connection with the individual future of those whom he has started on a course the end of which, to use a moderate expression, cannot be foreseen, but which most sober-minded persons in the country regard as inevitably leading to disaster? His responsibility would have been different had he adivsed a course of action, insisting upon a thorough self-examination beforehand. But by his present attitude he is breaking up the ancient Aryan traditions, the fundamentals upon the basis of which India has survived through unheard of catastrophes. Moreover, what is almost as bad, he is leading the students into either a ridiculous or a pathetic position. If they follow his advice, their position is obviously pathetic; for, while they are in earnest, those who lead them have not the means, even supposing they have the will, to stand by them through all the consequences that must inevitably ensue from the course adopted. The Indian public has shown quite clearly that it will not support private enterprise unless in some way connected with the recognised system of public education. There is no reason to suppose that public opinion on this matter is likely to change. The Society for the Promotion of National Education and the Council of National Education in Bengal are stern witnesses to the indifference of public opinion so far as regards unofficial educational movements unconnected with Government directed systems. Further, does any one with a knowledge of the growth of national enterprise in education imagine that the National University of Aligarh, with its amateur Principal and an obviously scratch screw of more or less amateur teachers is likely to last long or to satisfy young men who [illegible] ave hitherto had the very best instruction available? * I cannot but feel tha [illegible] he position of young men who leave existing institutions in order that [illegible] ey may lose themselves in chimeras is indeed pathetic. On the other ha [illegible] ost of those who do not leave make themselves ridiculous. While disobe [illegible] e leader whom they pretend to follow, they yield to none in the [illegible] make in support of the cause in which his very existence is bound u [illegible] dras, for example, to judge from public meetings, the student populatio [illegible] nt admirers of Mr. Gandhi. But how many have so far left the i [illegible] ns in which they have been studying? There is no sign of the establi [illegible] of a single National institution managed by Non-Co-operators, nor is t [illegible] sign of more than half a dozen students leaving

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* I notice with paine [illegible] ise that the miasmic glamour of non-co-operation has now affected my [illegible] ood friend Mr. C. F. Andrews, who offers himself to the National Aliga [illegible] ersity. [Since the article was written, we learn with satisfaction that Mr. [illegible] s denies having promised any support to this body. Ed. H. R.]

any institution in the Madras Presidency. Yet they try to make up for lack of deeds by an over-flowing measure of noise. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Gandhi's Non-Co-operation movement has not in the least degree disturbed by one fraction the normal progress of the Presidency of Madras. Everything is going on just as usual. A few candidates for election to various legislatures have withdrawn, but their withdrawal only leaves the way clear for others. Our disease is not the disease of Non-Co-operation but the disease of Brahmana—non-Brahmana quarrelling which disgraces us in the eyes of the rest of the country. As for the students, Mr. Gandhi has made them ridiculous, for nothing is more ridiculous than protestations accompanied by careful abstention from action; and certainly nothing is more damaging to the development of the true spirit of citizenship. I do not hesitate to say that Mr. Gandhi, by what he has done and is doing among the student population, is killing that spirit as quickly as he can.

I should like to make quite clear the fact that I do not regard the students as in the least degree to blame. On the contrary, while I regret their lack of political perspicuity—how many elders possess this quality to-day?—I cannot but admire the eagerness which drives them to associate themselves with any scheme however mad, which seems in some extraordinary and miraculous way to promise the early emancipation of India from the sufferings which now she has to undergo. There has been, I am well aware, ample cause for the gravest dissatisfaction with the way in which Indian affairs have been handled during the last few years, and even before for the matter of that. I know a large amount of inter-racial hatred has been generated almost inevitably. The tragedies of last year in the Panjab have had their inevitable disruptive effect. And the Non-Co-operation movement has its source and origin, not in devotion to Mr. Gandhi, but in its apparent provision of an outlet for, and an expression of the acute dissatisfaction which prevails throughout the country. Mr. Gandhi has allowed himself to be carried on the crest of this wave. He has allowed himself to become the symbol of the movement, and as it becomes day by day more violent, more aggressive, so do his utterances [illegible] suit. He has provided expression for a force which I greatly fear it [illegible] be impossible for him now to control, even if he wanted to do so. His own [illegible] is, of course, his own affair; but all who love India should consider [illegible] by following him they are truly serving her. It was more than wrong [illegible] upon the emotions of the students, to lead them into pathways [illegible] and disintegration. When Mrs. Besant and other leaders, who [illegible] all in India's service, are treated as for example, the students of [illegible] day treated Mrs. Besant it is clear that they are connected [illegible] utterly and completely detrimental to their honour and [illegible] patriotism. I pray that before it is too late the young men of [illegible] whose service I myself am consecrated, will abandon the course [illegible] them to dishonour themselves and thereby to dishonour the great [illegible] which hitherto has had every reason to be proud of them.

The Outcaste's Story.

By The Hon'ble Mr. C. A. KINCAID, C. V. O.

IT was a coldish evening at Pandharpur in July 1918. The river Bhima was in full flood and the sun was setting. As sometimes happens in India, the setting sun was reflected on the eastern almost as vividly as on the western horizon and clear against the farther bank of the Bhima close to Chokhamela's* dipmala, I saw the form of a solitary anchorite, sitting motionless with his face rigidly fixed in the direction of the temple of Vithoba, as the god Krishna is here called and worshipped. I thought to myself that the man might have a story to tell. I hailed a ferry boat with a redheaded horse as a figure head and bade the ferryman take me to where the anchorite was seated. The ferryman asked an exorbitant price. But after a little haggling, he agreed to take me there and back for eight annas.

I got into the ferry boat. A vigorous push of the ferryman's oar drove it off the sandy shore and a moment later we were bobbing and tossing on the waves of the flooded river. It was a long pull across, for in July the Bhima is half a mile wide. At last we reached the shore below where the dipmala stood and I clambered up with some difficulty, for the bank here is some twenty feet above the stream. When I reached the top, I saw my anchorite still sitting motionless, as I had seen him from the opposite bank. I went close to him, salaamed and spoke to him a few words in Marathi "Apan kon ahat, Kothun alah, apali zat konti? (Who are you? Whence, have you come? What is your caste?) The anchorite sprang straight to his feet, drew himself rigidly to attention and then saluted in the most precise soldierly fashion, his right forefinger meeting his forehead close to the right temple and an inch or so above his right eyebrow. I saluted in return, as an officer would a sepoy and said "Pray tell me, are you a sepoy or are you a bairagi?" (anchorite).

"Sahib; I am both and as you seem to speak Marathi, perhaps you might like to hear my story."

As that was the v [illegible] son I had come across the river, I agreed readily and sat do[illegible]n on a st[illegible] to him.

"My [illegible]ame i[illegible] Sahib" he began "and I am a Mhar of Mangalvedha,'

"You mean [illegible]nela's town" I interjected. In reply the anchorite stood up and agai[illegible] me "Ah, Sahib," he said how come you to know about Chokhamela [illegible]hy" I replied "he was the great Mhar anchorite and

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*Chokhamela wa[illegible]reat Mhar Saint, When driven out of Pandharpur, he built a *dipmala*, [illegible]n on which to hang lamp in honour of the god across the Bhima river. [illegible]rishna is said to have visited him there and dined with him, A Mhar is a p[illegible]aste. **No ordinary Hindu will touch him.**

I have read about him in the poet Mahipati's Bhaktivijaya" "Phar barre" (that is very good), said the anchorite resuming his seat, "then the Sahib will follow my story the better. I am a Mhar, as I said, of Mangalvedha and my father used to tell me that we were descended from the great Mhar saint himself; and indeed it must have been true, I think, for the other villagers used to bear him out. But whether I was descended from the saint or not, I was much nearer in spirit to my great grandfather. He was a subhedar in the 2nd Grenadiers and he fought at Koregaon* against the Peshwa. He had told his son my grandfather and my grandfather had told my father and my father had often told me all about the battle. The Sahib may have seen the column at Koregaon ?" he said looking at me enquiringly.

"Yes I answered" "it is only 18 miles from Poona and I have several times been to see the tombs of the British officers who fell there."

"Yes, yes" said the anchorite excitedly "They were Chissom and Wingit Sahibs (Chisholm and Wingate). But the Sahib knows the wonderful story and you can guess how it affected me whose greatgrandfather had been at the battle. I wanted to become a sepoy, but the Sarkar some years before had ordered that Mhars should be no more enlisted—why I do not know—the Sarkar had no doubt some good reason. Then the war came and I vowed that, order or no order, I should become a soldier. One night I made a bundle of my clothes and I walked to the nearest station. Thence I went by train to Poona. There I bought such clothes as a Deccan Maratha wears and put a yellow sect mark on my forehead. Now as I alighted from the train I had seen a subhedar looking out for recruits. For it is at stations that the recruiting officers most often get their recruits. Young lads who have lost their tickets or have been robbed and cannot get home; or boys who have got into trouble in their village and having run away do not know what to do with themselves—such as these are frequently caught in the recruiting officers' net. The subhedar had looked at me when I alighted, but he had noticed my Mhar earrings and clothes and he knew me to be a Mhar and did not waste a second glance. But now when I came to the station, dressed as a Maratha wearing Maratha earrings and with a yellow sectmark on my forehead, he at once fixed on me as a likely prey. He came up and began tal[illegible] to me in a most friendly way, urging me to join the army and making me [illegible] wonderful promises of the pay and honours that awaited me, if I listen[illegible] I w[illegible] only too willing to enlist, but I hid my eagerness, lest h[illegible] suspect me to be no Maratha. I grumbled in reply that I had a fi[illegible]home and an aged mother and a young wife and two bullocks and t[illegible]uld not leave them. But the subhedar added oath to oath that if I joined [illegible]rmy, I should be able to buy a hundred fields and two hundred b[illegible] and that I should be able to deck out my old mother and my young wi[illegible] jewels even as the rich Bhattias of Bombay deck out their women[illegible]ow, of course, Sahib, that the subhedar was lying, for my great grandfather had come by no such riches when he served the Sarkar; but I pretended to believe him and at last I agreed to join as a recruit. The subhedar would have given me liquor to drink, so pleased was he. But I feigning caste scruples refused; he, however, laughed at my scruples and overcoming easily his own, had a dram at a liquor shop near the station. Then he took me to the recruiting station where I was duly measured and passed. Afterwards I was enrolled in a Maratha company; but now my real troubles began. My fellow sepoys asked me my village and my family and I had to make up all sorts of tales to satisfy them; and sometimes I would contradict myself and they would cross-examine me; and at last they suspected me so strongly that they complained to the Sahib that I was no Maratha. The Sahib sent for me. I threw myself at his feet and told him the whole truth and begged him in view of my great grandfather's service not to send me away. Now the Sahib was a just man and a clever one. He told my subhedar that he had questioned me and found me to be a genuine Maratha, but that I had been foolish enough to take part in a dacoity and had enlisted to get away from the police. But that only proved that I was a lad of spirit and that I was to be troubled no more. Thereafter my comrades left me alone and as I was quick to learn—we Mhars, as the Sahib knows are sharper than the Marathas—the Sahib made me first a lance naik * then a naik; and it was as a naik that I sailed with our draft to East Africa. When we got there things were not going well with us. You remember, Sahib, how the British had failed to take Tanga?" I sadly nodded assent, as I had lost several friends in that disastrous landing. "To avenge himself for that defeat our general thought he would take Issin Fort." "Issin Fort" I repeated doubtfully; then a ray of light flashed across my mind "Yersin Fort, you mean?" I said "Hoy Sahib (Yes Sir) Issin Fort we sepoys called it, but the Sahib doubtless knows the right way to speak it. But our general's troops were too few and the German General Forbik Sahib was a very Ravan † for cleverness. When we tried to outflank his men, Forbik Sahib outflanked us again and we were led astray by treacherous guides and we were beat[illegible] and had to retire suffering great hardships. At last we were so harassed [illegible]eir Askaris (African sepoys) that our captain called us [illegible]p one e[illegible]nd said we should have to march all night to get rid of our [illegible]emy. [illegible] bad news as we had been walking all day and we were half dead wi[illegible]e. However we knew that what the Sahib ordered was right. Then t[illegible] said that he could spare no men to carry the wounded, so that [illegible] man fell out he would be left behind. The others did not so much m[illegible] I had been wounded in the leg in the day's fighting and my heart sank [illegible] I heard the Sahib's words. Still as a naik I could not but say "Accha [illegible] with the rest. Then the march began. The horrors of it I shall [illegible]rget. We must have walked 20 miles and yet the Sahib would [illegible] us rest. If anyone fell out too exhausted to move,

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* Koregaon was fought on 1st January, 1818. Th[illegible]renadiers, a few of the Poona Horse and 4 guns beat off 25,000 Marathas.

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* Lance Corpora[illegible] naik-corporal.
† Satan.

a man—eating panther would spring out of the jungle and carry him off. The panthers of those parts are not timid creatures like those of the Deccan, but they rush at any man who goes alone in the jungle and carry him off. All the time we marched my leg pained me and fever burnt me up, but still I staggered on, dropping further and further behind. At last I could go no further and I fell like a log on the path. As long as I could hear our men walking away I did not feel afraid, but when the sound of their feet no longer came to me, my heart turned to stone with fear. Every twig that cracked, every leaf that fell, I thought was a panther or a lion come to kill me. Nor were my fears vain. Suddenly I smelt what one smells subside a lion's cage in the Maharani Sahib's gardens in Bombay. Then I saw two great yellow lamps peering at me from out of the jungle. At first my tongue clove to my mouth with fear, but only for a moment. For I remembered now when a child I had heard from my mother's lips how Shri Krishna of Pandharpur had helped his saints when in trouble and I resolved to call on him too.

"O Meghshyama (O Cloud Dark one!)" I cried "You who helped Chokhamela when the Brahmans drove him across the Bhima, come now to my aid! O Son of Vasudeva, you who helped Jagamitra and restored to life Kabir's son Kamal's, come now to my aid!" *

In this strain I kept shouting at the top of my voice. So long as I could do so the lion or panther, or whatever it was, did not rush at me. But it did not go away and ever nearer I saw the baneful glare of its great eyes through the scrub jungle, as it moved round and round me. At last my voice began to fail me and I knew that in a few moments I should not be able to shout any more. I summoned my strength and gave a last cry louder than any of the others, calling on Shri Krishna to save me. Then I folded my hands, bowed my head and resigned myself to the death that Destiny had written on my forehead. But lo! instead of feeling the beast's teeth in my throat, I heard a "Wuff! Wuff!" and a noise as if the wild beast was racing in terror through the forest. I looked at the spot where I had last seen its eyes and there standing several feet off the ground, I saw all shining Shri Krishna himself. He had four arms and in his [illegible] he carried his club, his discus, his horn and his lotus. On his head [illegible] golden crown and over it stretched the six heads of his great serpent Shesh[illegible] chest [illegible] was the curl of hair that we call the Srivatsa, round his loins [illegible] silk pitamber (silken cloth) and under his feet was the brick on which [illegible] stood for so many ages at Pandharpur. He smiled at me and I kn[illegible] he had come to save me. But I could not utter a word of thanks; I [illegible] in a dead swoon. When I next recovered consciousness, I was b[illegible]ried into camp. For our Captain Sahib was better than his word. [illegible] he got to camp three miles or so from where I had fallen, he sent ou[illegible] bearers and in this way saved a score or so of his men including myself. [illegible] the camp my wound

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* This is a reference to various miracles performed by Krishna. They are known to every Maratha household.

was dressed and I was sent to a hospital in India, but it was nearly two years before I was well enough to go back to the front. In the meantime things had been going badly with the Sarkar in the war and they resolved to recruit Mhars again. On hearing this I went to the Poona depot and told the Sahib that I was a Mhar and wished to be transferred to a Mhar regiment. When the Sahib heard my story, he agreed and he sent me with a note to the Colonel Sahib of the newly raised Mhar regiment and the Colonel Sahib made me a subhedar in his paltan (regiment.) I drilled the Mhar recruits and when they were ready for service, I went with them to Africa once more to fight that Rakshas of a Forbik Sahib, the German general. But he was more cunning than ever and although we marched up and down Africa, we never caught him.

At last the (ikbal) (good fortune) of our Maharana Sahib prevailed over the ikbal of the German Maharana Sahib and the latter, seeing himself beaten, ran away right out of his kingdom. I was now subhedar major and I went to my Colonel and asked for leave to give up the service. At first he would not hear me; but I told him how Shri Krishna had saved my life and I said that it was only just that in return I should give him my life's service. At last he gave way, shaking my hand and said that if I thought like that, he would not hinder me, but that he was sorry to lose so good a soldier. Those were his very words, Sahib and you can guess how proud I felt. But the path of my duty stretched in front of me to Pandharpur, so I had to tread it. I saluted the Colonel Sahib and in due time I was sent to Bombay, whence I at once came to Pandharpur and here I have been ever since."

"But why do you live here, Ramnak?" I asked "why do you not live in the town. They allow Mhars to go as far as the outer gate of Shri Krishna's temple."

The Mhar soldier's eyes flashed as he answered proudly "I have served, Sahib, in the war as a sepoy of the Maharana, and I could not bear to be turned back at the temple gate by some Brahman priest. So I came to Chokhamela's dipmala and what better place could I choose. From here I can see the spire of Shri Krishna's temple. It was here that Shri Krishna comforted Chokhamela and di[illegible] with him after the Brahmans had driven him out of Pandharpur."

"Tumche[illegible] mhanan[illegible] ahe (what you say is true)" I said, and rose to go for wh[illegible]e he li[illegible]e of my business. I thanked him many times for his story [illegible]d offere[illegible] few rupees. But he would take no money "You have treated m[illegible]riend" he said courteously "and from a friend I could not take a gift [illegible]ey; but if your honour would give me some cigarettes, I would [illegible] take them," I emptied my cigarette case into his hand. He drew himse[illegible] full height, saluted and held out his right hand. I shook it warmly a[illegible]him to go back to my boat. As we pushed off from the shore, I looked [illegible] Ramnak. He was squatting with his legs tucked up under him, h[illegible] folded in front and as his lips moved I heard faintly the words "Krish[illegible]mahaha (I bow to Krishna) Mitraya namahaha (I bow to Mitra.)" F[illegible]nce more become the anchorite and was repeating to himself the sixty-fo[illegible]es of the Most High.

Mr. Gokhale's Work and Ideals: A Reminder.

By PANDIT MADHO RAM, VAkIL, High Court, Ambala.

IN the present confusion caused by the clash of party politics we are gradually forgetting how our old leaders thought and worked. Mr. Justice Ranade died in the beginning of 1901. He had been in Bombay as Judge of the High Court since 1893 after the death of Mr. Justice Kashinath Telang. Before 1893 he had lived and worked in Poona for a pretty long time. There he had helped the growth of political, educational, industrial and social reform movements to a degree inconceivable in the case of hard worked judicial officers. The Saravajanik Sabha of Poona was a remarkable organisation of those days and had among its members all classes of people including influential landowners. The quarterly journal of the Sabha was conducted with a manliness new to those times and most of the articles in it were written either by Mr. Ranade or under his inspiration. Mr. Ranade was looked upon as guide, philosopher and friend by the educated community. He was accessible to every body and had the rare gift of finding out the special aptitudes of the people that came in contact with him and assigning to each the work that he was fit for. Young Gokhale had the desire to work for his country and was anxious to be taken under his wings by Mr. Ranade. Being satisfied of the ability of Mr. Gokhale, he placed the budding politician in charge of the Sarva Janik Sabha Journal. It was probably in 1887 that this good fortune fell to Mr. Gokhale's lot and since that time the master and the pupil were so closely associated with each other in public work that it is difficult to think of the one withou[illegible]he other. Mr. Gokhale assimilated the spirit and the ide[illegible]y even th[illegible] language of Mr. Ranade so completely that in re[illegible]s sp[illegible]hes one is irresistably reminded of the uttera[illegible]f the master. And when the latter died Mr. Gokhale felt as [illegible] himself had died too without any hope of resurrection. B[illegible]er a great travail, the resurrection came and lo, the whole [illegible]y was resounding with Mr. Gokhale's achievements. At [illegible]y and at Madras, at Calcutta and at Lahore, in fact w[illegible]r he was, he felt at home and secure in the affection and e[illegible]f his countrymen.

His speeches in the Viceregal Council were read with increasing interest all over the country. His Bill for the introduction of free and compulsory education in India showed how deep he was laying the foundations of the country's future greatness. The country responded to his call with alacrity and from every Province, Municipal Committees and District Boards and other public bodies which were not supposed to sympathise with Mr. Gokhale's views sent opinions in support of his Bill. It was a great revelation to some people. The Bill was however defeated in the Council. Mr. Gokhale knew it before hand and the feeling speech which he made in the Council on that historic occasion showed how well he had gauged the situation. Addressing the Viceroy he said "My Lord, I am not discouraged by the fate of this bill because I am convinced that for a long time to come, it will be the duty of Indian politicians to serve the country by their failures." It is difficult to prefer any one speech of his to another. He had spiritualised politics. He had learnt from Mr. Ranade the great lesson that a public man should not indulge in personal attacks on others and should strictly adhere to truth. There is always a great temptation to public men to forget this great lesson in the heat of the moment. In fact some people who live in an atmosphere of controversy, whether religious or political, cannot avoid making personal attacks on others and running them down in season and out of season. Mr. Gokhale avoided these pitfalls. He had undertaken public work with the object of serving his country and not of making a name for himself. Though to some people he occasionally appeared to be weak-kneed, he said every thing that had to be said in the most effective way. The powers that be winced under his attacks but the language of Mr. Gokhale used to be so dign[illegible] that even those whose mistakes he exposed [illegible]ooked u[illegible]him with respect. Mr. Tilak's party however[illegible]never[illegible] with favour upon Mr. Gokhale and his fri[illegible]nds. [illegible] during the life-time of Mr. Ranade, there were se[illegible] differences between the two parties on the question [illegible]l reform which very soon led to personal estrangement [illegible]fferences in political matters. Mr. Tilak called Mr. Gokha[illegible]kacha reed" after the latter had apologised to Govern[illegible]about his statement in connection with the plague ad[illegible]ation of 1897. He acted as a gentleman in tendering [illegible]pology but it appeared at that time as if

Mr. Gokhale would never be able to raise his head again. But he was sincere and earnest in devotion to the motherland and it did not take long before he came to be recognised as a politician of the first rank. His knowledge of the financial difficulties of the country was remarkable. His mastery of facts and figures was astonishing. And the Finance Member of the Government of India dreaded nobody so much as the informed criticism of this Marhatta Brahmin. European ladies and gentlemen used to crowd to the Council Chamber to hear Mr. Gokhale speak and even those that came to scoff remained to admire and respect him. There were a good many politicians, young and old in the country, but Mr. Gokhale's position was simply unique. He had worked hard to rise up to that position. He was ever ready to obey the country's call. When the trouble in South Africa became acute, he went there and did all he could to ease the situation. The European residents in South Africa who looked upon every Indian as a coolie were taken off their feet when they came into contact with Mr. Gokhale The latter had great respect for Mr. Gandhi and the glowing tribute which he paid to Mr. Gandhi's genius at the Lahore Congress in 1909, when he moved a resolution on the South Africa question received prolonged cheers from the audience. Like Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Gokhale used to think over the future needs of the country. He knew that he had to leave the world some time and that it was desirable that good work for the country should not be limited to the life of any particular man. He founded the now well known Servants of India Society which counts among its members men from every Province except the Punjab. The great work which the members of this society have been doing for the last twenty years or so is beyond all praise. Wherever there is distress of any sort in the country [illegible]ue to famine, plague or other causes, the society carries rel[illegible] the need[illegible] people. The efforts of the society are not restric[illegible] [illegible] speci[illegible] work. All kinds of useful work are undertaken by [illegible] [illegible]bers [illegible] help the country. There are very strict rules [illegible] e training of the members, because it is only a man who h[illegible] [illegible]dergone some training and discipline that can be depended [illegible] in the handling of public affairs. The work which [illegible] [illegible]ciety has done and promises to do shows how deep [illegible] Gokhale's love for the country. It is a thousand pities [illegible] was cut off in the prime of his life at a time when he h[illegible] [illegible]ome almost indispensible for his country, at a time when his powers had matured and he was in a position to give the best in him for the country's cause. His death came as a great shock to his countrymen who never expected he would die so soon.

However Mr. Gokhale is no more with us, but the work which he began lives with us. The public life of the country is richer now than it was when Mr. Gokhale began his career. Though Mr. Ranade, Mr. Dadabhai Naroji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr Gokhale are not in our midst, their thoughts are now inspiring a much larger number of their countrymen than before. And above all Mr Srinivas Shastri upon whom Mr. Gokhale's mantle has fallen is keeping the memory of his departed chief green by fighting the battles of his country with ability and devotion. May Mr. Gokhale's countrymen never forget the great lesson which his life teaches us, a life of plain living and high thinking, a life full of hard work and of honesty of purpose, of strict regard for truth and of forbearance towards opponents. These are hackneyed words but in the life of Mr. Gokhale they had a meaning of their own. And now that our race consciousness is growing and each party in the exuberance of spirits is hurling defiance at the others, it is very necessary that public workers should emulate the example of Mr. Gokhale and do their work in a spirit of forbearance. No individual or party has a monopoly of good sense, honesty and patriotism. The differences are generally temperamental. Some are slow by nature in thought and action. Others do not take a minute in making up their mind and proceeding to action. Some are afraid to create unpleasantness Others would walk ten miles to pick up a quarrel. Some are always finding fault. Others are always disposed to take a charitable view. I am not qualified to blame [illegible] her the one or the other set. But I have not [illegible] least [illegible] in my mind that to accuse Babu Surendra [illegible], Mrs. Besant or Mr. Shastri of being false to the count[illegible] rank ingratitude on our part. Their services are writ [illegible] on the face of the country. It is high time that our peo[illegible] nt the value of conserving their energies instead of fritteri[illegible] away in mutual recrimination. Day by day the problems [illegible] dian life are becoming difficult. Let us understand them [illegible] to tackle them in the spirit of Mr. Gokhale.

SMALL-SCALE* INDUSTRIES.

What co-operation can do for them.

By Mr. D. A. SHAH, M. A., LL. B.

TODAY we stand on the threshold of a new industrial era in our country. The war is over. The Parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms have recommended that "Industries" should be a transferred subject. The Secretary of State for India has abandoned the doctrine of *laissez faire*, and laid the foundation of a new policy by accepting the principle that "in future Government should play an active part in the Industrial development of the country". As first steps to give effect to that policy, chemical and industrial services are being organized. Indian capital, even after making allowance for the speculative nature of many of the recent investments, seems to be over-flowing. Trade-routes are opening up, and trade relations between different countries are being slowly resumed though not necessarily on the old lines. It seems that we the Government and the people are intent upon making a big effort for the industrial regeneration of our country.

Educated Indians as a class have always evinced an ardent desire for the industrial regeneration of the motherland. But how small indeed is the number of those who have thought out the question in all its aspects? The present is the time to pause and consider whether we are setting out on the right path. It is clear that, in the past, we have only adopted the industrial organization of the West, and it would hardly be a matter for surprise, if we did so in the future. It is natural that the opulence of Western countries and the comparative poverty of India should lead us so long for the industrial organization of Western countries which made them rich. Yet, we cannot, for a moment, afford to forget that the Western large-scale organization of industry brings in its train evils—serious evils—which are not fully realised in this country, but which have been pressing more and more insistently to the notice of the Western people. The large-scale organization turns the small artisan into a mere wage-earner—the master into a servant, often a semi-slave. It causes the industrial population of a country to be drawn to a few centres, entailing the exodus from the village to the town. The industrial population lives in slums in each of which are huddled together a number of persons—males and females. T[illegible]onditions of life in factories are often such as can hardly be tolerated. Then again, the devil has many snares in towns. The factory-workers deprived of sufficiency of air and light and even privacy, and being nothing more than average human beings fall easy victims to the devil's snares. A marked physical and moral deterioration is the inevitable result. The Western organization of industry also causes wealth to be concentrated into a few hands, producing great inequalities of wealth. It adds to the class of the idle rich, and creates a new submerged class. On the one hand, rise mansions and villas some of them with luxuries for which there can be neither justification nor excuse, and on the other, come into existence slums unfit for human habitation. This ultimately leads to the strife between capital and labour which, if not properly attended to, endangers the whole body politic. Coeteris paribis, the small scale or domestic organization of industry in which the worker is his own master and works at home, is preferable to the large-scale organization of industry, from the stand-point of all-round national well-being. It is arguable that the conditions of life and work under the large-scale organization can be improved, but so also can the conditions under the small-scale organization be improved on the positive side, by adding to the amenities of the artisan's life.

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* The use of the phrase "small-scale [illegible] for the [illegible]sual "small industries" is intentional. The latter phrase may le[illegible] [illegible] thin[illegible] that "small industries", being "small" are of little national impo[illegible] [illegible] is a ma[illegible]r of fact, they are small only from the point of view of the p[illegible] [illegible]ndividually carrying them on, and the capital and implements used by [illegible] [illegible]ersons individually. From the national point of view the so-called "small in[illegible] [illegible] are indeed great and important. Thus the hand-loom weaving ind[illegible] [illegible]ugh carried on by individuals with small capital and a few cheap [illegible]nts, is really a great industry, as can be judged from the single [illegible] [illegible] aggregate number of persons engaged in it runs into lakhs. The wo[illegible] [illegible]" is precise in that it has reference only to the dimensions of the indus[illegible] [illegible]hey are carried on by individuals.

The above considerations which are common to the whole world, should alone make us ask ourselves whether it is not possible for us to develop our industries without demolishing the small-scale organization. But we have special reasons of our own which add immensely to the value of an organization under which we can have industries run on a small-scale. Agricultural holdings in India are small, some of them being uneconomic. Most of the Indian cultivators eke out a bare living. But most of them have leisure for certain months of the year which, if usefully utilised, might supplement their small incomes. That is why the need for what are called secondary industries is very widely felt in India. Secondary industries must, as a rule, be small-scale industries. Far from new secondary industries having been provided to the cultivators, even the industries which they used to carry on formerly, have mostly been killed by the stress of competition. To take only one instance, the cultivator and his family formerly found partial occupation in the ginning and spinning of cotton, and even in hand-loom weaving. Ginning, spinning and weaving factories have mostly deprived them of this partial occupation of theirs, which was either an extra source of income or a means of avoiding some expenditure. This is one of the explanations of the apparent paradox observed in some parts of the count that the economic condition of the cultivators have grown wor in spite of vities of the Co-operative and Agricultural Departments.

More r, Ind ulture being still a gamble in rains, famines are not of ra occurr versity of industry is, therefore, urged as one of the preventives of fam scarcity by famine commissions and men entitled to speak on the s But this diversity cannot be attained so much by large-scale as by s industries. The practice of some other industry besides agriculture would a he general intelligence of the agriculturists.

Speaking from al stand-point, India has been, and still is a land of small-scale To those who have seen, or even studied the present stage of organization in the West, it is a matter of surprise how so ans, weavers, carpenters, smiths, potters, oil-pressers, shoe-makers are day carrying on their industries in their own homes in India. Anyhow, the fact remains that these industries have wholly or partially survived the first shock of the Western large-scale organization. But now as we are likely to organize our industries on Western lines, competition will grow more severe, and the small-scale industries will have to put in a very hard fight for their very existence. Not only the weaver, but the oil-presser, the shoe-maker &c., the familiar features of the Indian economy may vanish in course of time. It becomes our clear duty, therefore, to spare no pains to strengthen the position of the existing small-scale industries, and and for the reasons mentioned above, to create as many primary or secondary small-scale industries as possible.

In emphasizing the need for small-scale industries, it is not suggested that we should be content with small-scale industries even though they depend for their existence on the protection given either by the people through "Swadeshi", or by the State through fiscal preferential treatment. The industries must be established on such a sound basis that they can stand the competition of industries organized on a large-scale. If the weaver or the spinner ousted by the operation of economic forces were re-installed with the same old equipment his industry cannot hope to live long. Every student of economics must be watching with keen interest, the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi to revive the old spinning wheel, and the hand-loom. But unless the economic forces which brought about the downfall of both are removed or modified, it seems they will have to go down when the first flash of enthusiasm is over. It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine the forces which worked and are likely to work against the small-scale industries, and to see whether they cannot be overcome.

Firstly, the artisan suffers from want of knowledge. As a rule, he is not educated. He cannot keep himself acquainted with the latest improvements in the methods and implements of his trade, nor can he, like the head of a large industrial concern afford to make experiments for his own purposes. Secondly want of capital does not allow him to adopt new methods or implements, or even buying his raw materials in the cheapest market or sell his finished product in the dearest market. Thirdly, he hardly ever knows the business side of his industry. Even when there is no difficulty about capital, he hardly ever knows how and where to purchase his raw materials, or to dispose of his finished product. The idea of advertising his goods never crosses his brain. But even if he knows the business side of his industry, he cannot, on account of his isolated position, achieve as good results as an industrialist doing his work on a large scale.

To begin with the last two forces, co-operatio [illegible] ms to be the most appropriate and effective—perhaps the only remedy. [illegible] s of a [illegible] ticular area or trade organize themselves into a co-operati [illegible] ey mi [illegible] on their collective credit, be able to command an amount [illegible] l suffi [illegible] nt for the purposes of their industry *i.e.*, for buying raw mater [illegible] aproved [illegible] plements or machinery. They can also collectively purchas [illegible] naterials and even implements and in the cheapest market and sell their g [illegible] the dearest market. This would enable them to keep the whole profit of th [illegible] try to themselves, part of which formerly went to the money-lende [illegible] other middleman. But co-operative organization not only trans [illegible] fit from the money-lender or the middleman to the artisan, b [illegible] g him independent, changes the very outlook of his life. Once the [illegible] nself entangled in the debts of a money-lender, he practically cease [illegible] his own master. He carries on his trade almost for the money-lender [illegible] applies him with raw materials, and buys up the finished goods at a price he chooses to fix. There is no incentive for the artisan to work hard as he feels that he cannot reap the legitimate fruits of his labour. By making him independent, we make him more industrious and cheerful. In addition to the industrial co-operative societies which would confine their operations to particular industries or villages, there would be at least one central Industrial Society and one Industrial Co-operative Bank in each province located in its business centre. The former would not only serve as a link connecting the small industrial societies with the central market, but may, at times, place independent orders with them, and also do the advertising on their behalf. The latter would undertake the work of financing the primary industrial societies, the present Co-operative Bank, being unsuited for the purpose.

As regards the first force, changed times and ideas are working in favour of the small-scale industries. Research, experimentation, educational facilities, technical and scientific advice, and commercial and industrial intelligence are some of the forms of State assistance to industries now recognised Government. On account of the great national importance of small-scale industries, Government should undertake to keep the artisans informed of the latest methods and implements, and, wherever necessary, provide them with facilities for training. Even much of this work can be done by a central body created and maintained by industrial co-operative societies themselves after co-operative organization of industries has worked successfully for some years, and taken sufficiently deep root.

It must be remembered that though the large industrial concern has, as we saw some advantages over the small industrial establishment of an artisan, it suffers from some disadvantages also. A certain percentage of the annual profit, some times no less than 20 or 25 p. c., goes towards the payment of taxes like super-tax or income-tax, license-tax &c. The expenses incurred for management and supervision are very heavy, and there is always room for corruption. In industrial centres or areas, living is much dearer than elsewhere, and wages have, therefore, to be correspondingly high; initial and recurring expenditure for the accommodation of the concern is heavy, on account of the high prices of building materials, and of land available for building purposes.

It is not a natural law that large-scale production should supersede small-scale production. On the other [illegible]d, as Gide believes, motive power like electricity which involves little wa[illegible]d can be supplied to the artisans in their homes, would p[illegible]it new f[illegible]trial enterprise capable of resisting the encroachments [illegible] large-s[illegible]ry. Thus not only can we strengthen the existing small-[illegible]le indu[illegible] we can turn even some of the present large-scale industries into smal[illegible]es. It should not be impossible, for instance, to replace the present [illegible] or even spinning weaving factories by colonies of independent artisans [illegible]d into co-operative societies, and working in their own homes at their own [illegible] driven by electricity. Probably it would be sufficiently remunerative f[illegible] who have received fair English education either literary or technical [illegible] engaged in such small-scale industries. Apart from the questio[illegible]wer, industries like twin-ball making, tape-making, hosiery-m[illegible] bu[illegible]n-making seem to be unnecessarily run on a large-scale though [illegible] capable of being equally successfully carried on a small-scale. Again, the difference between the prices of articles of artistic value like embroidery and lacquerwork at places of production and places where there is a market for them, is often enormous. The producers of such articles can hope to get their full reward only if they take advantage of co-operative organization and maintain touch with the markets where their goods are in demand.

Co-operatively organized small-scale industries seem to be the only means of avoiding industrial stagnation on the one hand, and capitalism or socialism on the other. Efforts are, therefore, necessary to put the existing small-scale industries on a sound basis, and to increase their number by replacing some of the present large-scale industries by small-scale ones, and by establishing suitable secondary industries. Then every village or a group of villages should require a co-operative industrial society for its industries—primary or secondary, artistic or ordinary. There should be one or more central co-operative industrial societies and co-operative industrial banks of the nature already described. Good results have been obtained from the organization of agricultural and even non-agricultural credit on co-operative lines. Attention is being paid to the organization of co-operative distribution, but little is accomplished in the sphere of co-operative production, and hardly any special efforts in that direction are in sight. On the contrary, in the enthusiasm for the industrial development of the country, it is possible that the claims of small-scale industries may be ignored by the Industries and Co-operative Departments as well as by the people. Popular opinion should be educated on the subject, and Government should be urged upon to pay special attention to it when they launch the new industrial policy for which they are now preparing. Moreover, if, as it seems probable now, industries and cooperation become transferred subjects, the mandates from electors should show a decided preference for small-scale industries. We may, by all means, go in for large-scale industries wherever economically sound small-scale industries are impossible. But the oft-repeated statement that the days of small-scale industries are past, and that the large-scale production has come to stay is only an indication of an unimaginative mind which cannot rise above the present and look into the possibilities of the future. How few could have believed in the wonderful co-operative organization of agricultural Denmark if it were not an accomplished fact? In spite of the constant talk of the Indian point of view in economics what special efforts have we made to develop our industries on lines which could suit the traditions and the genius of our race? As the writer puts this last question he cannot [illegible] a voice of despair in reply, for, the words of Carlyle are ringing in his [illegible] let us not say impossible; it will have to [illegible] try to do it, knowing we die if it be not done."

Tilak: The Tribune of the People.

By "AN INDIAN THINKER."

THE first of August of the year 1920 will ever remain a most memorable date in the annals of India. On that day, when it was hardly an hour old, passed away Bal-Gangadhar Tilak, of whom, said a journal praised for its moderation, sobriety and judgment by that another remarkable Indian, none other than Lord Sinha, "We do not think that there was or is any other public man in India—we make no exception whatsoever—who was at all times able to command such a vast personal following, with a devotion unequalled, a will to obey without questioning, and a readiness to die, if need be, at his bidding." How many leaders of men have there been of whom this could be said, and did not this leader of man command the largest number of followers in the country? What such a man would have been to a nation less rigidly under a foreign yoke, than the present day India, cannot but be left to the limbo of what might have been.

To have received such a unique tribute as Tilak did, he must have possessed equally unique qualifications. Indeed he began a new epoch. That sage of Poona, the late lamented Mahadeo Govind Ranade, who adorned the bench of the Bombay High Court, was the first to discern the signs of it. When Tilak, and his ever memorable companion, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, vowed a life of poverty for the sake of the fellow countrymen, Ranade observed, "Here up to now" it was about the year 1880, "our public workers have been men earning their bread by service under government and sparing such time as they can get for public work. But now here are these young men, whatever their opinions be, ready to sacrifice themselves entirely for the service of the country. *The second stage of our public life has come,* (the italics are mine) and it is our duty to encourage them."

To an interviewer during his first and last visit to England, Tilak said that his love was literature but he was forced into politics by circumstances—a sentiment which he re[illegible] to the present writer within a couple of months of [illegible] (Tilak's [illegible]e self-less editor of the *Indian Social* bears testim[illegible] to [illegible]olitics were not Mr. Tilak's pre-occupation. The dim d[illegible]n of t[illegible] and the effulgent unfolding of eternity in Time were the high th[illegible]ngenial to his spirit. We remember to have read that he often [illegible]. It was his country's need that constrained him to a sphere, [illegible]der the circumstances, is singularly barren of creative opportunit[illegible]children of the soil. He stuck to his task grimly against tremendo[illegible] scorned delight, and lived laborious days. Here again hi[illegible]phy, no doubt, stood him in good stead. *He lived, what may* [illegible]*dedicated life.*" (Italics not mine).

The literary work, which Tilak has left, is enough to enshrine the fame of any man. What he wrote week after week in the *Kesari*, or in the *Maratha*, was mostly devoted to politics and was primarily meant for the Maratha people, with a view to revive their spirit of nationality, which the chilling influence of the last of the Peshwas and the paternal care of the early British administrators had damped. It is none the less an unique literature of permanent value. But it is on his few books dealing with the antiquities of the Aryan race and its philosophy that his continental and foreign reputation is based.

As Professor Bloomfield put it, at the time, it was the publication of Tilak's "Orion or the Researches into Antiquities of the Vedas" which was published in the early nineties of the last century and which was originally written for one of the earlier Oriental conferences held in Europe, that startled the world. In it, from the astronomical evidence found in the Vedas, and subsequent works, he proved that some hymns of the Rig Veda must have been written at least as far back as 4000 B. C. Professor Jacobi has subsequently confirmed this and it has found some acceptance in the European world, which is highly satisfactory, considering the great prejudice that there is among foreign, especially European scholars, against Indian antiquity. It was not again till Tilak found himself on enforced partial leisure—for he was undergoing at that time a sentence of rigorous imprisonment, for writing an article, which was pronounced to be seditious by a young judge, on the partial verdict of a jury—that he found time to resume his studies of the Vedas. He had begun it long before he was incarcerated and the news of his conclusions had reached that eminent scholar, Professor Max Muller, but Tilak had found no time to systematise his researches into a volume. This opportunity he found in the jail at Poona. But Professor Max Muller and other scholars of his kind were so incensed at the imprisonment of so eminent a student and discoverer as Tilak, that they memorialised the Sovereign of the British Empire to release him from imprisonment. But before this could be accomplished, in the interval during which he was confined within the four walls of the prison, where he was, thanks to the interest [illegible]inced by the foreign scholars, afforded facilities to carry on his studies, he [illegible] [illegible]itten the [illegible]nuscript of his "Arctic Home in the Vedas," How ir[illegible] [illegible]k of w[illegible]g must have been to a journalist accustomed to dictate h[illegible] [illegible], and [illegible] at a handicap on the argument of the work had better be i[illegible] [illegible] than de[illegible]ribed. By a strange fatality the publication of the work s[illegible] [illegible]ised with another trial which Tilak was undergoing, but it commande[illegible] [illegible]dmiration not only in the outside world but in India also. But th[illegible] [illegible] of his *magnum opus*, the philosophy of his life, nay the ideal whi[illegible] [illegible]shed his countrymen to achieve at the present juncture, was [illegible] [illegible]plished during a long imprisonment, which he had to unde[illegible] [illegible]ical offence. Tilak's *Gitarahasya* or the Heart of the Geeta [illegible] [illegible] an with the great imperishable records of the world. His premature death and the needs of his country, which threw him into the vortex of politics, have deprived the world of equally monumental works, which, as he told the present writer only in May last, he had conceived, but which he lacked leisure to put down on paper. They were a supplement to the Arctic Home in the Vedas, supplementing its conclusions from materials recently unearthed from the countries inclusive of and lying between the Asia Minor and Central Asia, the second or third stage in the Aryan invasion towards India and a work on Politics, just as the Gitarahasya was on morals, in the widest sense of the term. But it is characteristic of the energy, spirit and learning of the man that during the period of rest, which he was enjoined to take by considerations of health, that is during the interval of his return from Burma and his resuming political life, he filled a gap in the Sankhya Sutras of Shankar Mishra, which had broken the chain of argument in them and had reduced the value of that great work to a considerable extent. This achievement alone, which is published in the volume of the First Oriental Congress at Poona on his attaining a high age, would make Tilak take his place by the side of the ancient Acharyas of India.

But his eminence in the political life of the country, even though, as a matter of fact, a subject race has no politics, eclipsed his place in the literary world of his country. His masterly address to the jury empannelled by Mr. Justice Dewar, which is a production of great literary value and an illustration of his great mind and retentive memory, apart from its value as a survey of the inner life of the workers in the political life of the country, has been almost forgotten. In fact it would have been the basis of his work on Politics, to which allusion has already been made.

It was owing to his endeavours to ameliorate the condition of his countrymen in the political life of the country, that he suffered in money, physique and liberty. He began with the beloved Maharastra. He first tasted jail life owing to his part in exposing the hardship to which a minor Maharaja of Kolhapur was put, but he [illegible]t drew upon him the wrath of the British Government by his efforts to expose the sufferings of the famine striken countrymen in the middle of the last decade of the last century. Publicity of wrongs was a doctrine taught and practised by Tilak. Before Gandhi promulgated his panacea of p[illegible]esistance, or its milder form non-co-operation, publicity [illegible] wrongs [illegible], the only remedy. It no doubt presupposed faith in th[illegible]od in[illegible] spirit of shamefulness in the rulers. The latter da[illegible]octrine [illegible]th. Tilak until the last, had not become hopeless of them. That was [illegible] note of his life and work.

The risk to [illegible] which he ran during the plague epidemics in his city, the efforts [illegible] check drunkenness, his efforts in the cause of the researches in the his[illegible]he Maratha nation—he himself rescued from oblivion a paper, w[illegible]e only authentic chronology of the events in the life of Shivaji[illegible] the modern Maratha Empire,—and his efforts to reviv[illegible]is nation by inculcating veneration for its departed heroes and devotion to popular festivals, when occasion was taken to spread knowledge, are matters of history.

His philosophy of conduct is faithfully described in the following words by a writer, who was opposed to his politics. He says "To be militant, to embarass the agency that imposed order from without in the unhallowed interests of a people, alien to the land and concerned only to exploit India's resources and to perpetuate her subjection, to force them to surrender to an irresistible national will, to make with them no terms, which, while gaining small concessions might delay the day of redemption."

Although compromise was not in his nature and he believed in destiny, yet his doctrine was "skill in action," which was first preached in the Gita. He practised this, although in the words of the critic, who has been already quoted "To him (Tilak) authority was never sacrosanct. It was particularly galling to his proud and defiant nature that it was exercised by a foreign race in his beloved native land. Endowed with a dynamic force of character, he could never reconcile himself to the tone and inglorious life of a subject nationality. He was not the man to accept the logic of accomplished facts, He did so by promulgating the doctrine of "responsive action." Whether it was an alien government or a personal friend or enemy, he strictly adhered to this doctrine, which also he took from the Geeta. He offered responsive cooperation to the Secretary of State in his (Tilak's) famous telegram from Gangapur, on the announcement of the Reforms, associated with the names of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu. In private life "to those who were associated with him" says our critic "in his work, in howsoever a humble capacity, and indeed to all who acknowledged his leadership, he was tolerant and generous to a degree."

Great, as he was in literature, in the widest sense of the term, greater as his work in the building of the Indian nation has been, character was Tilak's greatest asset. In the history of his nation S[illegible]vaji alone could stand comparison with him in courage. There stands before our mind's eye a dimly lighted but gilded chamber. At a side of it facing the audience is a raised platform, on which sat a judge in his long-backed chair, with a jury of nine men, with a majority of persons alien in thoug[illegible] tongue to the person, on his trial. Facing them stands in a dock [illegible] an old [illegible] of 56, and exhausted after an oration lasting six days [illegible] the [illegible] is packed with Barristers and Pleaders. It was about 9 o'cl[illegible]ght, a[illegible] extremely unusual hour. The Jury, by a majority has pr[illegible] an adverse verdict, and the Judge has expressed his agreement with it, [illegible] passing sentence which may be transportation for life, the judge asks [illegible]ed what he has to say against the sentence being passed. I[illegible] opportunity given to him to submit. But no. Says Tilak "*I am i[illegible] here are higher powers that rule the destiny of things and it may be th[illegible] providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by [illegible] by my remaining free.*" The whole house was electrified and th[illegible] judge [illegible]est- fallen, which he vented by vituperation, when he pronounced the cruel sentence of six years' transportation for life on the adored leader of India.

We now change the scene to the white marble palace hall in the fort of Agra. In the middle close to the back wall there sat the great Mogul on his be-jewelled peacock throne set on a shoulder-high pedestal of black marble stone. To his left and right, in his front, stand his officers and the potentates of India, in every sense of the term, with folded hands. On the steps of the Throne sat the royal Princes. Beginning from the last named, all did their obesiance to the Emperor on the throne and then a sign was made to usher in the hero of the Deccan, who had defied the power of the Empire. Accompanied by the son of the Maharaja of Jeypur, Shivaji entered the hall. On his part he expected that he would be received with the honour due to his position as an independent sovereign, who had entered into an alliance with the Emperor. The latter perhaps fondly hoped that Shivaji would be cowed down by the splendour of the Court and would follow the example of his courtier companions. He faced the Emperor undaunted and when he was made to stand among the courtiers, left the hall in disregard of all consequences.

Tilak's courage in facing the consequences of his acts and lifting the responsibility once undertaken unflinchingly was exemplified on the occasion of all his trials. It is known that he wrote none of the articles, from the Kolhapur case onwards, for which he was convicted, but he never betrayed the trust. Temptations were thrown in his way to induce him to apologise, but he never succumbed to them.

His intolerance of injustice and his readiness to suffer for others, which were such a marked feature of his character, raised him to the dignity of a saint, in the minds of his countrymen. A High Court Judge, who from the bench, in a private quarrel went out of his way to throw mud on Tilak's character, has now come forwar[illegible] record the feelings entertained for him by the lowest of the low. The Jud[illegible] records how, when the great trial was going on and Tilak was delivering his defence, a low caste man showed anxiety for the great man. It was further exemplified by the demand of the mill-hands, at the cost of their lives, to produ[illegible]e the Tilak Maharaj when it was known that this id[illegible]f the pe[illegible]sported beyond the black waters.

By h[illegible]rceful [illegible] quote the words of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar "t[illegible] herois[illegible]fering" not only was he defied, but he raised politics to[illegible]e dignit[illegible]gion in India. "Politics and masses" says an organ of the extrem[illegible]ates "these two he was the first to bring together in Maharashtra, or[illegible]atter of that, in Western India. And it was because he did so th[illegible]rs that be, have ceased to twit the politics of the educated as that of the[illegible]minority. "In a word Mahatma Gandhi is reaping the fruits o[illegible]s.

"The chara[illegible]s persistency" says Carlyle and this Tilak possessed to the [illegible]t. [illegible] a case of his friend, which he had to see through as a duty to a departed [illegible]nd, he persisted throughout the second half of his life, suffering in money and body, but winning in the end, with enhanced reputation. But not only did he exhibit this character in private but in his public career also. He carried his hatred of bureaucracy till the day of his death. He first isolated it by weaning away from it his own countrymen. His papers wrote in a style embodied in sentences that stuck and burnt into the heart and soul of their readers. All persons relying upon the good graces of the bureaucracy were the butt of his ridicule. His principal reliance was on the *Kesari*, a journal published every week in the Marathi language. "The Kesari" says a bitter opponent of it "won its way to popular support, recognition and worship, among other things, by its direct style, by its mastery of its own view point and by the energy of the great personality behind it."

His persistency was exemplified by his bold stand at Surat Congress, as by no other event in his life. There he stood, dauntless like a rock, defying the wrath of the majority of the audience. Eight years later he stood at Lucknow on the same platform as they, worshipped of all, and ten years later he was chosen as the representative of the nation, at the world's peace conference. His persistency won.

A doughty opponent gave Tilak the highest testimony of his constructive statesmanship. Sir Valentine Chirol called him "the father of the Indian Unrest." If the idea of Swaraj, to which the Grand Old Man of India, first gave utterance at the Calcutta Congress of 1906, has been brought within the reach of practical politics, Tilak's teaching, preaching and suffering have largely contributed to it. It is the province of "Life" which his devoted follower and Lieutenant N. C. Kelkar, is writing to give illustrations of the statement made here.

Tilak was a portend. He set the example which has [illegible] fallen on a barren soil. It is reported that before he lost consciousness, he was uttering the verse in the Geeta which declares that the Lord manifests himself in the world whenever the moral order is in danger of destruction. He was probably thinking of the void that would be created in the country by his death and praying to Heaven to descend its grace on it. He was more probably conscious of the helpless state of the country and prayed for an incarnation to lift it from a slough of despond. The love of his country he thus carried to the last moment of his life.

What wonder then if such a man was so [illegible]ed as few men were ever loved. Founders of religion during their life-time, but [illegible]ore generally after their death, have drawn towards them a large following. But there have been few political leaders who have had a personal following at all to compare with them. Among nation builders, George Washington, the founder of the United States of America, alone, has had a nation to follow him. [illegible] numbers it fell short of what the following of Tilak was. Merely a p[illegible] [illegible]der, he by [illegible] combination of his saintly character with his pe[illegible] [illegible]rs for [illegible] country, commanded the devotion of the largest num[illegible]

He led a simple life. He was accessible at all [illegible] the day [illegible] night to the humblest of the people. No grievance was [illegible]ding to [illegible]erit his attention. Born and bred among the people he work[illegible] [illegible]nd died for them. His class fellows have borne witness to the purity ev[illegible] [illegible] thoughts and his singleness of purpose. His mind was always [illegible] [illegible]ith thoughts for the bettering of the condition of his countrymen [illegible] [illegible]ims to antiquity and excellence of the civilisation of the Arya[illegible] [illegible] his actions suited his thoughts. The magnificence of his funer[illegible] [illegible]anifestation of the grief at his death, unparalleled in the histo[illegible] [illegible]s of the world, will ever bear witness to the reciprocation of [illegible] people by the people. May God send a like of him soon.

Does India Need Philosophy ?

(By Mr. JAGADISH SAHAY MATHUR, B. A., LL. B.)

AT a time when so much is being heard about "education on national lines" and "education according to the Hindu ideal," and when various institutions are coming into existence to put this talk into a practical shape, there are certain mistakes which we are so likely to commit that only a timely warning and forethought can enable us to avoid them. I propose to deal in this paper with one of such mistakes,—a mistake which, curiously enough, has to do with a particular subject of study. It is the mistake of administering to the students an excessive dose of philosophy and metaphysics.

That this is a mistake which we are very likely to commit, is not a mere imaginary fear. Signs are not wanting which point to the fact that we are giving to philosophy more than necessary attention. And the chief sinners in this respect are our national institutions. For on a visit to one of the Gurukuls I found that the students of the college classes were given an option of taking up, and they did as a matter of fact take up, for their study as many as three courses of philosophy, thus :—

(1) *Prachin Darshan* (Ancient Hindu philosophy) (2) *Nav[illegible] Darshan* (Mediæval " ")	in Sanskrit.
(3) Western philosophy (in English).	

The reason for this undue partiality for metaphysics is not far to seek. The present Indian (Hindu) renaissance, resulted, to a great extent, from a study of the ancient Hindu masters of thought, Vyas, Kapil, Kanad, Patanjali. A re-awakening of the consciousness of their glorious past sharpened their patriotic sense, and the Indians applied themselves to the study of their ancient literature. Everything Indian began to be loved and extolled, so much so that in some quarters it is sincerely believed that India had in the past reached the highest point attainable by man in science and art. Naturally, therefore, the best that was in the Sanskrit (which was, of course, the various systems of philosophy) came [illegible] occupy the foremost place.

Now the tendency [illegible] undue importance to philosophy (by which term is [illegible] dogmatic [illegible] in [illegible] call a mistake, not because of any because [illegible] in any [illegible] other department of human knowledge, nor votaries have done [illegible] der-rate the great service philosophy and its deserves our great[illegible] nity in the past. On the other hand, philosophy [illegible] ect because of the immense good it has done to mankind. "It [illegible] parent of positive [illegible] impulse to all early speculation; it was the directed its faculties; [illegible] nourished the infant mind of humanity; of brutish ignor[illegible] nobler part of man from the dominion has given to hum[illegible] with insatiable thirst for knowledge." It [illegible] the patrimony left to us by, such Rishis as have been named above. It has been the 'solace' of the lives of a good many of us. It has helped some of the greatest martyrs in the cause of truth to die a peaceful death. Even at the present time its study has a great value as a training of the intellect.

But my reasons for deprecating the study of philosophy for the present generation, are quite different. They are twofold:

(1) Some inherent defects in the very science itself and in its methods.

(2) The injurious results of its study on the present time.

A writer of great merit, G. H. Lewes, claims for his great work, "A Biographical History of Philosophy" (Lubbock's Hundred Books), "the peculiarity of being a History of Philosophy, by one who firmly believes that philosophy is an impossible attempt, that it never has had any certitude, never can have any." While pronouncing a great eulogium on philosophy, which has already been quoted above, he points out at the same time, that he "respects it as a great power that *has been*, and no longer *is*." "Its office has been fulfilled; it is no longer necessary to humanity, and should be set aside."

In his opinion "the position occupied by Philosophy in the History of Humanity, is that of the great Initiative to Positive Science". "The origin of Positive Science is to be sought in Philosophy. The boldest and the grandest imaginations come first. Man needed the stimulus of some higher reward than that of merely tracing the *co-existences* and *successions* of phenomena. Nothing but a solution of the mystery of the universe could content him; nothing less could tempt him to the labour of sustained speculation. Thus had Astronomy its first impulse given to it by astrologers. Nightly did the old Chaldeans watch the stars in the hope of wresting from them their secret influence over the destiny of man. Chemistry came from Alchemy; Physiology from auguries. Many long and weary years, of long and weary struggles, passed before men learned to subject the vanity of their efforts. First came scepticism of the methods men had followed. *Induction* arose. Slowly and laboriously, but as surely as slowly, did this method lead men into the right path. Axioms were obtained: axioms that had stood the test of proof, that were adequate expressions of general facts, not simply dogmatical expressions of opinions. De[illegible] again resumed its office; this time to good purpose: it was no longer [illegible]

Then as to the aims of philoso[illegible] furth[illegible] ifficulty that, in the words of Herbert Spencer, it tries to [illegible] "Un[illegible]able". "The conviction, that human intelligence is inca[illegible] absolut[illegible] knowledge, is one that has been slowly gaining ground. [illegible] ew ontological theory, propounded in lieu of previous ones shown to [illegible] ble, has been followed by a new criticism leading to a new scept[illegible] ll possible conceptions have been one by one tried and foun[illegible] and so the entire field of speculation has been gradually exhau[illegible] itive result: the only result reached being the negative one [illegible] the reality existing behind all appearances is, and must ever [illegible] H. Spencer.)

In the same strain and with much greater force, writes G. H. Lewes:

"Philosophy only moves in the same endless circle. Its first principles are as much a matter of dispute as they were two thousand years ago. It has made no progress, although in constant movement. Precisely the same questions are being agitated in Germany at this moment as were being discussed in ancient Greece; and with no better means of solving them, with no better hopes of success. The united force of thousand of intellects, some of them among the greatest that have made the past illustrious, has been steadily concentrated on problems, supposed to be of vital importance, and believed to be perfectly susceptible of solution, without the least result. All this meditation and discussion has not even established a few first principles." "To aspire to the knowledge of more than phenomena, their resemblances and successions, is to aspire to transcend the limitations of human faculties."

These are, therefore, the inherent defects of philosophy as a science, which makes it a very unsuitable subject of study. But more than these are the evils which attend upon a more or less deep study of it, and which are deducible as corrollary from the very nature of philosophy and philosophical reasoning. For, what after all are the so much calumniated sophists, sceptics and agnostics, but the direct and immediate products of philosophy ?

Writing of [illegible] sophists, Lewes says: "In them we see the first energetic protest against the possibility of metaphysical science. . . . . Philosophy . . . . was denounced, not because a surer, safer path of inquiry had been discovered, but because philosophy was found to lead nowither."

As to the genesis of scepticism, the same author says: "In Aristotle, systematization of the Socratic Method, and, above all, in his bringing Physics and Metaphysics again [illegible] to the region of Inquiry, he paved the way for a new epoch—the epoch of Scept[illegible]m."

"The stronghold of scep[illegible]m is impregnable. It is this: There is no *Criterium* of Truth." . . . . All we can say with truth is that things appear to us in such and such a manner. That we have sensations is true ; but we cannot say that our sen[illegible] are *true images* of *the things*."

What [illegible]k place [illegible] also taken place in India. The Charvakists were the [illegible]stics [illegible] much maligned 'Vedanti' of the middle ages was [illegible]ophist[illegible] low type. The very curious phenomenon which one mee[illegible]with in [illegible]mely of the Pandits indulging in discussions for the sake of ac[illegible]pplause and putting their opponents to disgrace,—discussions which [illegible] them no good, earthly or heavenly, is traceable to this spirit of So[illegible] has permeated itself from the region of philosophy to all the branc[illegible] knowledge.

For these a[illegible] for none others, philosophy is worthy of being eschewed[illegible]hen we consider the question of the study of Philosophy wi[illegible]ducational needs of present day India, its worthlessness, or ra[illegible]ness, becomes still more apparent, India is at present passing through peculiar times. We are just awakening from a state of intellectual and mental stupor, brought on by want of education in us and our superstitious and fatalistic tendency of thought. This pessimism and enervation is in its turn the result of a long continued attachment to philosophy and philosophical thought, which has notoriously been the bane of India. The neurotic Hindu, made so by the tropical climate of the country and naturally of a philosophical turn of mind, given too much to brooding on the past and the future, stands, like the Laputans, in need of being constantly struck by the flappers and roused to the stern realities and the practical side of life. To load the Hindu mind more with philosophy is to help to bring about its complete breakdown.

The national educationist of India cannot be credited with any amount of success so long as he has not been able to form the character of the nation, and of the individuals composing it, and unless he has taught the Indians to be a nation of practical and energetic men. Action and not contemplation or meditation builds a man's character—strong character, of course. Writing of Napoleon, Carlyle says: "He, as every man that can be great or have victory in this world, sees, through all entanglements, the practical heart of the matter; drives straight towards that." This practical side vanishes altogether in a man who has given too much thought to philosophy.

There is one defence which may probably be set up in favour of metaphysics, *viz*, that it is a handmaid to religion, that it is an essential safeguard against the materialistic tendencies of the age, and that it forms the basis of *Dharma*. But these are all very doubtful propositions, and the defence is no defence at all.

In the first place, materialism, agnosticism, [illegible]eism, which are all the different names of the same thing are the results of too much philosophising, as has already been pointed out. The logic [illegible] theism is of quite a different nature from that applied to metaphysics. Instead of driving materialism out, philosophy is the generator of it. For it unsettles the mental equilibrium by making us search for a reality which is "unknowable" by our defective methods. Thus it is quite valuele[illegible]tidote to [illegible]rialism.

The teaching of religion, again, has [illegible]on w[illegible]e teaching of philosophy. The former is purely a practica[illegible] The [illegible]nsist[illegible] of teaching men to reverence others and to be always mindful [illegible]ities towards others. This is never learnt by studying metaphysics, whi[illegible] turns men's minds the other way.

It was on this sense probably that S[illegible] spoke to Arjuna:

न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्म[illegible]
जोषयेत्सर्व कर्माणि विद्वान्[illegible] [illegible]I-26)

"Let no wise man unsettle the mind [illegible] [illegible]tached to action; but acting in harmony with me let him re[illegible] [illegible]ctive", A writer has very ingeniously expressed the truth that for practical life and religion, metaphysics is not an essential or even a profitable study. Whatever metaphysics is necessary for it, is possessed by every man. He says:

"Everybody, at the present day, has a horror of metaphysics. It is to be borne in mind, however, that this is not because man is not a metaphysician by nature, but simply because he finds it almost impossible to understand or appreciate anybody else's metaphysics. The world is just, and therefore refuses to tolerate metaphysics any longer. The individual, however, can exercise his inalienable right to build up a metaphysical edifice of his own, and need not bother about another person's opinion on the strength or weakness of that edifice. The greater part of the mischief hitherto in the world has arisen from the fact that each metaphysician has not been content with rearing his own edifice in peace and quietness, but wants everybody else to acknowledge and accept it.........The only solution the world as a whole can arrive at with regard to their vexed point is to abandon metaphysics entirely in public, and to let everybody please himself in the matter in private........All metaphysics—but one's own, of course,—is distasteful to the palate of to-day."

It was his personal metaphysics which Napolean is reported to have used in the following anecdote, related by Carlyle, "His *sarans*......were one evening busily oc[illegible] arguing that there could be no God. They had proved it, to their satisfaction, by all manner of logic. Napolean, looking up into the stars, answers, 'very ingenious, messineurs : but *who made* all that ?" The Atheistic logic runs-off from him like water ; the great Fact stares him in the face : " Who made all that ?"

The question prop[illegible]d in the heading of this article should, therefore, be answered in the negat[illegible]

A Home for the Hindusthan Association of America.

By Mr. BROJENDRO N. DOSS.

BEING in business for over 20 years in India, England and the United States and a close observer of conditions prevailing in these countries it occurs to me that the people of India have at last come to recognise that the United States offer better educational facilities and opportunities for practical training than other countries and I have no doubt in my mind that as soon as passport regulations in India are relaxed, students by the thousands will flock to the United States of America.

To help and advise such students, the Hindusthan Association of America was started in the year 1912 as a non-political body, the objects being to promote the educational activities of Hindusthanee students and to interpret India, to America and America to India but for lack of funds the Association has had to restrict its activities to a limited extent.

As soon as our students set their feet on the soil of this country their difficulties begin. First of all there is the examination by the Immigration authorities which is particularly strict in the case of Indians, many of whom are taken to the Ellis Island Immigration Station where they are detained often for many days. Secondly the difficulty in obtaining suitable lodgings at a moderate price. Thirdly the lack of expert advise in deciding on the University and the course of study and fourthly the lack of facilities to meet and associate with their fellow students.

To be of practical assistance [illegible] dents [illegible] Hindusthan Association must have a [illegible], a [illegible] wholetime paid secretary, and a club for memb[illegible] [illegible] accommodation might be furnished here to i[illegible] students, and not the least important feature would [illegible] lar weekly lectures where the East can meet the West [illegible] intercourse and exchange of ideas.

Such activities will require la[illegible] the association, as yet, is poor. The problem can o[illegible] the Association owns a building where the p[illegible] d the secretary, club and lectures hall can be located. Its spare rooms could be rented for temporary residential purpose to the students, enough income can be secured thereby for the upkeep of the house and part of the salary of the permanent secretary. The balance would have to be raised by dues and contributions from members.

It is necessary to raise at least $50,000 to secure a suitable building. The money required should be raised in India. The Indian taxpayers are paying millions every year for the upkeep of the Government's educational advisers in England, who do not advise but place all kinds of restrictions and obstructions in the way of our students there. Is it therefore too much to expect $30,00,000 (Rs. 90,000) by voluntary contributions from the Indian public for a similar but worthier purpose.

Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh and Lala Peary Lall of Delhi who were on a visit to this city a few weeks ago promised to contribute $75,000 (Rs. 2,250) towards the house fund of the Association as soon as the necessity was explained to them. There are thousands of other public spirited men and women like them in India who can contribute similar sums if the necessity can properly be presented to them.

Our people in India need to be enlightened upon this subject, by means of interviews and articles in the newspapers and magazines as well as lectures explaining the aims and objects of the Hindusthan Association of America and the necessity of funds for increasing the activities of the Association.

The Indian National Congress should also consider the desirability of an organized effort to send our boys and girls by the thousands to study in foreign countries, particularly in America. It is hig[illegible] that the Congress devoted some of their energies, [illegible] doing in other constructive work, to educa[illegible]

Madras and Ceylon.

By "SCRUTATOR".

A London Correspondent recently referred to the proposal of a closer political connection between Madras and Ceylon that was being discussed in certain circles in England. This is an old question that has cropped up now and again but so far it has never gone beyond the stage of suggestion. The proximity of Ceylon, its dependence on Madras for its labour and the propinquity of relationship that the inhabitants of the northern part of the island bear to the people of this Presidency, render the suggestion more than one of mere academic interest. Inscriptions found in the island and in India bear testimony to the fact that the old Kings of Ceylon interfered in the affairs of the warring kings of the South of India as much as these interfered in theirs. A war of succession in the Pandyan Kingdom represented by the present Districts of Madura and Tinnevelley with occasional additions of parts of modern Tanjore—brought the Island Kings into India and if the national chronicle of the Ceylonese is to be followed, they seem to have been helpful in their endeavours to regain the lost thrones for their allies. This only helped to bring in the South Indian Princes into Ceylon and these incursions led to the eventual settlement in the Island [illegible]e part of large numbers of South Indians. Even before the historical invasions of the island, there is evidence to believe that the island—known as Amra Dvipa (or mango island) was well-known to the people of the mainland. Whether Ceylon is the Lanka of the epic Ramayana or not—and there is good authority both for and against the theory—there is no doubt that it has long held intercourse with India. The Buddhist Missionaries from near A[illegible]a's time (3rd Century B. C.), made this intercourse with the isla[illegible]even [illegible]ore frequent. Several kings of the Chola and the Pandyan dynas[illegible] style themselves "Conqueror of Ceylon" and that this is no vain boas[illegible]s proved by the testimony, as we have said, of inscriptions and the national chronicles of the people of Ceylon. When we come to more recent tim[illegible]ve find Ceylon actually part of Madras, being administered for someti[illegible]alf of t[illegible]overnor of Madras by Civil and Military Officers se[illegible]

The circumstances under which [illegible] for[illegible]ther an interesting episode in the history of Anglo-I[illegible]tions [illegible]e south of India. The Portuguese established themsel[illegible] West and South of the Island early in the 16th Century. Their p[illegible] were taken from them by the Dutch in the middle of the seven[illegible]ry and these in their turn were displaced by the British. [illegible]wever, did not prove successful in their first attempts. The [illegible] Allies of Hyder were attacked by the English at Madras, [illegible]ed his famous descent into the Carnatic in 1780. Nagore [illegible] chief settlements in Madras, were taken and an expedition was organised against their possessions in Ceylon in 1782. Trincomalee was stormed and taken by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. He, however, soon sailed off, and the place was, retaken from the Madras troops garrisoning it, by the French Admiral Suffrein who made over the British Force to Haidar. The second attempt proved more successful. Intelligence of the war with Holland having been received at Madras about June 1795, the Dutch possessions on the Coast were rapidly taken and expeditions against the settlements in Ceylon and Malacca were organised and the troops sailed from Madras on 23rd of July. The force for Ceylon was under the command of Col. James Stuart. Operations commenced with the siege of Trincomalee, whose Governor capitulated just as the troops began to storm it. Then place after place surrendered, including Colombo, with which all the Dutch possessions in the Island fell into the hands of the British. This conquest was followed by the passing into the service of the East India Company of the famous Swiss Regiment De Meuron, some members of which family lie buried in one of the Madras Cemeteries. The more notable effect of this reduction of the Dutch in the Island was the annexation of the Island itself to Madras. The Governor of Madras at the time was Lord Hobart and he took measures to effectuate his object. The Madras administration of the Island has been severely criticised [illegible]ccessive Ceylon writers, Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M. A., C. C. S., being the [illegible] of these. The Madras reply to these animadversions has been carefully marshalled in a recent issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary* by a writer who is well known in this part of India for his historical researches. It is clear from the discussion that has taken place, that Madras had a difficult task in Ceylon at the time we are writing of, both by reason of Dutch intrigues and native suspicions. [illegible] these were added the precariousness of our own position and the difficul[illegible] of g[illegible]ng proper information about the country and its people. The results [illegible] hardly have been other than what they proved to be. However, Lo[illegible]obart had the statisfaction of appointing a Committee to go into the matter fully; but hardly had its recommendations issued when the island wa[illegible]cted into a separate colony. The Madras Administratio[illegible]asted just[illegible] the Crown taking over the administration about [illegible]middle[illegible]s, though elbowed out in this fashion, was again [illegible] i[illegible]y during the rebellion of 1817-18. The Kandi[illegible] whose [illegible] bordered on the small belt of territory along the sea c[illegible], which [illegible] that belonged to the British, then made friends with the British and [illegible]heir king who had proved a veritable monster in human form. [illegible]followed by the annexation of Kandy in 1815. The Kandians, howev[illegible] regret the loss of their independance and led by their chiefs [illegible]ved by the diminution of their influence, broke out into ope[illegible]bert Brownrigg, the Governor, found much difficulty i[illegible]alled on the Madras Government for active help. Des[illegible] then in progress, adequate troops were soon collected and se[illegible] was quelled.

Though Sir Robert Brownrigg acknowledged that the success he had achieved was "mainly" due to the Madras Troops, his treatment of the troops was far from liberal. The Madras Government, however, interested itself in the matter and got the administration to pay the stoppages, etc.

This brief summary of the relations of Madras with Ceylon will show how, as in the case of Burma, she has been instrumental in making it a British possession. Ceylon geographically speaking, belongs to Madras. Politically it was subordinate to Madras towards the close of the 18th century. To a large extent, the population of Northern Ceylon is the same as that of Madras. The main religion of Ceylon, Buddhism, is an Indian religion. The Buddhism that prevails in the Island is, however, largely a mixture of Hinduism and aboriginal beliefs. In area, Ceylon is about five times that of Madura, while as regards population, it is just 1⅓ times that of Madura. In the language of Madras Administration, Ceylon is, territorially, five districts of Madras, while from a population point of view, it would be reckoned only four districts. One question, then, for consideration would be whether a separate and costly administration is necessary for Ceylon while it is really not more than four or five Madras districts. No doubt other considerations would have to be given due weight in a matter of this kind, such, for instance, as the form of administration that can satisfy the Island. the future position in the Indian system of Government that is now being evolved, the attitude of the people of Ceylon towards a closer alliance with India, &c. Whether Lord Milner's proposed scheme of Reforms for the island will touch on any problems of this type it is impossible to say. But there can be no gainsaying the fact that Ceylon and Madras are bound together, and advance in Madras means a demand for reform in Ceylon. The key to Ceylon's progress, political and industrial, is to be found in India, The recent developments in the Island show this more unmistakably than ever.

The Text of the Sakuntala—III.

By PROF. B. K. THAKORE, B. A.

ACT VI which has been adversely criticised by eminent scholars repays, however, the closest study in structural economy and ingenuity. The King's dejection, the painting, the jealousy of the chief queen, state business brooking no delay, the still more urgent business of Indra, the Vidushaka, Matali, and Sammati are deftly woven together into a continuous thread of dialogue and minor incident, exciting sympathy in itself and indispensable to the rounding off of the play into a perfect whole. It also presents two cases of dramatic judgment or retribution one taking the form of appropriate punishment the other of deserved reward. (*a*) The momentary experience of mortal fear inflicted upon the Vidushaka is not a mere whim or a detail brought in simply because the providential or architectonic whim of the creator of the play required it to round off his work. It is the punishment morally his due for a specific failure in his duty as a friend towards the King. The Vidushaka's own defence is "I took you at your word, my intellect being like a clod." The world of artistic drama is purer and subtler than the world of life. In the latter a confessed defect like that, more natural than voluntary, either escapes all punishment or is so severely handled as only to excite pity. But in the world of the drama even Nemesis acts more finely and [illegible]tably. (6) Dushyanta's generous proclamation resigning the crown's legal [illegible] to the property of the heirless and his undertaking on behalf of the crown to help out of it the relatives of the deceased in the same way and to the same extent that the deceased himself would have helped them in his lifetime, would excite a spontaneous response of benediction from the heart of every one of his subjects. "Whoever else died childless, may our noble king at least be spared that fate" [illegible] And in the world of the drama at any rate such a volume of deep and una[illegible]us fe[illegible]g can be represented as potent to bring about the desired result. The [illegible]clam[illegible] is the second turning point in our play and the positive cause of what[illegible]s, the removal of the curse by the accidental recovery of the ring being only [illegible] negative pre-condition serving to clear the ground.

6 (9) After the King's proclamation in Act VI the Pratihari's report in the Bengali version is,

दुव क[illegible]वुठ्ठं [illegible]इणन्दिदं महाजणेण देवस्स ।

Now [illegible]नेन [illegible] term, and it naturally dropped out o the text w[illegible]turi[illegible] Kalidasa the political importance of popular r[illegible]sentati[illegible]stitutions composed of them waned, but more quickly an[illegible] complet[illegible]he parts of India than in others. The Kasmiri version also has म[illegible] 36 .

6 (10) After [illegible]oon in Act VI, the speech of the *apsaras* is better in the Kasmiri version [illegible]he others :—

० जएणभाओस्सु[illegible] तधा करइस्सन्ति जधा एसो राएसी
ताह सहधम[illegible]गमिस्सदि । (नभोऽवलोक्यसहर्षं)
करइस्सन्ति [illegible] । जाव इभिणा वुत्तन्तेण ०

It is but natural and proper that Matali coming down to the King's palace, although invisible to all else, should be visible to her, and it is this that is suggested in this version and in this one alone.

6 (11) So we come to Act VII When Matal at the King's request stops at the hermitage of Maricha, the King naturally asks,—what about the chariot? Matali's reply according to Raghava Bhatta and Abhirama is संयंमितो मयारथः The Bengali and Kasmiri versions have a reply far superior—

समययंत्रित एवाय मास्ते रथः (37)

There are also a number of places where it is now one version and again another that furnishes the most poetical reading. But this paper is already too long. And the instances here examined have been deliberately selected with a view to dramatic rather than merely poetical beauty, and to exhibit the method here employed in various aspects. I am aware that all the conclusions here advocated are not likely to be viewed with equal favour. Nor are they all either of equal certainty or of equal importance. Some arguments and points of view appeal far more to some minds than to others. What I have to urge above all is that the method itself is of great range and elasticity, and although when taken by itself it sometimes yields different results to different minds, in the case of the Sakuntala at any rate it is our only resource for reducing and transforming our diverse versions into a single play illuminated from end to end by the perfect art of genius.

NOTES. 1

I have used the following editions:

For the Bengali version—

R. Pischel: Kalidasa's Sakuntala. The Bengali Recension. Kiel, 1877. I am highly obliged to the Rev. Father Zimmermann of St. Xavier's College, Bombay for lending me his copy of this as often as I asked for it, and allowing me to keep it with me for long periods.

Krishnanatha Nyayapanchanana Bhattacharya: [illegible]ज्ञानशाकुन्तलं। कलिकाता...वि, सं. १८२६. I have used the [illegible] of [illegible] K. Belvalkar, Deccan College Poona, and my obligations are no less [illegible] case also.

For the Southern version—

Sri Vani Vilas Press: Abhijnana Sakuntalam. With the commentary of Abhirama. Srirangam. No date but recent, [illegible] as No. 13 of the Sri Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series. H H. Rama Varma [illegible] and K. [illegible]napisharaka; Abhignana Sakuntala. With a New [illegible] Commen[illegible] Trichur, 1913.

T. Foulkes: Kalidasa; A complet[illegible] [illegible] Madras mss. (Vols. II and III give the Sakuntala [illegible] Madr[illegible] 1904. The last two I have as yet glanced through onl[illegible]

For the Kasmiri version:—

K. Burkhard: Die Kacmirer Sakuntala-Han[illegible] [illegible] 1884.

For the Devanagari version—

M. R. Kale: The Abhijnana Sak[illegible] with the Artha-dyotanika of Raghava Bhatta. 4th Ed. [illegible] [illegible]dbole and K. P. Parab: The Abhijnana Sakuntala with th[illegible] [illegible]aghava Bhatta 3rd Ed. Bombay 1891.

A critical edition of Raghava Bhatta's commentary based on the oldest manuscripts is a desideratum.

I. Vidyasagara: Abhijnana Sakuntala by Kalidasa, 2nd Ed., Calcutta, 1878.

Monier Williams: Sakuntala by Kalidasa. 2nd Ed., Oxford, 1876.

P. N. Patankar: The Abhijnana Sakuntala of Kalidasa. The purer Devanagari text. 2nd Ed., Poona, 1902.

S. Ray: Kalidasa's Abhijnana—Sakuntalam, with an original Sanskrit commentary. 3rd Ed., Calcutta, 1917.

The last three are really eclectic, P. and S. Ray, a little more than Monier Williams. Each of the three has distinctive merits, but S. Ray's is, on the whole, the best edition of the play for the general readers.

2.

Our catalogues record a large number of Sakuntala manuscripts, many of them undated. It is not improbable that expert scrutiny might disclose amongst them one or more which are older by a century or more than those few of which competent scholars have noted the actual or approximate dates. In this brief note I can only mention a few of the oldest of these dated manuscripts ; in every case I have converted the date into A. D.

(1) No. 193 of the Bombay Government Collection of 1875—1876 now at the Bhand. O. R. Inst. Poona 1531-2.

Consolidted Cat. of Deccan Coll. Mss., 1888, p. 83.

(2) Rajendra [illegible] Mitra's No. 1274 now at the Calcutta Sanskrit College library.

R. L. Mitra's Notices of S. Mss., VOL. III, P 300.

(3) Stein : now in the Maharaja Kasmir's Raghunath Temple Library. 1633-.4

Stein's Cat. of S. Mss. at Jammu, p. 77.

This if giving the Kasmiri Version should be collected with K. Burkhard, mentioned in the prece[illegible] note.

(4) India Office [illegible] 238 [illegible]his is Bohtling's Ms. G.
About 1650.

[illegible]g, VII, p. 1575.

(5) No. 521 of the Bomb[illegible]t. Collection of 1887-91 now at the Bhand. G. R. Ins., Poona, 1664.

Bha[illegible]kar's Report, 1897, p. 37.

(6) Ind[illegible]ffice No. 1[illegible]is Pischel's Ms. T. about 1671.

(7) [illegible]92 [illegible]II., p. 1576.
O. R. In[illegible]na[illegible]Collection of 1875-6, now at the Bhand.
Recensio[illegible]Latest[illegible]Burkhard has printed as the Kasmiri
[illegible]te 1676.

(8) Leipzic [illegible]ed at of Deccan, College Mss. 1888, p. 83.
[illegible]e first 21 folios about 1740 the rest about 1690.

(9) India O[illegible], Leipzic Kath, p. 194.
[illegible]is is Bohtlingk's Ms. M. About 1700.

(10-11) Ta[illegible]g, VII, 1575.
[illegible]bout 1700.

(12) Oxfo[illegible]
[illegible]ll, p. 173.
[illegible]o.
[illegible]recht, p. 135.

(13) No. 409 of Bomb. Govt. Collection of 1884-7; now at the Bhand. O. R. Inst., Poona, 1741-2.
Bhandarkar, p 53.

(14-15). Tanjore Two Mss. About 1750.
Burnell, p. 173.

(16) Buhler Cat. (1872) of Mss. in private possession in Gujrat, Kathiawad, etc., 1751-1,
Buhler's Report, pp. 124-5.

(17-18). Oppert, South India Mss. Nos. 1598 and 1599, About 500 and 400 years old,
Oppert, Vol. I, pp. 142-3.

(19-20). Ibid Nos. 2959 and 2960. About 400 and 350 years old.
Ibid pp. 156-7.

But Oppert says about the entries in his Age column that they are merely Pandit's guesses, "which have not been altered even where evidently incorrect."

See also Note 7.

3.

Two peculiarities of Kalidasa's art may be noted here

(1) Each of his Acts consists of several scenes, and

(2) The great majority of these scenes present moving pictures rather than conversation between two or more seated persons. Thus—

Act I. Sc. i.—The Hunt. Ends as the King enters the hermitage.

Sc. ii.—The King and the maidens. Even after the [illegible] their seats under the tree Sakuntala starts off in a pique and Priyamvada brings her back by force.

Act II, Sc. i.—The Vidushaka and the King standing.
The Senapati enters and leaves,

Sc. ii.—The two seated. The young hermits enter and leave. The camel rider enters and leaves.

Act III. Sc. i.—The lovesick King moving on to [illegible] bower [illegible]

Sc. ii.—The meeting. The friends leav[illegible] Sakuntala gets up and wants to leave. Gautami's approach. Th[illegible] goes into hiding reappearing when the coast is clear.

Act IV. Sc. i.—The foreground of the hermitage [illegible]
The Sishya. Anasuya enters [illegible] draws.
Priyamvada enters and [illegible]

Sc. ii.—Sakuntala seated. The old [illegible]
The young hermits enter and leave.
All perambulate the fire,

Sc. iii—Sakuntala proceeds from the hermitage [illegible] of the उपवन.

For the special meaning to be attached [illegible] see 5 (1) below.

Act V. Sc i.—The King's loss of memory [illegible] leaves, Kancuki enters and leaves. The King [illegible] gnisarana,

Sc. ii.—Sakuntala repulsed. The par[illegible] standing. The Sishyas leave. Sakuntala f[illegible] Leaves again with the Purohita. The Pur[illegible]

Act VI. Sc. i.—The Pramadavana. The girls plucking the mango blossom. The Kancuki enters. Drives them off and the King and the Vidushaka enter.

Sc. ii.—The Pramadavana bower. One maid sent with a message to the Minister. Another brings the picture. She goes again to fetch painting materials and returns without them. The queen almost enters. The picture sent off with the Vidushaka. The first maid brings the minister's memo Sent back with orders. Returns. The King swoons Sent again to bring the Vidushaka back. Returns to report him in danger. The King leaves the bower.

Sc. iii.—The Megh pratichanda terrace.

Act VII. Sc. i.—The descent to Marichasrama.

Sc. ii.—Sarvadamana and the lion cub.

Sc. iii. The Maricha interview.

Many modern readers altogether out of smypathy with the exalted indeed unimaginable powers attributed to the "parents of Indra" find this last scene too long and verbose. Another reason of their dissatisfaction with it may well be that here Kalidasa deliberately reduced the movement to which he has accustomed us throughout the play to a minimum though even here there is just a touch of it; a sishya is called, enters, and is despatched on a purely ceremonial errand to Kasyapa.

Robi Dutt in his English translation entitled Sakuntala and her keepsake—(Calcutta, 1915) [illegible] up some of the Acts into a larger number of scenes than I have given he[illegible] over-analysis has its drawbacks nor does it yield any compensating advantage. A modern stage manager handling this play does not need any one to instruct him how to employ the far greater resources of modern civilisation to set off Kalidasa's creation—a series of sculpturesquely moulded figures moving gracefully against a back ground glowing with all the variegated tints of romance in the most brilliant fashion.

4.

It may be tha[illegible]li rearrangement with its two additions (*viz.* Kancuki's extra verse, the [illegible]ka's extra speech) came into existence when the science of dramatic tech[illegible]ame to have an authority it did not possess in Kalidasa's day.

For Kalidasa's independence in matters of grammar, language and style see S. Ray, Vidyavinode, Intro[illegible] pp. 10-15.

Th[illegible]hasas[illegible]'s day into forenoon and afternoon sub-divi[illegible] each of [illegible]nd assigning appropriate functions to third [illegible]r of [illegible] the incidents of this Act fall in the taking [illegible] bath, [illegible]uring which the King is to be in the Antahpura Manu (VII 21[illegible]t, attending to his swadhyaya, etc. According middle of the da[illegible]eriod of comparative rest would be nearer the नमिव द्विपेन्द्रः a[illegible]ki's expression रविप्रतप्तः शीतं दिवास्था- himself, make [illegible]ions used by the Vaitalika and the King Act much ne[illegible] Kalidasa has placed the beginning of this from the poin[illegible]e Arthasastra scheme would allow. But of the Kancu[illegible]e difference is not material. The speeches [illegible] both the versions here compared make it perfectly plain that the King was about to proceed to his bath &c., when this new call of duty comes, and he attends to it at once.

6.

Compare Chamakya Arthasastra I Ch. 19.—

तस्माद्देवताश्रम पाड श्रोतियपशुपुण्यस्थानानां..... क्रमेण कार्याणि पश्येत्। कार्यगौरवादात्ययिकवशेन वा।......अग्न्यागारगतः कार्यं पश्ये द्वैधतपस्विनां। पुरोहिताचार्यसखःप्रत्युत्थायाभिवाद्यच ॥......

R. Samasastri in his translation (p. 43) omits the words **आश्रम** and **प्रत्थाय** therefore printed by me in black type in the above quotation

There are some close correspondences between passages of the Arthasastra and of this play. R. Samasastri and Fleet have pointed out one of these that between the verse मेदश्छेद (Act II) and the following in the Arthasastra VIII 3:—

7.

मृगयायां तुव्यायामःश्लष्मपित्तमेदस्वेद् नाशश्चले स्थिरेच काये लक्षपरिचयःकोपस्थाने हि तेषु च मृगाणां चित्तज्ञान मानत्ययानं चेति।

S. Ray assails the Bengali version of this passage in detail and ridicules it through and through see pp. 258-271. He also notes that one of the interpolated verses is quoted as Kalidasa's in the Sahitya Darpana (composed in Eastern Bengal about 1450 A. D. see Macdonell p. 434, "one manuscript of it is dated 1504 A. D."—Monier Williams p. vii) and that हृदयस्य निग[illegible]वमे (in the Arya मणिवन्धार०) is ascribed to Kalidass by Vardhamana [illegible] of the Ganaratnamahodadhi 1140 A. D.—Macdonell p. 431). And in Act IV he notes another Bengali reading (शिथिलानुवन्धम् in the verse उत्पद्मणो०) to have been reproduced in a work of the 11th century p. 353). Thus some of the peculiarities of the Bengali version are old. Nor is any of the extant commentators of our play older in date than the Kavyaprakasa of Mammata [illegible] Alata who flourished about 1100 A. D. (MacDonell p. 434). Hen[illegible]ner[illegible]tual criticism cannot help us in deciding between the versions unti[illegible] are [illegible]xceptionally lucky as to discover a good manuscript of the play old[illegible] the 11th or 10th century.

8

In the Kasmiri the speech is simply (नेपथ्ये) अय्या गोदमी In the Bengali, Pischel has चज्व वाश्रा वहु आमन्तेहि अ[illegible]चरं। उवत्थिदा रभणी। Canrasekhara's Chaya is वधू रामन्त्र [illegible]ns to s[illegible] for another reading *viz.,* आमन्तेदि which Pis[illegible]ling [illegible]ee of his authorities.

Krishnanatha has णं as the first wo[illegible] of the [illegible]tence[illegible]ch also Pischel notes as the reading of two of his authorities

9.

Some of the interpolations are obvious at the [illegible] I just note here four instances :—

(1) Act III, between the speech सहि [illegible] and Sakuntala's reply हला भण जं वचुकामा सि the Ben[illegible]

राजा—वक्त थं[illegible]

(2) Act III, little later, the King is given an additional verse after श्रयं स ते०, *via*.

अयंम यस्मात्०

a mere paraphrase.

(3) Act IV, after अभिजन वतो the Kasmiri version and Chezy have

अपि च इदमवधारय

(Chezy omitting the last two words)

यदाशरी रस्य०

(4) Act VI, between चूतशरश्च निवेशितः and the Vidushaka's broad joke चिट्ठ दावा इमिणा दन्डकट्ठ ए० the Bengali has the verse उपहितस्मृति०

I may quote here S. Ray's brief account of how additions and changes in an old text arise. (1) An idea strikes (the reader) when reading through a passage and vanity prompts the reader to versify and incorporate *it* with the text. (2) A passage seems obscure. Unwilling to leave it obscure when reading (it) with his pupils, the professor notes down in the margin an amendation which in course of time as the manuscript passes (down) from generation to generation is taken by later copyists as belonging to the poet's original. (3) A few letters somehow or other have become illegible. A guess is hazarded, which in course of time passes as the text. Pandits are Pandits all over India and.........it is unfair to the other sions to suppose that the Devanagari is the only reliable one......Indeed, no cension is pure......Laborious sifting and comparison alone will yield the correct text. The portion common to all the three recensions may be safely taken as genuine......" (Preface pp. III to V).

10.

The Kasmiri too, gives this speech. It also just mentions th माधवीलता it transposes the वाते लि० and अतिपिनद्धेन० speeches, and has some interesting sta irec If the untimely flowering incident is to be omitted and yet this speech is to be retained, the Kasmiri arrangement of the speeches and might possibly be more suitable than the Devanagari; but not at all other

Both the Bengali and Kas texts are richer in stage directions throughout the play and s of these d ed in every edition.

Pische लोलां दृष्टि० in his text through some of his natha gives all four.

12.

Act VI Sc. ii te) cannot be called a bifocal scene in the sense in which the expre above, for the audience cannot feel the same degree of interest in he King. Yet even there no two speeches of the Apsaras are long interval. The two longest intervals here will be eches and thirteen speeches and even in these two cas iously made amends by giving to the Apsaras two or n quick succession both before and after each long in

13.

Perhaps the worst instance of this is the King's verse in the Bengali version describing his own half-finished picture as soon as it is brought in in Act VI.

राजा-(विलोक्य, अहो रूपमालेरख्यस्या तथाहि दीर्घाबाङ्ग

Amd Krishnanatha and Chezy have also another verse descriptive of the same soon after. **अस्यारतुङ्ग०**

14.

S. Ray gives both **नतिर्यग०** and **मय्येव०** but holds one of the verses to be an interpolation and urges that the first of the two must be genuine. He brings up all possible arguments against **मय्येव०** although he has to admit that it is quoted as Kalidasa's in a work of the eleventh century (pp. 424-6). So let me urge still another point of view. Either **नतिर्यग०** is genuine and **मय्येव०** an interpolation or the latter is genuine and the former an interpolation. So far he and I are agreed though on widely different grounds. I hold further that no interpolator in his senses would follow up **नतिर्यव०** with **मय्येव०,** while the other alternative is at least conceivable. This is a reason in addition to those noted above in favour of my decision and against Ray's. But indeed this knotty passage is an illustration of the difficulties inherent in internal or aesthetic criticism—difficulties always to be borne in mind although for good and sufficient reasons we resolve to emplo[illegible] [illegible]s our final resource. For another illustration of the difficulties as t[illegible] [illegible] when the passage dealt with is longer see para 5 (3).

15.

In the Bengali version a little before the King's question to which the above speech is the pratihari's reply, we have

(नेपथ्ये) एदु एदु भट्टिए

The Devanagari omits this nepathya spe[illegible] an[illegible] [illegible]sion due to the fact that after all the queen does not come into t[illegible] [illegible]e. [illegible]ssibly there is not another instance in the entire Sanskrit drama [illegible] [illegible]ouncement not followed up by an actual entry. *Percountra* bowever [illegible] this question would the king send away the picture unless and until the queen was almost within sight! I therefore hold that this nepathya speech [illegible] be retained.

Durjaya is a proper name, se[illegible]
Here is burkhard's chaya:

अविषयगमनं कञ्चनान्यं च [illegible]रागं [illegible] मधुर[illegible] ।
अन्यं कशे विरएं पातलायास्था: भूम्र[illegible]

The question mark in both original an[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]khard's. The second letter in **पातलयास्या** may be a mispri[illegible]

Down to the present day in mar[illegible] [illegible] the celebration of marriage the bride goes to the brideg[illegible] [illegible] there only for a short period. She returns to her pa[illegible] [illegible] stay. Then she goes again, and this time her departu[illegible] [illegible]casion her parents and other relatives and friends make her valuable presents, which along with the presents she received at the marriage both from these and from the bridegroom and his relatives and friends, are her Stri Dhanam.

As to Kalidasa's date I think it can be proved that it is Asvaghosa who imitates and borrows from Kalidasa and not *vice versa*. But the question needs to be gone into more thoroughly than appears to have been so far done.

19

For an opposite judgment see S. Ray, p. 39.

20.

Act VI—See the verse एकैकमय० See also same Act, the King's first speech after he and the Vidushaka take their seats in the Madhavi bower. The Kashmiri reading is the best; it runs—

राजा—(स्मरणमभिनीय) सखे माधव्य सर्वमिदंरामि शकुन्तलायाः प्रथमदर्शनवृत्तान्ते यत्कथितवानस्मि भवते । स भवान्प्रत्यादेशदिवसे मत्समीपगतो नासीत् । प्रथममपिवनत्कथा कदाचित्संकथासु तत्रभवत्याः कीर्तितं नाम । न खलु अहमिव मिथः संपिदं स्मृतोऽसि ।

This passage would repay detailed study. The king has just been reminded that he had ordered his picture to be brought to this bower. So he comes here but he is thinking of the picture and the time to which it refers—the very first meeting सर्वमिदं [illegible]he first sentence is all this "Which (also) I did tell you." In the third sente[illegible]मपि means before the प्रत्यादेश mentioned in the second sentence. Between my return from the hermitage and my rejection of her, we had, the king says, many संकथा० You never mentioned her in any one of them. Thus the curse began to operate even before the king reached his capital ; otherwise of [illegible]urse he would have told Vidushaka all at their very first meeting. The las[illegible]nte[illegible]means—I did not remember our mutual agreement our gandhar[illegible]rr[illegible] Nor did you. Of course Vidushaka could not remember what [illegible]as told. This the king overlooks; a very natural oversight. Vidushaka[illegible] reply overlooks this last! sentence and addresses himself to the first [illegible]is defence is—you did tell me but at the end etc. In other words if on your return you had only mentioned her......but you did not and I had thus [illegible]on whatever to reconsider your last words on the subje[illegible]ir parting [illegible]d so gravely and impressively. If this fourth [illegible]e of [illegible] too obscure for Kalidasa or if it is thought th[illegible] is not in Kalidasa's manner, the Bengali व[illegible]y be substituted for it. But the Devanaga[illegible] [illegible]च्चिद[illegible]स्मृतवानसित्वम् looks like an imitation of the कथि[illegible]वानस्मि of [illegible]ence.

The point of [illegible] for the discussion in the text above is—even before the ki[illegible]ital and saw Vidushaka the curse had fallen, the king's fo[illegible]n.

Compare t[illegible] बृहस्पति's verse quoted by गदाधर दीक्षित in his [illegible] गृह्यसूत्र—

चतुर्थे मासि षष्ठे वा प्यष्टमेगर्भिणी यदा ।
यात्रा नित्यं विवर्ज्या स्यादाषाढे तु विशेषतः ॥

Also quoted in निर्गगसिन्धु III in the chapter on गर्भिणीतत्यतिर्वर्माः

23.

S. Ray gives all the verses in the order of the Bengali version but suspects the first two to be interpolations. See pp. 301-2, also his preface p. IV.

24.

The अद्भुत here is not the स्त्री संस्थानं ज्योतिः lifting up Sakuntala and carrying her off. That is not shown on the stage, it is only reported; and things reported, however wonderful, produce far less effect than things shown. Moreover this marvel takes place only at the end of the Act. The far greater marvel shown continuously on the stage through out the Act is the curse in actual operation. The forgetfulness of the king regarding one single person and all connected with her which Kalidasa shows to be both absolute and at the same time altogether unintelligible to the king, the hermitage party and at last even to the Purohita. The Hansapadika son throws out a suggestion as broad as can he imagined. It is lost upon the king. The hermitage party are reported. The Kamchuki says सस्त्रीका The party arrive composed of persons every one of whom the king must have seen almost daily during his stay at the Ashrama. He does not recognise any of them either by sight or by their voices. Sakuntala herself takes off her veil and addr[illegible] [illegible] and reminds him of their hours together. No effect whatever. Not [illegible] chord of memory is touched. The king in his own words appea[illegible] be alluding to Minak as a परभृता, to her desertion of her child प्रागन्तरिक्षगमनात्, and to an अन्यद्विज rearing it. The whole story of the peculiar circumstances of Sakuntala's birth and upbringing is there in these words. Every member of the hermitage party must take the allusion to be intended, it i[illegible] poin[illegible] but the speaker himself is altogether unconscious of it. They natu[illegible] ta[illegible] as a gross and deliberate insult; and yet it is this king, this man, [illegible] zen, they think, as to charge them with insulting him! An[illegible] while the king is totally unconscious that they could have any rea[illegible] for anger and complaint. It is an extraordinary blend of

This noble act reveals more and more [illegible]ty the more it is looked at from various points of view. I will h[illegible]

I. Both the parties in co[illegible] ri[illegible] clash of two wrongs, of a greater wrong and a[illegible] lesser is the familiar theme of the drama (and [illegible] and climax. But the presentation of a clash of [illegible] [illegible]ual [illegible] [illegible]ten[illegible] The poet who attempts it has not only imagination but [illegible] [illegible]emel[illegible] is because of the absolute conviction of each party that [illegible] ty. A[illegible] right, that the king on the one hand and Sarngarava on th[illegible] I [illegible] prepared to concede the supposition that the other may be [illegible] only for the sake of argument.

II. Many suppose that the poet [illegible] [illegible]en the characters of Sarngarava and Saradvata. There [illegible] [illegible]ure of it deserves careful examination. Sarngarava as [illegible] [illegible]rty identifies himself with the cause of Sakuntala and [illegible] concerned, as also does the king. These two opposed partisans are however conscious that they are after all partisans and conceding the truth that a man however impartial is not a good judge in his own cause, they accept the decision of persons more impartial than themselves, *viz.*, Saradvata and Somarata. It is extraordinary that this pecularity of Kalidasa's structure should have remained unnoticed.

25.

Roby Datta agrees with this, for he places an interval of a few days between the end of Act II and the Vishkambhaka to Act III (Op. cit p. 46). But he is wrong in inferring an interval of a few months between the end of Act III and the curse Vishkambhaka (p. 74). It is from Act IV that this interval of a few months separates the Vishkambhaka. He assigns a day and a half for Sakuntala's journey from the hermitage to the capital (p. 92). This also I cannot accept. Kalidasa says explicitly twice that the distance from the capital to the hermitage took more than one whole day to cover by the fleetest modes of travelling known to his day or assignable to Dushyanta's day, *viz.* camel riding and the king himself travelling in his chariot. (1) Karabhaka (Act II) reproduces the words of the Dowager queen.—"आआभिणिचउत्यदि अहे" He was despatched to the king's hunting camp in good time for him to reach it and for the king to return to the capital posthaste. (2) The king's promise to Sakuntala एफैफ० (Act VI) also contemplates the most expeditious travelliug both ways. It follows that the hermitage party taking [illegible]tala to the capital and travelling on foct at a moderate pace to suit Sa[illegible]nvenience must have taken more days to accomplish the distance than [illegible] The rest of his time analysis agrees with mine.

26.

Krishnanatha assigned two senses to कुल, पौरव, प्रजावन्ध्य, अनार्य also. But this is not only unnecessary; it spoils the verse.

27.

I have brought t[illegible]me[illegible]sis of the play down to the end of Act V and shown that the s[illegible]s [illegible]nuous upto the day of the curse and then there is a break of less t[illegible]ths. Sakuntala's farewell to the hermitage (Act IV) and her reje[illegible]on ([illegible]gain continuous At the end of Act V there is another break. The[illegible]is turns upon one single circumstances; our estimate of the age of सर्वदमन in Act VII. Kalidasa does not give any preeise indica[illegible] of it beyo[illegible] the statement that the child is not too old for Sakunt[illegible]lift up a[illegible] to leave all else to our imagination. For the s[illegible] the discovery of the ring to the end.

The[illegible]t adjective in either form not to be found i[illegible] must be[illegible]versions. अवलम्मिणो in Burkhand

29.

Not t[illegible]be fo[illegible]vanagari and Southern versions.

30.

The Kasmiri [illegible] the Devanagari and Southern also. And these have anothe[illegible]डु.

31.

The Kas[illegible] पविष्टा, wh[illegible]s stage direction another सरध्या सहो- [illegible]anagari and Southern versions also omit the first senten[illegible]

32.

The Kasmiri variants in the verse are not of any importance.

33.

In the last Act after Dushyanta Sakuntala and Bharata are admitted into the presence of Maricha and Aditi the Devanagari Kasmiri and Southern versions assign a speech to Sakuntala: दारअसहिदआवो पादवन्दुणं करेमि.

The Bengali version has instead only a stage direction.—

शकुन्तला पुत्रसहिता पादयोः पतति

Here the Bengali version is the best.

34.

For a similar reason in प्राणानामनिलेन line 2 the Kasmiri version तोये हैमसहस्रपत्र कपिशे—is preferable.

35.

The Kasmiri gives only the second sentence phrased differently.

36.

I take महाजन to mean the largest of the political assemblies, the fundamental assembly of the State or of the capital. See D. R. Bhandarkar, Lectures—Ancient History of India, B. C. 650 to 325, (Calcutta 1919) p. 121.

Similarly in नैतच्चित्रं॰ (Act II) I prefer the Bengali समितिषु सुराः (adopted by Monier Williams and S. Ray) or the Kasmiri सुरसवितयः (adopted by Patankar) to the Devanagari and Southe[illegible] [illegible]तयः.

R. C. Majumdar, Corporate life in India (C[illegible]) p. 52 commenting on the statement in the Arthasastra that the sam[illegible] of the gods consisted of one thousand members, aptly remarks that "these fanciful statements about things divine must have their foundation in" mundane facts of a similar nature actual or remembered. I may add that this verse suggests [illegible]hat the selection of a commander-in-chief for a particular war or i[illegible]itio[illegible] act under the general directions of the king and ministers, must [illegible] of the functions of the samiti in the polity of some model st[illegible]t India. See also D. R. Bhandarkar, Op. cit., last lectur[illegible]s a [illegible]ry good idea of the high stage of development these sam[illegible]ached in Buddha's day. A development which must necessarily hav[illegible] b[illegible]ne result of several centuries of progressive adaptation.

Krishnanatha comments on स[illegible]

समयेन सङ्केतविशेषेण य[illegible] [illegible]ङ्कोचित इति काविफलपद्रमः । अयं रथ अ[illegible] [illegible]चलती ति भावः । समयः शपयाचारसिद्ध[illegible]षु [illegible]कारे च निर्देशे सङ्केते कालभाषयो इति मेदिनी ।

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

Goods and Bads: Outlines of a Philosophy of Life. By Professor Alban G. Widgery, pp. 316, Baroda, 1920, Rs. 5, Cheap Edition, Rs. 3.

By **Mr. YUGAL KISHORE.**

PARTLY owing to the political turmoil that at present claims most of the attention of the educated classes in India and partly owing to Baroda being in a native state and not in British India, it is not sufficiently recognised that this capital of one of the most progressive states in India is contributing more than its share of the intellectual activities of the country. This beginning of an all-round organised activity in the humanistic regions of knowledge was made in the year 1915 with the establishment of the first Chair in India for the Comparative Study of Religions with the author of this book to occupy it. Since then it has developed on more than one side. The Indian Philosophical Review, the only first class quarterly of its kind in Inda, was soon started and has now struggled over the worst calamities that generally attend the early years of all journalistic enterprises. Not less important was the undertaking of the publishing of the results of the activities of all those connected with the Seminar for the Comparative Study of Religions in a series called the G[illegible]tudies in Religion and Philosophy. Several volumes have already be[illegible]in this series, some are in the press and many more have been annou[illegible]re publication. The book under review forms the sixteenth number of the series. The latest but the not the least in importance is the publication of the Indian Journal of Sociology from January 1920. Moreover all these activi[illegible]s are co-ordinated by being controlled and organised by one man—Prof. W[illegible]rumour goes right, the one thing necessary to complete this a[illegible]ical and organic system of education too has been undertaken [illegible]ially announced and Prof. Widgery is credited with the authorship [illegible]sive scheme for the future University of Baroda. Quite recently [illegible] also been making an endeavour to develop the business side of int[illegible]ectual life—printing and publishing of books. It is an ambit[illegible]ogramm[illegible] supported by the authorities which are [illegible]thusiasm as time goes by or to suppress s[illegible]ntrigues, we should not be at all surpris[illegible]ame one of the foremost centres of intellect[illegible]

If any[illegible], thi[illegible]e most typical of this activity that animates Baroda. It is pra[illegible]ritten with the sole purpose of bringing about better con[illegible]s a very curious origin as the author tells us both on th[illegible]he open letter to His Highness the Maharaja of Bar[illegible]the book. It forms the substance of a series of talks [illegible]uthor had with His Highness. The latter is known[illegible]l ruler always eager to learn and put into practice anything that is likely to benefit his subjects; the former by his many sided literary activities has established a strong claim to be heard on these questions. Apart from any other fact, this alone that the book is a result of discussions between these two highly interesting personages, gives it an unique value and it is sure to prove instructive to anyone not too self-centred to receive instructions.

It is the Outlines of a Philosophy of Life. "Goods and Bads" at first is likely to attract and nonetheless to perplex a good many of the readers. The alternative title makes it more comprehensible. Perhaps the titles—either of them might give a wrong impression of the character of the book. It is not predominantly ethical ; it is far from being predominantly metaphysical, though one cannot deny that it is here and there academical in tone. So far the terms *Goods* and *Bads* have had more to do with Ethics. Why it should have been so, this is not the place to discuss. At any rate the author has very gallantly rescued both these long suffering terms (anyone who has permanently to do with Ethics can be described as such with perfect justice) from the grip of Ethics and has given them their right place in life.

A proper understanding of the right type of philosophy is what is required to-day in India. India has had its philosophies [illegible] ere in the main of anything but life. Philosophy as defined and de[illegible] based entirely on experience—experience as understood by [illegible]ise. Though it is not written with any special reference to India, and there is no reason why it should be, India has not been out of the mind of the writer. Wherever possible he has availed himself of the opportunity [illegible] make practical suggestions for India.

Experience has been analysed by [illegible] (*a*) matters of facts, (*b*) feelings of attraction and repulsion [illegible] between (*a*) and (*b*) brought about by activity. The [illegible] of experience have values or more psychologically are values acc[illegible] they are experienced either as goods or bads. These values are clas[illegible] the autho[illegible] the principle of human function into 1. Phys[illegible] [illegible]llectua[illegible] 3. Aesthetic Values, 4. Moral Values [illegible] five classes exhaust the whole range of huma[illegible] [illegible]se values, whether goods or bads are all [illegible] absence of Bads nor *vice versa* And as human [illegible] [illegible]tenc[illegible] the conditions of life can be modified to the gradual ex[illegible]

The author takes up the discuss[illegible] [illegible] of Values in the order given above. The physical values [illegible] regarded as pleasures and pains. They are, like the other cla[illegible] positive, individual and unique. They depend partly on [illegible] activity of man. Some of the main types of the physica[illegible] [illegible]hose related with birth, foods, clothing, dwellings, physi[illegible] [illegible] taken up in turn and discussed with great clearness a[illegible] [illegible] notes on practical considerations regarding those goods and bads, especially with reference to the activity of the state.

The intellectual values are the next in order. They are what in common parley are called truths and errors. The origin of the latter according to the author lies not in the imperfection of the human Reason but is due to either our judgments being affected by feelings and will or to insufficient acquaintance with facts or both. As, of all the classes of truths and errors, those with regard to the ultimate character of Reality affect most the individual's attitude to the problems of life, all the important prevailing theories of the character of Reality are examined by the author one by one. He advocates as most acceptable Theism or the theory that Reality consists of One Supreme Mind and of many other minds.

It is not always that one comes across a proper recognition of the place of æsthetic goods in a philosophical scheme of life. So it is with the physical. But the former is much more neglected because the needs on this side of human nature are not so imperative as those on the other. But Prof. Widgery is much more than a mere philosopher. A mere philosopher could never have written "Goods and Bads." Apart from the fact that aesthetic goods as such, constitute a great part of the wealth of experience, they usually "are in large measure an acco [illegible] to the satisfaction of" other needs of human nature. Besid [illegible] suggested here that for those who are denied by temperament, edu [illegible] wise, the experience of religious values, how often the aesthetic experience [illegible] proved a great help in bringing about a comparative state of unity without which even an experience rich in the goods of many kinds is chaoti [illegible] t cannot be denied that a keen and well guided sense of Beauty has been [illegible] of many an individual where religion has failed or was of n [illegible] any case, I for one believe that except religion the aesthetic [illegible] most towards that unification which the author calls a good li [illegible]

To many in India unfam [illegible] philosophic thought of the West, a complete division of the m [illegible] the religious will come more or less as a su [illegible] r an [illegible] ed Indian, these two types of experience [illegible] under a single psychological concept [illegible]. It is a peculiar characteristic of the O [illegible] e one not well acquainted with the psy [illegible] rt due to the fact that the ultimate sanction [illegible] hical systems in the East has been religion. [illegible] of human life, Ethical or rather moral values should n [illegible] distinct from any other.

I remember t [illegible] p the study of philosophy, I was very eager to read [illegible] ted that it would tell me something definite about [illegible] ould in any case show me a way to become more [illegible] y disappointment when after going through severa [illegible] I was no better off in this respect than when I had started. They gave me no practical guidance. The chapter on moral values in this book is nothing of the kind of these books on Ethics. Beyond observing that it is very interesting and that it includes a discussion of the many difficult problems of life such as, Family Education, Vocation, Recreation and Leisure, Political organisations, Socialism etc. I shall not attempt to say anything about it here. There must be many persons who have been disappointed in the same way as I was and to them especially I should recommend a perusal of this chapter. If nothing else, it indicates on what lines a book on Ethics should be written for those who are interested not so much in Ethical Philosophy as in morality for man.

Next follows a discussion of the religious values. After giving a few examples of the religious goods and bads, the author proceeds to show how the personal in religion counts for much. The prophets and the saints he regards as religious geniuses just as much as we have geniuses on other sides of life. Nevertheless, the final judgment here as else where rests with the individual. The author sets up a claim rather hard to admit that all religious beliefs must first pass the bar of reason. "From the point of view of commonsense and especially of a philosophy developed by reflection on that basis, beliefs should be elaborated and accepted by the degree of their claims to be truth, whether they do or do not conform [illegible] and conation. If anything is to be modified it should be the latter [illegible] it is not always possible, for want of evidence or for [illegible]neous intellectual advance to prove that certain of our beliefs [illegible]uths. What the individual does is to suspend judgment and accepts them provisionally. He does not throw them overboard. Prof. Widgery will perhaps [illegible] have us reject everything in religion that we cannot at the s[illegible] as intellectual good. How much of the wealth of religious value [illegible]t have to sacrifice, if reason were thus given the power [illegible] our religious beliefs. It is not contended here, that religi[illegible] always be brought to conform to the test of reason. [illegible]tter that they should do so. What is urged is that by not being [illegible] test, then should not lose all their values for mankind. V[illegible] goes ahead, reason lags behind and the ev[illegible] truth or the falsehood of our beliefs is [illegible] beliefs demand intellectual justification, [illegible] moral and aesthetic justification? And [illegible] values too. And what would be the result i[illegible]dual ex[illegible] to all the goods that we experience It would [illegible] half the goods of life. This really lands us into [illegible] of good life which the author discusses in the ne[illegible] no such unity to start with, as the author admits. [illegible] When we have attained that all the goods will [illegible] one will not have to be rejected for the other. [illegible] be casuists and if we find our religious beliefs of gr[illegible] their truth, we might retain them.

With regard to the problem of unity, the author asks two very pertinent questions. Are the goods on all sides of life compatible? Are the goods on all sides of life open to all? With regard to the first he comes to the conclusion that they are. With regard to the second, however, there are obvious limits and it cannot be said that the goods on all sides are open to each and every individual. Also this attainment of unity is not a task for the individual will alone but rests partly on social organisation. With a socialistic organisation implying government co-ordination and control for the good of all and with the help of international co-operation in all spheres of activity, the author believes we shall be on the way to the attainment of a good life for all. We will try to give just a glimpse of this Unity in the author's own words;

"Without human love the mind of man is restless: with it, it is not entirely at peace. So have confessed the greatest saints: so have responded thousands of thousands of lesser personalities. When man has treated the problem of life not as a mere theoretic speculation but as an urgent inne need he has had ultimately to seek the highest unity in communion with the Supreme Consciousness. In submission, in co-operation, the communion with the Supreme, the [illegible] feels itself as partcipating in a cosmic system of life. God, the Su[illegible]ousness, is the contact with all others in relations of creator an[illegible]ce and love. Each may become conscious of the unifying prin[illegible]stem of life, the more each rises in intelligence, morality and religion. [illegible]he highest unity is conceived as a life of personalities with a dominant creative controlling personality. This gives scope as no other con[illegible] for the inclusion of all the goods of experience." (P p. 312-313.)

There is a p[illegible]ue, at the end of this treatise. No amount of gu[illegible] idea what the author has "up his sleeve" all this time. It is[illegible]f humour in life and in a philosophy of life. "Let it be[illegible]down amongst life's greatest values —to those w[illegible]ifficult problems, indispensible. More, let [illegible]eative process of history, as an attrib[illegible] is Profe[illegible]me being, God himself." That

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Legal Literature.

The All-India Criminal Court Manual. Two volumes. By P. Hari Rao, B. A., B. L., and S. Kasturi Rangachariar, B. A., B. L. (The Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras) 1920.

The Administration of Criminal Justice in Criminal Matters in England and Wales. By G. Glover Alexander, M. A., LL. M., (Cambridge University Press, London) 1920.

An Elementary Commentary of English Law. By His Honour Judge Ruegg, K. C. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1, England) 1920.

The Literature of Crime. By Colin A. Macpherson. ("The Civil and Military Gazette" Press, Lahore) 1920.

The Law relating to Secret Commissions and Bribes, Civil and Criminal. By Albert Crew. Second Edition with American Notes by Morton L. Macdonald, LL. B., (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ld., 1 Amen Corner, London, E. C., 4, England) 1920.

Concerning Solicitors. By "One of Them"—with [illegible] by The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C., (Chatto and Wind[illegible]tin's Lane, London, E.C.) 1920.

Mufassil Courts of Justice. A Plea for the [illegible]. By Jnanendra Nath Choudhuri, (Rai M. C. Sarkar Bahadur & Sons, 90—2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta) 1920.

The Legal Proceedings in the [illegible] Two volumes. (Published for the Government of [illegible] Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, Lo[illegible] 1920).

Laughter in Court. By Richar[illegible]ublishers Ld., 10 and 11, Warwick Lane, London, E. [illegible]

Field's Law of Evidence in [illegible] By Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Kt. (S. K. [illegible]) 1920.

THE *All-India Criminal Cou*[illegible]ion to the busy criminal practitio[illegible]-shelf of the Police Officer, the Magistrate [illegible]tains all the minor and the second all [illegible]d are amended up-to-date, while the digest of [illegible]ot-notes is exhaustive and abreast of the latest rep[illegible] in size, and neat in their printing, mechanical [illegible]ney deserve a large circulation amongst those for whom [illegible] The book will be highly useful for ready reference.

Mr. Glover Alexander's *Administrati*[illegible] *Matters in England and Wales* first appeared in 19[illegible] "Cambridge

Manuals of Science and Literature." In its present form it has been issued as an independent treatise, revised, rewritten and enlarged, and thoroughly brought up-to-date. It offers an instructive and lucid survey of the entire field of the administration of criminal justice in England and Wales and of English criminal law as working system in its full operation. A popular treatise on this important subject was a *desideratum* and we are glad to find that the deficiency in the literature of the subject has been now so thoroughly removed. It is the best introductory work alike for the layman and the student.

His Honour Judge Ruegg's *Elementary Commentary on English Law* is an excellent little work, giving as it does in lucid and untechnical language those rules and fundamental principles of the law of England which should be known to all citizens of the British Empire. It deals fairly exhaustively—for the purposes of the layman or the beginner in law—with the whole field of English law—civil and criminal—and presents an interesting conspectus of the rudiments of the laws of England, which have had so great an influence on the laws and legal institutions of the British Empire. It deserves to be prescribed as a text-book in India.

Mr. Coli son's *Literature of Crime* is an annotated classified
bibliography f the police, crime, criminal laws and prevention.
It me t works in English on these subjects. It
is a u n criminology and will be found invaluable by
students for purpos and getting up courses of study.

We welcome th second edition with considerable important additional
matter—of Mr. A *ng to Secret Commissions and Bribes.*
Of the first editio n his foreword that it "will be found
helpful to those w path of honesty and to those who
are called upon to this nature." The edition under
notice, containing otes on the subject by an American
lawyer which materially , will continue to be regarded as
one of the bject of bribery and corruption and
the incid nd criminal.

" sting and instructive little work
called excellent books dealing with the
barrist
which the other branch of the profession
deals mysteries of the solicitor's life. It
women tnership, fusion of the two branches,
tributes topics. Mr. Augustine Birrell con-
excellent additi ervations in his preface. Altogether an
e subject.

Mr. Ju has done well to reprint from the
Hindustan es on the administration of civil and
criminal just towns. They were full of information
gained at first hand of one who knew what he was

writing about. Brought together in a volume under the title of *Mofussil Courts of Justice*, the book ought to appeal to political reformers and the authorities. It will be found both informative and suggestive.

The Bombay Government deserve credit for their enterprise in placing before the public a full and authentic report of the famous trial in which the late Mr. Tilak sued for damages Sir Valentive Chirol. The report will appeal both to the students of current Indian affairs and also to those of forensic literature, for the parties were respectively represented by Sir John Simon, and Sir Edward Carson—perhaps the two most eminent lawyers at the English Bar at present. Their addresses and cross-examination should prove invaluable to students of advocacy as a fine art.

Mr. Richard Knight's *Laughter in Court* in an interesting addition to the literature of legal facetiae. It serves up a fresh many of the well-known stories of legal wit and humour with many others that are not so familiar and the collection is likely to amuse busy lawyers and judges after a hard day's work.

Field's *Law of Evidence* is a classic in Anglo-Indian literature, and before the appearance of Woodroffe's work it was the standard work on the subject. The edition brought out by Sir Asutosh Chaudh[illegible] laboration with Mr. S. C. Sen—is thoroughly up-to-date and fully [illegible] se-law. But the famous Introduction by Dr. Field is n[illegible] should have been carefully revised. The get-up is [illegible] great credit on the publishers. The new edition [illegible] By [illegible] pular with the profession, as also with the magistracy and [illegible] judic[illegible] & Sons, 90—[illegible]

Our Library Table: [illegible] rature.

THERE is no better cicerone [illegible] during the last fifty years than Sir Dinshaw [illegible] value [illegible] Milfo[illegible] k of this veteran publicist—*My Recollections of Bom*[illegible] 1920). [illegible] Chronicle" Office, Bombay) should interest a large cir[illegible] lds [illegible] ublisher [illegible] aw's reminiscences cover a variety of subjects, equa[illegible] tructive, and the book deserves attention at the hands of [illegible] class [illegible] charm as a narrative as also for its throwin[illegible] incidents in the history of the reform mo[illegible] ion

Crabb's *English Synonyms* [illegible] -s[illegible]ll the place of a classic on the subject it [illegible] ita[illegible]ently edited its "centennial edition" (George [illegible] Lane, London, E. C.) in which this wel[illegible] dual ex[illegible] carefully revised and amplified with t[illegible] definitions. The cross references have [illegible] ney [illegible] book is now fully equipped to supply the need of the s[illegible] The bo[illegible] thesaurus of synonymous words in English.

The war and the peace treaties whic[illegible] Ma[illegible]ght about so many political changes in the maps [illegible] "Ca[illegible]oughly up-to-date atlas was badly needed. The [illegible] plied by The

Multum-in. Parvo Atlas of the World (W. & A. K. Johnston, Ltd., Edinburgh, Scotland) which while handy in size is fully abreast of the latest changes in political boundaries. It is a highly useful work of reference.

To their "Choice Books" Series, Messrs. George Harrap & Co., Ltd., (London) have just added an anthology of seven hundred aphorisms "gathered and strung" by Dr. Charles Whitby. The short quotations are placed under twelve headings and cover almost the entire field of human thought and action. It will be useful both for purposes of study and reference. It is a pocket-size publication.

Mr. Temple Thurston's *The Wandering Jew* is being played at present on the London stage and the incidents and the plot have attracted considerable attention in the British Press. Readers in India would therefore welcome the publication of its full text (G. P. Putnam's Sons, London). Students of modern English drama will, no doubt, turn to Mr. Thurston's play with interest.

The latest addition to the English translations of the works of Anatole France is *The Seven Wives of Bluebeard and other Marvellous Tales* (John
Lane, The Bo London). Like the previous volumes in the series
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able little book of lite ness.

Mr. T. W. R rinted for the first time," Shelley's
A Philosophical V University Press, Bombay and
London). Though day are not likely to learn much
from it on the sub netheless a valuable addition to
English prose lite tury.

We welcome Edward Carpenter's *Iolaus: An
Anthology of Friendshi* win, Ltd., 40, Museum Street,
London, W. C. 2 it has passed through many
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authors d of friendship.

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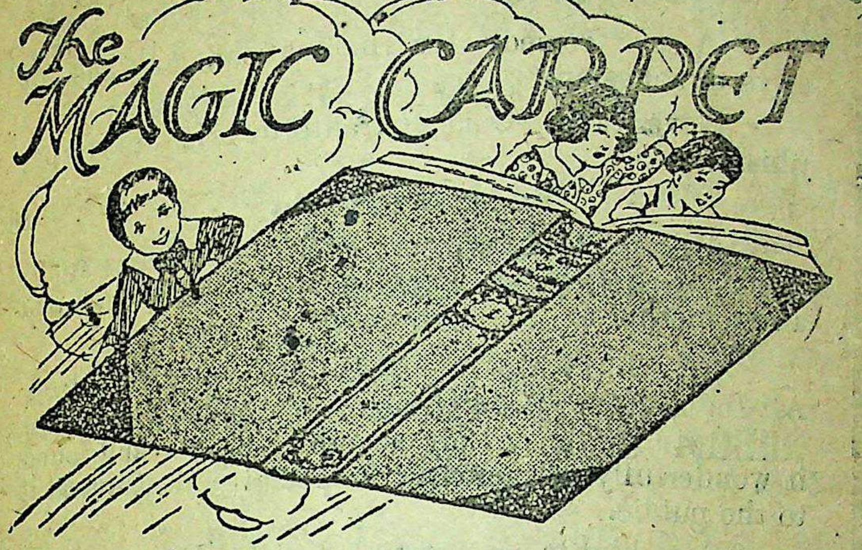

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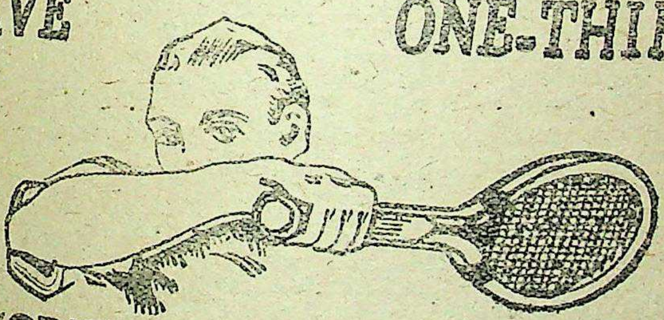

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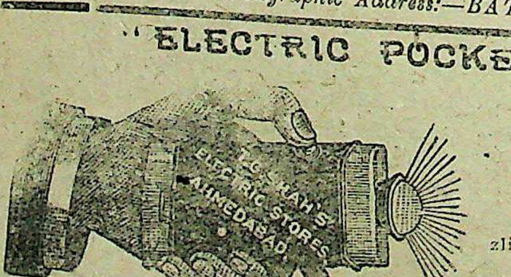

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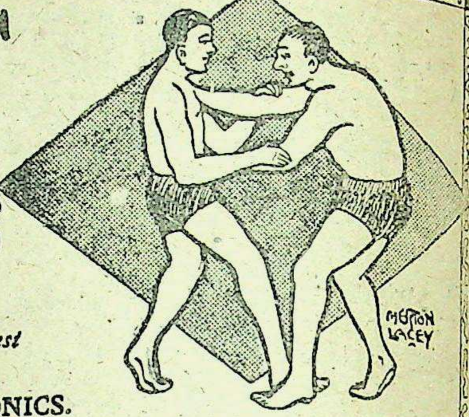

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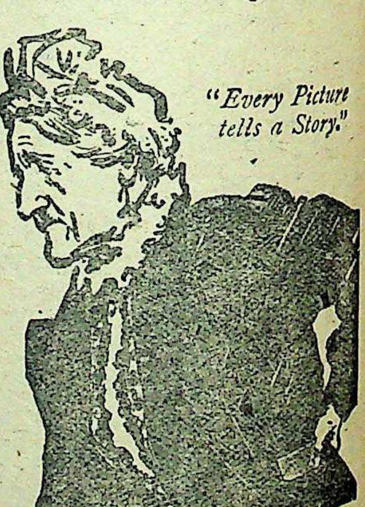
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"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C. M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."

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Loss of Mental Harmony as a Primary Cause of our Physical Degeneration.*

By Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

A sound, well balanced, peaceful state of mind is as essential for health as wholesome food in sufficient quantity, fresh air, and free drainage. As the Sanskrit sloka has it :—

"*Chitá chintá Samáyuktá bindumátra biseshatas, sajibam daháte Chintá nirjibam daháte Chitá.*" "There is but little difference between worry and the funeral pyre. The former consumes alive man, and the latter a dead one."

"When the ordinarily calm mind is agitated," observes Vasishta in the Yoga-Vasishta, "proper perception fails and the *prána* (vital current) flies from its even path and takes a wrong course............The food which settles itself down in the stomach amidst such commotion is transformed into diseases.........If this primary cause is arrested at its root (the mind), all diseases will be cured......If the mind becomes purified with true *Sattva*

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*From the writer's forthcoming work on "Survival of Hindu Civilization part 2. Physical Degeneration its causes and Remedie's."

(harmony), then *prána* will begin to circulate freely throughout the body, the food will be properly digested, and then no diseases will arise."

This statement of Vasishta's is confirmed by the researches of modern science. "Suppose half a dozen men in a room. One feels depressed, another remorseful, and another ill-tempered and jealous, another cheerful, another benevolent. It is a warm day, and they perspire. Samples of their perspiration are placed in the hands of the psycho-physicist. Under examination they reveal all those emotional conditions distinctly and unmistakeably. Each unpleasant or bad emotion produces its own peculiar poison, which has an ill effect upon the individual physically. But ideas and memories kill energy. Of all the chemical products of emotions that of guilt is the worst. If a small quantity of the perspiration of a person suffering from feelings of that kind be placed in a glass tube, and exposed to contact with selenic acid, it will turn pink. For each bad emotion, there is a corresponding chemical change in the tissues of the body, which is life-depressing and poisonous, while every good emotion makes a life-promoting change."

Hence the immense hygienic value of the development of good emotions, especially of benevolence. The insistence with which all Eastern, especially Indian sages, have inculcated them shows the depth of their wisdom and prescience. They did not rest content with the mere formulation of precepts and maxims, but ordered the daily life of the people so that they may be reduced to practice and ingrained in the normal Hindu constitution. *Brahmacharya* in the first stage of life accustoms young people to self-control; the daily devotional and other practices at fixed times from before sunrise to after sunset produce a tranquil frame of mind favourable for digestion and sleep; and some of them like the *Bhutayajna* and *manushyayajna* make altruism a habit. The upper class orthodox Hindu cannot go through his daily functions—cleaning his teeth, bathing, eating,—without reciting *mantras* which tend to calm and concentrate the mind. Whatever their esoteric significance might be, their hygienic significance is unquestionable. As they are recited now by the majority, they no doubt partake more or less of the nature of mummeries, but are not such meaningless mummeries as they are usually taken to be in new India. The prànàyama especially is a practice of immense value to health. As the Sanskrit Sloka has it,—

"*Yatha parvatadhátunám doshán dahati pabakah, Ebamantarrgatamchainas pránáyámena dahyate.*"

"As fire melts off the dross from metals, so does pránayáma consume one's internal impurities."

Through the influence of modern civilization, on the one hand these practices are falling into desuetude and with them the frame of mind beneficial to health they promoted, and on the other hand, emotions and impulses such as selfishness, greed, jealousy and worry are gaining strength to an extent which is inimical to mental harmony and, therefore, to health. The propagation of the gladiatorial view of life, of the perverse creed of unlimited competition, the creed of "can I kill thee or canst thou kill me," of false notions of equality and of the silly idea that the progress, the happiness, the salvation of man lies in multiplying his wants and desires, and the appliances to meet and satisfy them, is leading to the replacement of the religion of amity by that of enmity, and is destroying that harmonious, tranquil, contented and benevolent state of mind, which has been a marked characteristic of our people and which must have influenced their health favourably.

The upper classes have been the greatest sufferers from this cause. The prices of the indigenous necessaries of animal existence have been doubled, trebled, or even quadrupled in some parts within the last five or six decades. But the means of the majority of the middle class has not increased in anything like the same proportion. To add to the tragedy of the situation, their "progress" after the Western fashion has created tastes and wants for the gratification of which more means is needed than was necessary when they were content with the indigenous way of living. Their struggle for existence has thus been intensified to such an extent as to make their life an endless round of trouble and anxiety. The canker-worm of care eats into their vitals, and they become mental and physical wrecks. The misery of their situation is aggravated by a marked diminution of the spirit of benevolence, of sympathy and of social service which formerly pervaded all classes, and by the contraction of the social amenities which used to hearten and enliven them. The majority of the comparatively well-to-do among them have now either not got the inclination, or the means, or the leisure for those entertainments which used to be a characteristic feature of Indian society and which were open to and enjoyed by all irrespective of caste and creed. Instead of concord, sympathy and co-operation which promote health, there now prevail discord, antipathy and competitive struggle which prejudice health.

Even in the prosperous section of the Neo-Indian community, there are numbers who are also strangers to peace and tranquillity of mind. The Hindu ideal of keeping down wants and of plain living being replaced by the Western ideal of multiplying wants and of luxurious living the cult of the worship of Mammon is spreading fast. He is very hard to please and is never satisfied. He exacts numerous sacrifices from his votaries, health being one of them. They are in a prepetual whirl. They can never have enough, have no time for anything except for money making, no time for meditation and introspection. All day long their mind is perturbed, and they have hurried toilet, hurried bath and hurried meals. No wonder so many of them become lifelong victims of dyspepsia, insomnia, diabetes, neurosis or rheumatism. A few of the more reflecting among them exclaim with Faust, when perchance, it is too late:—

* * * * * * *

"Alas! I have explored Philosophy and Law, and Medicine;
....
Studying with ardent and laborious zeal;
And here I am at last, a very fool,
With useless learning curst,
No wiser than at first."

The strain on the mind begins early with school life. Formerly, the school hours (morning and afternoon) were suited to the climate. The students were under no necessity to bolt their meals and run to school, but could take them leisurely and had sufficient rest afterwards for proper digestion. They had but few text books and the range of their studies was very restricted. The text books now prescribed comprise such a wide variety of subjects, are so frequently changed and are so numerous, that it is difficult to say whether they are intended for the benefit of students, or for the benefit of the text-book makers and the Education department. Generally poor, they have a weak physique to begin with, the inevitable consequence of inadequate nourishment; and the violent efforts which they made to pass the University examinations tell severely on it. But the natural vigour and buoyancy of adolescence, and the hopes of a future career make up to some extent for the noxious effects of their mental strain. The trouble which begins when their school or college life ends is much more serious. The terrible struggle for existence they are then confronted with taxes what brains and energies they have left in them to the utmost. With hopes frustrated in ninty cases out of a hundred, discontented, disheartened, they and those that are dependent upon them live on the border-line of starvation, utter strangers to that well-balanced tranquil state of mind which is so beneficial to health. The vitality is so impaired by excessive anxiety, unwholesome or innutritious food, and work under uncongenial conditions, that they become an easy prey to various diseases. The ravages committed by tuberculosis and diabetes are yearly increasing. And inordinate mental strain is well known to be a predisposing cause of these diseases especially when its baneful influence is not counteracted, as in the case of the great majority of the educated Indians, by well regulated physical exercise and suitable food. There is a saying in the United States—"when Exchange falls, glycosura rises." "Of the 217 cases of diabetes," says Lieut.-Col. Kanta Prasad, "which had come under my treatment during my practice in India as a Civil Surgeon and which I had tabulated for my M. D. thesis, it was noticed that fifty per cent. of the total cases got the disease through mental strain, and 16 per cent. were connected with monetary affairs."*

Of all the emotions that disturb mental harmony and affect health most seriously probably the worst are anger and fear. To be healthy one's aim should be to be "Bita-raga-bhaya-krodha" devoid of attachment, fear and anger. Speaking generally, the average Neo-Indian has but a small share of the good temper and self-control of his ancestors. In matters pertaining to his health, fear also has got a greater hold on him. He is in mortal dread of chills and of the myriads of germs that people the air and the water. Caution within limits is commendable. But excessive caution degenerates into cowardice which is inimical to sound health. Its evil effects are well illustrated by an Arab fable. Once upon a time, a traveller met the plague going to Cairo, and asked what was the object of his visit. "To kill three thousand people" rejoined the plague. After sometime the traveller happened to meet the plague on its return journey and complained that thirty thousand had been killed. "I am not responsible for that," protested the plague, "I only killed three thousand. The other twenty-seven thousand died of fright at my arrival." Goethe says that "Napoleon visited those sick of the plague to show that the man who could vanquish fear could conquer the plague as well. "And he was right" adds the poet, "tis incredible what force the will has in such cases; it penetrates the body and profits it in a state of activity which repels all hurtful influences, whilst fear invites them."

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* "Health and Mortality amongst Educated Indians", p. 169.

The Ecclesiastical Expenditure : A Burden on Indian Revenues

By Mr. P. V. CHALAPATI ROW, B. L.

PART X of the Government of India Act 1915 provides for the incurring out of Indian revenues certain expenses of the Christian Churches. It provides for the maintenance of the offices of the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. These Bishops are appointed by his Majesty by Letters Patent. And sect 118 provides for the payment of the Bishops as well as the Archdeacons at the three Presidencies such salaries and allowances as may be fixed by the Secretary of State in Council. Expenses of visitation of the said Bishops are also to be paid out of the Revenues of India. A sum equivalent to one year's salary including sums already received is to be paid in the case of the Bishop of Calcutta if he dies during the voyage to or within six months of his arrival in India and in the case of the other Bishops in the latter case only. Six months' salary extra is to be paid in case where the said Bishops die in the possession of their office and within six months after arrival in India. Sec. 120 of the Act of 1915 provides for the grant out of the revenues of India to a Bishop of Calcutta pensions not exceeding £1,500, £1,000 and £750 per annum according as he has served as Bishop for ten years, seven and five years respectively. Residence as Bishops of Madras and Bombay for fifteen years entitles them to a pension not exceeding £800 per annum.

Two members of the establishment of chaplains in each of the presidencies are also to be maintained out of Indian revenues.

Sec. 123 provides for general grants by the Governor-General in Council with the sanction of the Secretary of State to any sect, persuasion or community of Christians not being of the Church of England or of Scotland such sums of money as may be expedient for the purpose of instruction or the maintenance of places of worship.

It cannot be too emphatically asserted that the Government of India is a concern held by England as a sacred trust on behalf of the people of India for the people of India.

That position Britain herself has recognised in the declaration that full responsible Government is the final goal for India. The strict fulfilment of that trust is what India expects and demands of England. And England and her servants must keep in mind that the supreme test of the justice and injustice of every action done or contemplated with respect to India is that, that action should conform to the trust. Applying this test to the maintenance of the offices of Bishops, and other church dignitories out of the revenues of India it will be evident that this action is particularly unjust to the peoples of India; that in the change from actual sovereignty to the position of trustees which England now holds the payment of the emoluments of the offices of Bishops and from the revenues of India which was perhaps justified in the early days when the sovereignty of England and the subjection of India were the ruling ideas can no more be justified and continued.

From the point of view of Modern India and the changed angle of vision in the Government it is no more permissible to credit the expenses of establishments religious in their nature to the revenues of India. India has no State church. Its teeming millions belong to different creeds and different races, ancient and historic in their nature, and the Christians form a microscopic minority. Particular religions cannot without gross injustice be fostered by the general revenues derived from tax-payers who would be the last persons to take any steps for propagating any religion which is not their own. Again England has pledged itself to a policy of non-interference in religious matters and such a provision in the statute-book and its continuance any longer therein is a clear violation of that pledge justified neither by reason nor impartiality. England is not a proseletysing state and the mission of conversion to Christianity cannot be the motive for continuing such a state of things any longer. It is perhaps with feelings of surprise and dismay that one perceives that in the Reform Act instead of the said provisions being abrogated the unfairness is sought to be perpetuated. Expenditure which comes under the denomination ecclesiastical—such classification to be made by the Governor-General in Council and to be conclusive—is expressly exempted from the Budget Operations. A proposal for appropriation of revenues under these heads shall not be voted by the Legislative Assemblies. No discussion about such items is permitted except with the consent of the Governor-General. This ecclesiastical expenditure is classed with political and defence as if on it depended the maintenance of the British Government itself. One is moved to exclaim 'this is not fairplay.' Honor and a sense of justice alone should prevent any such abuse of powers. Sec. 123 of the Government of India Act errs on the other side. It actively helps particular classes of Christians. The Foreign Government conscious of its nature as a trustee yet tries to keep such unjustifiable provisions which do not exactly redound to its credit. Sec. 123 should be immediately abolished from the statute-book. The statesmen at the helm of affairs probably fear the wrath of the Christian Church of England. Far be it from me to disparage any particular religion. For all religions are but expressions of the same yearning in man for the infinite and Divine in him. It is not postulated that the offices of Christian Bishops and Chaplains in India be abolished. There is another way out of the question and England must at once apply the remedy—transfer such expenditure on account to the revenues of England.

The pensions of these Church officers being in the nature of consideration for past religious services, it is all the more inequitable to burden Indian tax-payers with such expenses. England must at once as a first step begin to support the ministers of religion in their old age.

As an example one finds in the year 1906, a net expenditure of Rs. 1,835,585 or nearly two million Rupees on church establishments. The average expenditure per year for the ten years ending 1906 was Rs. 1,700,000. (East India Income and Expenditure, 1895-1906) and the sums spent on this account say in a course of eight years would make an enormous figure which sum invested in some work of general public utility would be a source of profit and a satisfactory return to the tax-payer.

India cannot afford to have such large sums wasted away on purposes of doubtful utility as she supposes to the souls of her vast majorities and better utilised otherwise for the Commonweal.

It is bare justice that India demands, that England shall bear out of her own revenues the expenditure of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. And England cannot refuse such a claim consistently with her recognition as the final goal the development of full responsible Government a Government based on the will of the people and responsible to the people for its deeds good or bad.

Civilisation and Morals.

By Mr. K. RAJAH IYER, B. A., B. L.

SIR Henry Maine in his famous work on "Ancient Law" remarks that morality has advanced from a very rude to a highly refined conception in the interval between the ancient Roman days and ours and in illustration points out that while the only form of dishonesty treated of in the most ancient Roman Law is Theft the newest chapter in the English criminal law at the time at which he writes is one which attempts to prescribe punishment for the frauds of trustees. His theory seems to be that every addition to the penal law of a country indicates to a certain extent an advance in the morality of the country, the newly created offence being called forth by the moral consciousness which sees a crime where formerly there was none. He also argues that good faith and trust in our fellows are more widely diffused than of old and that the fact that we are often confronted with the spectacle of colossal frauds only shows clearly that scrupulous honesty is displayed in the average of the transactions which in the particular cases have supplied the delinquents with their opportunity. With the soundness of the proposition that the conception of morality has widened we shall not quarrel, though even here it may be said that the broad lines have ever remained uniform. Justice has never been regarded as a vice nor injustice ever a virtue. The standard of morals does change within certain limits as society evolves and progresses and it is but natural that the details fitting in into the general framework should vary in different ages and under different conditions while the central basis remains the same. It may however be conceded that the present age is one in which the conception of morality stands at a level at which it has never stood before and that a perfect code of unimpeachable morals has been drawn up by thinkers, published in books, and preached from the pulpit. But how does the matter stand in actual practice? It has been said that the age of the highest moral teaching is often not that of the highest level of practice, and the statement applies notoriously to the present age. It will come as a rude shock to many to be told that immorality has increased and is increasing in undue proportions with the onward march of civilisation and that the truth regarding the relation between civilisation and crime lies far *far* from the popular notion. But there seems no room to doubt that it is so.

An addition to the criminal code may mean one of two things and more often than not it means both, *viz.* that it is an indication of an advance in the conception of morality as indicated by Sir Henry Maine or that it is an attempt to reach the astute cunning criminal whose devilish ingenuity enables him to find means to evade the penalties of the existing law. But one thing it invariably and indisputably points to and that is the greater prevalence of crime, the appearance or apprehended appearance of some new offence to meet which the energies of the Legislative have to be summoned into requisition. A new statute is rendered necessary only when a state of things exists which is deemed dangerous to the peace or well-being of the community and which has to be remedied. A medicine is administered to the human body only when it is diseased; and the greater the ailment which afflict it the more numerous are the remedies applied. The state and stage of the affliction are revealed to us by the efforts directed towards its cure. And the same applies to society also. The vast body of criminal law in all countries judicial and legislative testify undeniably to a wide range of criminal activity and the vast additions to it year after year afford the first evidence of an evergrowing state of crime.

The speculative reasoning followed above finds ample support in the mass of direct evidence which shrewd observation of human life in its many phases reveals to us. We will for a moment leave out of consideration the numerous small deviations from the straight path of rectitude which men make in the course of their lives, to the manifold ways in which mortals attempt to gain at the expense of others and to acquire wealth and name. Reprehensible as they are and pointing though they do to a laxity of moral conception they pale into insignificance in comparison to the state of seething criminal activity which surrounds us everywhere nowadays. The law takes cognisance of the latter alone which are termed "crimes" and to which sanctions or punishments are attached while the former generally fall within the region of strict legal obligation and so can only be visited if at all with social obloquy. But the fact for us is that both point equally to a low standard of practice in morals; and legal offences especially are characterised by a high degree of moral turpitude. Sir Henry Maine has stated that good faith and trust in our fellowmen are more widely diffused than of old, but this is open to grave doubt. The old simplicity of life and purity of character that marked out the generality of mankind in days prior to the full setting-in of the modern civilisations are conspicuous by their absence; the conditions of modern life with its ever increasing wants and longings and the keen struggle for existence getting keener every day preclude the possibility of the old order being kept up. It is not the stern unbending man of uncompromising morals and rectitude who is generally able to thrive in this world, but it is the noisy, pushing, unscrupulous individual ready to take advantage of other people's weaknesses and to reap the full profit out of them. He looks to the end and the end alone ignoring the means by which he achieves his purpose. Mutual distrust, fear, and jealousy are more rife than ever; and the argument that men do place their money more readily in the hands of others—as evidenced by the fertile growth of banks and companies—does not really go to show the contrary. Banks flourish and companies multiply because the gigantic expansion of commerce and industry requires the laying out of capital on an unprecedented scale. Thousands entrust their money to banks and commercial concerns with apparent confidence firstly because money has to be invested and the other modes of investment have either grown out of date or are not found profitable and secondly because in concerns controlled by a number of persons on modern lines the scope for fraud is cut down to the lowest possible minimum, the same mutual distrust being in active play there also. There are of course always a fair average of men of unblamable character and reputation who display scrupulous honesty in their dealings and in whom confidence is reposed and richly deserved. But we are not strangers to without companies headed by hair brained speculators or crafty adventurers and scarcely a day passes our hearing of some such vanishing like a mushroom.

We have only to keep our eyes open to realise the overflowing abundance of actual crime in all its many shapes and forms and then we are surprised beyond measure to think that in a world of progressive civilisation and culture with its daunted education and refinement so many men should be found sunk in ignorance and groping in vice. Murders in legion we hear of; why, in the United

States of America alone it is computed that about 10,000 murders are committed every year. Man has violent passions which occasionally deprive him of self-control, and the brute instinct in him to kill is not quite dead yet. Therefore murders there are bound to be at all times, but never in such abundance. Taking theft next, actual burglaries and highway robberies are probably fewer in number and show a tendency to decrease, but the ultra-refined ways in which swindling is carried on simply take one's breath away. Even in the region of actual theft advantage has been taken of every scientific invention by the modern criminal to aid him in his methods. Electricity helps him to do the work and the motor car serves to carry him miles from the scene of his exploits while the helpless officers of the law stand gaping. Systematic associations of robbers known in Europe as continental gangs operate in different countries on systematic lines and share the spoil. The ingenuity displayed in such transactions is often of such a high order that we are lost in wonder and speculate on what it might be if it were employed in legitimate objects. The fact that these things are as few as they are and not greater in number is solely due to the efficiency of the administration. It has been said that "Honesty is the best policy" is a fact that very much depends on the condition of the police force; and nothing truer has ever been said. In places and countries where the administration is not efficient and criminals are not brought to book with despatch the record of crime is darker than where the impending grip of an able and powerful police is always in fear. Withdraw the police force and see the state of the country, the perfect pandemonium that will instantly prevail. No better proof of the degeneracy in the moral level is needed than this state of affairs. If the innate nature of men inclined generally to morality and virtue, the efficiency or the inefficiency of the police force should make absolutely no difference, for even if a small minority should break out into riotousness the vast body of righteous citizens would crush it in no time and restore order. To revert to the subject, swindling is carried on in modes innumerable and the unwary man finds himself duped at every step. At Home the grocer gives him short-weight or rotten stuff, the milkman gives him adulterated milk, his own servants cheat and rob him at every opportunity; outside he finds his pockets rifled by some honest soul, his "friend" comes along and takes him under the aegis of his protecting wings, and takes him for a drink and then to the gaming table and then—,the friendly policeman escorts him home half dazed. All seem to be bent upon taking the most out of him and everywhere he is pounced upon by vultures of the earth who prey upon everything except his body which they reserve for the vultures of the air. We meet with hundreds of people who with very little money but any amount of cheek and effrontery live in luxury at the expense of others and never pay for anything. Sharping practices swarm round us on all sides like microbes in the air. Bogus men, spurious articles and sham advertisements present themselves innocently at every step. A man makes a show of wealth and obtains credit or opens a shop in an assumed name and obtains as much credit as he can and then disappears in a trice—to reappear in some other place with a fresh name and a fresh complexion. Elaborate advertisements artfully penned by trained men liberally paid for the express purpose speak in glowing terms of the virtues of articles which we find to be mere dross. All sorts of quack medicines and nostrums are offered to the unsuspecting world as certain cures and specifics. The British Medical Journal for example has been publishing analyses of certain much advertised medicines which are nothing but cheap mixtures of harmless ingredients. Bank frauds and insurance frauds loom large in our dailies. Truthfulness is but an empty name and lying is met with in profuse lavishness. Selfishness and avarice form are key-notes of human character. Perjury in English courts has increased to such an alarming extent that it recently drew down the strong censure of a high judge. And in India the prevalence of perjury has been noticed by more than one authority ; and so it is in every spot on the face of the earth. In almost every case that comes up before the courts the story told by one set of witnesses is directly contradicted by another set and the judge has to choose that version which appears to him nearer the truth. One or the other must be false and very often both are false. In the domain of marriage, the responsibilities of married life are felt less keenly and looseless in all directions is getting more into vogue. The state of things obtaining in France for example is notorious and other countries are not far behind. Chastity has come to be looked upon merely as "a social law created to encourage the alliances that most promote the permanent welfare of the race"—a law so worked as to adjust itself to suit the convenience of the individual and not as the priceless jewels it was valued as once. Dissoluteness in married life, unchastity both in the male and in the female has become one of the common features of every society and adultery is no legal crime in some countries and no great vice in any country. The existence of special courts known as matrimonial courts and the number of divorces point to the same laxity. The highest men are known to have fallen victims to sexual immorality and no wonder that thousands of less tough mould are yielding to the temptation more easily. The depths of degradations are however reached when men are heard to glory in their doings. The responsibilities attendant on marriage are sadly neglected. Limitation of families by resort to maltrusian practices and infanticide are coming to be recognised as growing evils in society. The sanctity of marriage tie once regarded as a sacred religious bond has lost all its force and marriage has come to be regarded more and more as a contract with all its legal incidents. And men and women are found to sell themselves for a title or an estate, for an income on a set of family diamonds. Everywhere the tide of morals is at a low ebb and the world is still cursed with crime and immorality. The prisons are full, the courts are crowded and the officers of the law are busy and there seems to be no material decrease in crime. On the other hand, it has increased and is keeping or increasing with the advance of years. Character has grown to be looked upon as nothing and money as everything, money which withers and corrupts souls and drives from them all tenderness and love for other, money besides which tears and blood are as nothing.

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to show that contrary to popular expectations crime has only been on the increase and that though the ethical conception of morals may stand at a higher level than it ever did, the actual standard of average practice is very low and shows also a tendency to get lower still as time advances. What then are the causes underlying these strange phenomena ? What are the factors at work in contributing to this change from a better condition to a worse one ? These are questions which we can but imperfectly answer, but there is no doubt that one of the most potent agencies at work is undoubtedly the growing materialistic spirit of the age, an age in which the ancient gods are being slowly thrust into the background and their places usurped by one single God mammon. The doctrine of future happiness and future punishment in another and greater world to come for actions done in this world is not generally recognised or accepted. The age of faith in the existence of a Divine being who is omnipotent and who punishes us for wrong-doing is replaced by the age of Rationalistic inquiry. And where once a thing was done simply because it was deemed consonant to Divine Law and a breach thereof would bring down Divine displeasure, it is now regarded as being done because the public good requires it. Sanctions have been divided by jurists into three classes *viz.*, legal, moral and religious. Of these the religious sanction has been regarded by men of eminence like Paley, Locke, and Bentham as immeasurably the first. It is impossible to over-estimate the part played by the hope of future reward or the fear of future evil in shaping the conduct of men. Among the different classes of motives there are some more easily and strongly operated on by some, others by others and this is mainly owing to education and association. The theory of utility or the theory of greatest possible happiness may appeal to those whose minds have emerged from the besetting shadow of ignorance into the halo of intellectual light. The light of reason may guide the steps of those who are able to discriminate between right and wrong, to eschew the wrong and follow the right. But the vast majority of people are sunk in ignorance and groping in darkness. To them the inward light that illumines the cultured man is totally unknown. They are swayed by passions and by appetites to gratify which they are making constant efforts. Life among them is a dismal mixture of grasping worldliness or bloated sensualism. The only controlling and sobering influence will be found in a strong faith, a belief in the existence of a God and of an after, life. In the history of mankind, religion is not only the earliest need which the race experiences but in all stages of its progress and development it is the chief and the only need. And no more potent influence has been known to move men in all times than the wild religious fanaticism which has kindled their hearts at some time or other. It appeals to our hopes as well as our fears and imparts a new sanction to moral truths. The sacred picture which is believed to shed a hallowing and protecting influence over the poor man's cottage can bestow a more real consolation in the darkest hour of human suffering than can be afforded by the grandest theories of philosophy. Similarly it will act as a most powerful restraint when there is a tendency to lapse from the straight path of duty and the fear of incurring divine wrath will be a great preventive against immoral tendencies, Its benign influence will be felt even by those whose moral elevation strands on too firm a pedestal to require further support. But day by day religious conceptions grow less and less intense. Day by day the old faith and the old spirit are dying out, the burning enthusiasm and quenchless zeal of the early reeds go never to return. Religion once a living force is now in most countries a matter of mere ceremonies and rituals, devoid of all of its ancient faith and substance; the pious man excites in others only derision and ridicule. Religions power has decreased just to the same extent that the civilisation of man has increased and the sceptre of authority has been transferred from the hands of religion to materialism. The age is in short a highly materialistic age in which religion is scoffed at by millions and churches are maintained at great expense only for show. Not to attend the church or the temple has become the fashion of the day; the few that attend use them as occasions for putting on their best dresses or other purposes remote from religion. The theory that whatever produces happiness and well-being is in the highest sense moral apart from other consideration is widely advocated. A little adroit hypocrisy is often all that is needed to convert a vice into a virtue and each man adapts his actions to his own ideas of utility as the standard may vary with every two individuals. Such philosophies however unconscious their advocates may be are profoundly irreligious in that they dispense with God and makes good and evil were serviceable illusions. We are passing then through times in which the seeds of irreligion have been sown broadcast and they have brought forth a hundred fold. It is to this dethronement of God and the ever growing materialism of the age which result in the total withdrawal of the restraining influence excercised by a faith in and fear of God that I mainly attribute this strange phenomenon of an increasing state of immorality and crime. It is therefore only if the vivifying force of personal religion, of love towards God and fear in Him is infused more deeply into the human life that there will be any appreciable progress in morals. Every man must always be fully conscious that the eye of the living Lord is ever upon him and then he will shape his actions according to his dictates and the impulse will be to do good and be good and to avoid evil. The Divine strength will bear him in the hour of sourest temptation and keep him ever and anon in the true path which leads to Heaven and to happiness.

Another reason and a secondary one might probably be found in the defective state of the law. The very anxiety of the law to reach the devices of the cunning has given birth to so many statutes and these statutes are so perplexed with exceptions, limitations and supplements that the crafty criminal is able to take refuge within the many crevices and corners that law abounds in where no trap can catch him. The very ingenuity of the miscreants is so diabolical that sometimes it excites our admiration of their skill. The law against allows many things which are morally culpable, which are tainted with falsehood, dishonor or unfairness. It allows men to profit by others' misfortunes, to prowl for prey among the ignorant and to over-reach the simple. Courts of Justice are frequently waded by technicalities and justice itself becomes a mockery. Such instances are unhappily not rare but no solution has yet been found to overcome this evil. Legislature is always at work pouring forth a mass of legislation which makes the brain reel but the defect still remains unremedied.

A third reason may be found in the fact that men lax in morals are treated by the public and society with an indulgence which is as reprehensible as it is harmful. Such men however great their wealth may be, should be visited with a strict taboo at the hands of society and should be made to feel all the effects of a social ostracism. But now when money or title goes for everything, bad men are respected, misted and exalted men of notorious in morality are powerful and popular; society's doors are thrown open to them and in public they head the poll. This is traceable solely to a corrupt public sentiment. Unless therefore good men bestir themselves and avoid the contamination of bad men and unless the public conscience gets intoned to a severer morality, matters are not likely to improve considerably.

These then are a few perhaps of the reasons which underlie the strange spectacle of immorality and crime growing despite the hourly waxing brilliance of the torch of civilisation, despite the colossal strides taken in the direction of education, and despite great intellectual expansion and thought. We may pause for a moment and wonder what the dark future holds for us. Will the wreck of things get down further than this or will it build itself again? This is matter for anxious thought for one and all of us. It would be beyond the limits of this paper to indulge in an inquiry into the ways and means for bringing about better results; but it may generally be said in conclusion that true education—mainly by the expression not stuffing the mind with books but that form of it which brings out man's best noblest qualities—Love to God and faith in Him and love to our fellow-beings, are sure to go a long way in counteracting the growing tendency and be productive of ultimate good.

Hindu Widows in Kashmir.

By Pandit ANAND KOUL, President Srinagar Municipality.

ACCORDING to the Census report of the Kashmir State there are among the Kashmiri Pandits 208 widows per *mille* of population which is appalling. The population of Pandits in Srinagar is 21635, so the above ratio would represent a total number of 4,500 widows in this city alone. If we take the districts also into account their number would amount to at least 10,000. This would mean that of every 3 women 2 are widows, taking adult females as third part of the population, the other two parts being adult males and children. Of the wretched condition of widows the less said the better. Many of them are young innocent girls and many are cast on this inhospitable world quite unprotected and unprovided for. A widow's lifelong burning is undoubtedly far worse than the actual burning on the funeral pyre of her husband. This is an evil that is eating into the vitals of the Hindu community. Where is the man whose heart is not touched by the experience of seeing a young girl consigned to perpetual widowhood which means a cheerless melancholy life at the best, and, at the worst, a life of shame and degradation to her?

Just think of the interminable groans and heart-broken sighs of these doomed creatures. They are such as would burn down mountains to ashes. If there is a spark of humanity in us and if we want to save the honour of our community we must trý with all our might and main and zeal to mitigate this evil. A nobler and a more humane cause one cannot have to uphold than improving the condition of our forlorn women. A distinguished gentleman has said: "Many virtues adorn the Hindu woman. She bears the whole brunt of the present incessant struggle for existence, quietly doing her duty. One cannot see her without feeling that she of all creatures of God deserves a better lot. Cruel is the custom that can doom her to such servitude or heap such miseries upon her. The best friends of India are those who will try to improve the condition of the womankind."

No one I am sure can deny the truth of these words. It is gratifying to observe that the Srinagar public have not hitherto been simply sorry lookers-on on this social conflagration. They have done something to extinguish this fire. Sometimes subscriptions were raised with which certain destitute widows were maintained. Private charity has also flowed freely to help poor widows. Girl schools have been opened in which some widows are getting means of livelihood by working as teachresses and maids. But this is not enough. We must do something in a more substantial form. The most drastic measure would be widow-remarriage.

About a century ago Pt. Hardas Tiku, who was a Rais of his time, had, on his own young daughter having become widow, intended to have the custom of enforced widowhood of virgin widows abolished but his aged and widowed mother prevented him from doing so by asking him to find a second husband for herself too, meaning thereby that if virgin widows were permitted to remarry the custom would by and by be relaxed in case of all widows which she thought was not advisable. In India several mighty heroes like I. C. Vidyasagar and Keshab Chander Sen rose up to carry this reform through. But they failed. They found after practical experience that the lot of the widow could not be improved in all cases by her remarriage. Several people married widows but afterwards married maiden girls and the former were treated as concubines and slaves. The cure was found in certain cases worse than the disease. Assuming that the Kashmiri Pandits will prove an exception in this matter, there are yet other sober facts to be deeply considered and pondered over. The law of nature everywhere is that the population are nearly half male and half female. There are certain men who lead lives of celibacy and some who cannot get wives owing to physical deformities or owing to being low in social status. Medical scientists say that males possess less vitality than females and, therefore, die in larger numbers in their youth. Moreover the greater danger to which the male sex is exposed increases its share of mortality. This deficiency in the number of males would have had the effect that an equal number of girls should have not got husbands. But the custom of remarriage of widowers counterbalances it, making it possible for every girl to get a husband. If widows were also allowed to remarry the result would have again been the same, namely that as many males as were married to them would have been less available for girls. Let me make this point clearer. We have 100 boys for 100 girls. We may deduct from 100 boys five who do not marry or cannot get wives or die disproportionately as compared to girls. Then there will remain only 95 boys against 100 girls. Five girls get married to widowers and then 95 girls are left against 95 boys just equal to answer the exegencies of life. But by allowing widows to remarry, it will reduce the number of marriageable boys by say 10 and then 85 boys will remain against 95 girls. The result of this inequality will be that 10 girls out of 100 will remain unmarried. There will then remain many girls unmarried in place of widows unremarried, just as is the case among the Europeans. It therefore needs no elaborating the point that it will be no improvement in the sum total of our social system. One evil amended will manifest itself in another shape which will be a far greater evil. Either there should be bigamy and polygamy as is the custom among the Muhammadans or else the things in this respect cannot improve. But no sensible man will advocate bigamy and polygamy among the Hindus. Then in the opinion of some finest social reformers divorce system will have to be introduced along with widow remarriage—they being inter-dependent upon each other,-otherwise many complications, which need not be mentioned here, are bound to arise. What will be the consequences of these drastic changes in our social organization need not be detailed here. They are graphically described in a leading article under the heading "Hindu Widows" in the *A. B. Patrika* of 7th June, 1920. In the History of India you will see that when Lord Canning passed the law legalising the widow remarriage on the strength of a representation signed by 500 men, another representation signed by 60,000 persons was submitted to him praying for not passing it. So it will be seen that it is a debatable problem and we must not jump over it without full and deep consideration

Some other means must, in the meantime, be adopted to mitigate the rigours of widowhood. One of it is stopping child marriage. Medical scientists say that human beings are subject to greater chances of death in childhood than later on. Child marriage was not in vogue in olden times but it became so when there was tyranny and terror rampant in the country. The History of Kashmir says that the Afghans had a full license to enter any Pandit's houses and forcibly take away his virgin girls. This happy valley was rendered unhappy by the Afghans and, alas! the effects of their tyrannies do not yet go.

An Afghan would call out towards the inmates of a Pandit's house thus *Tezi atash biyar* "*Tezi bring fire.*" Who could disobey the order? An elderly woman would take the fire to him but he would furiously say *Wapas bihar hamdasti dukhtar bifris.* "Take it back; send it by your daughter". This order also could not be disobeyed if the inmates wished to be saved their general massacre, and if the girl happened to be unmarried, she would be seized and dishonoured. The Afghan would not, fortunately for us, molest a married woman, however pretty. So the only remedy to save the person and honor of a woman was to marry her young. You will thus observe that in that dark age, early marriage was a custom born of stern necessity. But now there is light and justice and peace in the land and we may well abandon this practice. By giving up this bad custom we shall have no virgin-widows and there will be nine chances out of ten, that a woman will have one or more children before becoming a widow. The abolition of child marriage would be based on justice and sympathy with the weak and the humble. The parents have no right to throw their daughters into a risk so disastrous in its results. We compare horoscopes of the couple and the nuptials are celebrated after the Brahmins declare that the different stars agree. These stars, somebody has feelingly said, must be trembling with fear when the nuptials are celebrated in their name, and he has pitied the lot of these poor stars. The evils of early marriage are manifold. In the first instance it interferes with the boy's education and it often happens that he becomes father of children and he cannot afford to remain at school where he cannot earn anything to fill their hungry mouths but has, on the contrary, to pay school fees. The daughter's parents cannot also be certain what their son-in-law would turn to be afterwards, whether a fool, a rogue or a charas smoker or a well-mannered educated young man; while they would be quite sure if they gave their daughter after the boy had successfully completed his course of education or otherwise fitted himself to earn sufficient for his wife and children. Now-a-days only the present opulent condition of the boy's father is taken into consideration but this is a shortsighted policy. In advanced parts of India the boys have a marketable value so far as marriage is concerned which is determined by the number of examinations successfully passed by them.

It is a significant fact that boatmen in Kashmir are a sturdy race, enjoying considerable immunity from cholera and other diseases in spite of their drinking contaminated river water. They are also noted for abundance of children. In my opinion it is chiefly due to their strong vitality owing to their good custom of not marrying their sons and daughters before their getting out of teems. Early marriage among the Hindus is, on the other hand, responsible for the large number of deaths of young women at child birth and also to the decreasing vitality of the whole community.

Lately a proposal was made that no student should be admitted into the College who was married but as it met with some opposition it was timidly dropped. If it be boldly adopted child marriage would stop much more effectually than it would if a law prohibiting the same was passed. Of course this rule should not take retrospective effect, that is to say, those already married should not be affected by it. A thing, essentially right and rational and calculated to increase the vital welfare of the community. must appeal to all and its popular acceptance, specially now when education has greatly advanced in this country, is sure and certain. Only the determination and strong will of our elders and leaders are wanted to make the innovation.

The Gospel of Tolstoy.

By Mr. PHIROZ P. KHANDAWALA.

COUNT Leo Tolstoy, the eminent Russian, better known in the world of letters by the homely and simple name of Tolstoy, was one of those remarkable personalities who having a message to deliver to humanity appear but at periodic intervals on the stage of life and having accomplished their mission no longer strut superfluous on the horizon. Our concern here is not to portray the growth of this complex character through the tangled skein of his youthful follies and vices to a venerable old age, acknowledged seership and Pisgah heights of wisdom but rather to consider him in the diverse rôle of thinker, social reformer, literary artist, prophet and sage. He was one of those master-spirits who leave behind them the indelible stamp of their life and teaching for generations yet unborn to ponder over and who by their example and doctrine make the world better and happier than they found it. In short, our task is to give an outline of his message, his mission, his gospel, by compressing all elevating and ennobling thoughts that may be culled from his works and that constitute his entire teaching. It may be stated at the outset that in no sense was he a brilliant litterateur, as was Macaulay, who showed to advantage his graceful and polished periods and sonorous style which latter may not unfavorably be compared to the perorations of his great predecessor—the politician par excellence—Edmund Burke. Rather was he above all and essentially a teacher, a preacher, a prophet of the type of his contemporaries, Carlyle and Ruskin, exhorting his generation to follow higher ideals of life and shun the frivolities of earthly existence.

Having made these introductory remarks let us see what views he takes with regard to the old world-riddle life, humanity and the problems of existence. First and foremost then, he asks:—"In what does true happiness—the substance not the shadow—consist?" Carlyle in his inimitable "Sartor" remarks:—"Love not pleasure, love God" which when analysed proves to be but a selfish idea for at bottom it is nothing less than asceticism pure and simple—the way of the Buddha. We shall have none of it But what better substitute does our modern

Messiah offer us? It is something wiser, loftier and eminently Christian. Says he:—"Love not self but love thy neighbour"—in a word, love Humanity; for by lightening the sorrows of our less fortunate brethren we render higher service than by adoration of the Infinite and Eternal by which man works out his salvation alone and in no way helps humanity. Did not the Man of Sorrows live and die for humanity? Universal love then, as opposed to Self-love, is according to him the prime law of life. As Tennyson beautifully sings:—

> "Love took up the harp of life and smote on all her chords with might,
> Struck the chord of self, which trembling passed in music out of sight."

What then is the root cause of that mental unrest even with those favoured mortals who succeed in the fulfilment of their desires? An able expositor of Browning writes thus:—"The world of knowledge, of beauty, of art are given to man but they do not satisfy his spirit." Not till love and sympathy radiate through suffering humanity, not till the renunciation of needless wants and vain desires which obstruct the influx of true happiness be curbed and man learns to act in conformity to his higher reason, can we expect the reign of peace, joy and harmony. Thinkers, poets, prophets of all nations and of all times have incessantly preached the excellence of Love and the vileness of hate and strife. Browning puts it thus:—

> "The loving worm within its clod,
> Were diviner then a loveless God
> Amid his worlds, I dare to say."

Tennyson likewise urges us to:

> "Strive upward
> Working out the beast
> And let the ape and tiger die."

We shall now dwell upon another phase of his teaching. In what light did he look upon justice as meted out to culprits? In the course of his meanderings on this subject one very pregnant remark of his strikes the eye:—"There is no man who has not sinned and therefore no man has a right to judge another." True, so far as moral judgments go. But he even denounced citizens as judges "What! should I a sinner pronounce judgment on my fallen brother?" Here again we find the voice and the sentiment of the great Christian preacher. Sublime idealist, however much we may be inclined to reverence thee, were thy teachings followed to the letter and the spirit, there would not be order and harmony but chaos and Tophet burst loose on earth! Idealism, however admirable its teaching and however lofty its sentiments has not and never can succeed; else should we in this glorious era of highest civilization, age of reason and astounding scientific marvels have beheld Christian Europe weltering in an orgy of blood as if fiends not Christians were at strife? Shall I kill thee or wilt thou kill me, Oh! brother?—is the final question. Unless human nature is radically changed and man is not constituted part angel, part brute but is wholly born, lives and dies angelic, seraphic, Divine and is endowed with the meekness of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent, no multitude of dreamers and visionaries with the highest of ideal can ever usher in the golden era of eternal peace. In the same light does he regard the vocation of a soldier. What! shall I, a Christian, obey the command to kill my brother and go about with the mark of Cain?

> "Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
> Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
> The multitudinous seas incarnadine
> Making the green-one red."

He deplores the want of sympathy between the rich and the poor and gives a touching illustration. In a richly decorated mansion containing all that luxury needs and money can buy is a family enjoying their rich repast and choicest of wines. A poor, shivering, ragged vagrant lies at the door half-asleep and hungry. Tolstoy asks:—"Ye that beautify your bodies and roll in luxury, have ye no heart for the wretch that lies outside?" Though an aristocrat himself, his great loving heart glowed with virtuous indignation at the injustice done to laborers by landed proprietors. Lover of truth and justice and apostle of righteousness that he was, he meditated long and deeply and was convinced that no man however exalted in rank he may be, has the right to exact labour or buy it at the price of another's sweat and toil. Last scene of all is one of superb self-sacrifice and renunciation. We see Tolstoy the recluse clad in the garb of and bearing the semblance to an Easter fakir and reminding us of the learned monks Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas and their kind who by discussing the cobwebs of theology and metaphysics adorned the age of scholasticism, attending to his own wants and a burden to no man—his brother however humble in life. The example of his life and fearless actions well befit his name—Leo. For in a despotic country where the Autocrat of all the Russias was worshipped as a demi-god and not merely respected as a ruler, where the greatest of men faltered to criticize the evils of Government, this fearless soul took his stand on the vantage ground of Truth and fought for the betterment, social and political, of this mighty people. Not only by his compatriots but throughout Europe where his writings because known and the force of his personality was felt even from afar, this thinker and sage was held in veneration. To live in the hearts of men is not to die. Here we conclude with the words of Shakespeare :—

"His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him
That nature might stand up and say:
This was a man."

The Indian Fortune-teller.

By Mr. ANANDA T. M. SATCHIT.

THE Indian fortune-teller belongs to a class of people who are occasionally seen begging for alms all over the town. The women carry about small bags in which they secure whatever articles of food or clothing they may procure during their peregrinations. Sometimes, little infants are seen strapped to their mothers' backs or cradled at their breasts blissfully conscious or unconscious of their warm security. When these women visit a house they usually come in singing and when the voice is good they seldom fail to attract the immediate attention of the women and children of the household. Then the visitor at once launches into a chant generally prognosticating all sorts of things about the master of the house and the other members of the household. This being accomplished with eminent success the *Kodangy* woman as she is generally known, easily glides into her proper role of fortune-telling by palmistry or moles on the face, hands and other exposed parts of the body. When the prognostications which are generally of a pleasant character are readily accepted, the fortune-teller becomes the recipient of a plentiful supply of food and clothing. If the house contains a sickly child, some kind of charm or medicine is purchased at a cost fixed by the fortune-teller according to the means of the household or the capacity of the vendor. Very often when houses are close together, two or more families collect together on these occasions and rich is the harvest of the lucky *Kodangy* woman. The process of fleecing credulity in this way is resorted to by the male sex also with great freedom and dexterity. They profess to call in the aid of certain spirits whose invisible attendance is invoked by playing on a flute and alternately chanting their prognostications. The *Kodangy* grows bold and even imperious if the disposition of his audience is capable of standing such treatment without resentment. Doles of rice, old coats, *dhoties* and such like articles are some of the rewards which occasionally fall to the lot of these men; and it is no matter for surprise that they are so lucky considering how facile their tongue is at equivocation and how readily their eye at discerning and turning to advantage the varied emotions reflected on the faces of their audience.

These fortune-tellers are, on the whole, a well-favoured race. Tall, straight and symmetrical, both men and women enjoy a physique more suggestive of an independent than of a subservient people, while their regular features, intelligent eyes, straight noses and expressive lips point to a line of ancestors who far from being beggars, seem to have pursued occupations at once easy and refined. So far for what may be judged of this people; but let us get behind the scenes and view their inner life.

These as a class, go from place to place with their families on their begging expedition. Unmindful of the wind and the weather, these individuals occupy a shed open on all four sides. From the tiny baby scarce four months old to the grown-up girl of eleven summers, not to mention their grey-haired and weather-beaten progenitors, they do not seem to care for any influence the chilly night or the blazing noonday sun may have on them. They seem wonderfully contented and happy. Even the pet animals they carry with them seem to share these sentiments as they lie curled up at their tethers quietly watchful, struck by a peculiarity so unusual both in man and beast. One could see the *Kodangy* squatted on the floor of his road-side shed busy at twisting some rope or repairing an old shoe. His children would be playing about him, his wife being engaged in cleaning her cooking utensils. If you beckon him towards you, he is taken aback and stares very hard at you. If he sees that you are in earnest, he at once rises up and comes straight on. You see him in his semi-naked costume, very much soiled and torn almost to rags. Nevertheless, the silver armlet which he wears tightly presses the muscles of his right arm. He approaches you respectfully with an air of self-confidence about him and initiates you into his own mysteries. He answers your questions with readiness and intelligence in a manner which you seldom experience from any other class of itenerant beggars.

The *Kodangies* belong exclusively to the Naiker caste. They are found even at the foot of the Nilgiris but the Madura district is the chief centre of their settlement. The famous temple of Madura was built by a Naik whose name still illumines one of most eventful chapters in the ancient history of Southern India. There is an interesting legend handed down to us regarding this illustrious chief. When Thirumal Naik asked his wife what she thought of the magnificence of the structure he had erected, she contemptuously replied that even the drain that conveyed the dirty wash from her father's kitchen was far superior to it. Exasperated at this revolting comparison the Naik drew his dagger and stabbed the lady. The *Kodangies* were a great people then, but times have changed, and their descendants are now low in the world. Yet a majority of them are not even to-day so poor as they pretend to be. They have enough to feed and clothe them at home; but it has been a custom with them from time immemorial to lead a life of alternate luxury and hardship every six months in the year. If there are two brothers in the same house one stays at home and attends to household affairs for six months while the other is away in distant lands. When the lattter returns he takes charge of his home and enables the other to travel and so on till they die. As long as the race survives this should be their mode of life as their ancestors by their own example have made it binding on them. Being agriculturists by inheritance they are incapable of taking to any another industry during their perigrinations and as the profession of soothsaying had been practised by their ancestors they too follow it to gain a living when they leave their homes. For, the secret of their trade has been handed down from father to son from the remotest times down to the present day, and they are themselves bound to impart it to their offsprings till the cold finger of death benumbs their tongues! It is true that these fortune-tellers do tell lies in the practice of their profession. It is by lying and lying alone that they eke out their livelihood when they are away from their homes; but there is the fact that the lies they utter are not malicious his which set one man against another or selfish his meant to screen obnoxious guilt, as is the common practice of real liars.

They are as a class scrupulously honest and law suits are unknown to them. The few disputes they sometimes have regarding property or other matters are settled by a *Thathachar*, the great swami from Conjeeveram who visits the people once in three years. Does tradition make it compulsory that women and children should travel about with the *Kodangy* when he leaves home? No! But it is natural that a man's wife and children should wish to follow him and share his hardships wherever he goes. The *Kodangy* also delights in their company during the long period of his compulsory rambles. Where they are, it is *home* for him even if it be a jungle; but where they are not it is a *desert*, even if it be a crowded city. Why do the *Kodangies* usually take about dogs with them? Out in the strange lands where they have to roam, these faithful animals keep watch over their little belongings when the men and women are away from their camp; and it seldom happens that anything is lost. They are so useful for hunting; for the *Kodangy* loves such sport and hunts small game wherever lawfully available. This is why dogs are indispensable to them and the lucky animals are treated with almost the same consideration as the other members of the family.

Is a *Kodangy* permitted to have more than one wife at a time? No, he is bound to have only *one*, properly speaking, but as every one of the class has to see to the support of women who have become widows he may add to his household as many of these poor creatures as he may be able to provide for. But the man who clandestinely elopes with a woman is not fit to enter a wedding pandal or partake of the marriage feast. A *Kodangy* marriage is not performed by a priest but by the headman of the village in which the bride resides. The bridegroom takes the *thali* and places it on the neck of the bride, after which the happy couple plunge their hands into a pot in which gold and silver had been previously placed. Then, they exclaim, "Daughter" or "Son" as each pulls out silver or gold from the pot. This completes the ceremony. Though the residence of the bride may be sufficiently commodious for a wedding, yet it is compulsory that the ceremony should be performed in a *pandal* erected on a *maidan* or open piece of ground even if it be far remote from the house.

The Most Loving Heroine of Indian Literature.

By Mr. RAM CHANDRA, M. R. A. S., (LONDON), LL. B.

SHAKUNTALA of Kalidas is the most lovable heroine of Indian Literature; but if we try to find out the most loving heroine, the name of Sita at once comes to our mind. The only other names that are suggested are those of Savitri and Damayanti. In the hands of Kalidas or Bhavabhuti they would have gained much; but being without the adornments that can be received at the hands of such master poets and dramatists, they are at a disadvantage. They have only to stand upon their epic grandeur and thus are easily outrivalled by Sita who with all her epic grandeur has the advantage of gaining considerably owing to the art of Bhavabhuti.

Even if we keep Bhavabhuti's art out of consideration and take these three heroines in their epic grandeur, Sita ought to be considered first. Of course all the three have a halo of divineness about them and each in her own way is an ideal wife. A comparison may be considered invidious by some, while others may have religious scruples in showing any one superior to the other two. But a comparison from a purely literary point of view is surely innocent and will in this case afford much interesting information.

Savitri chooses a destitute person as her husband, whereas the other two choose royal princes. Although there is a considerable sacrifice if a princess chooses a poor person for her husband, yet such things often happen in the world and so there is nothing very unusual in this. Savitri loves her husband devoutly and so do Sita and Damayanti. And all the three suffer miseries with their respective husbands. Savitri with eyes open' has fixed her love on a poverty-stricken person—a prince in adversity; but Sita and Damayanti have chosen princes in all the glowing splendour of royalty. So when these go to the jungles with their respective husband they do a greater thing than what Savitri does in wandering with the selected mate of her life.

The other greatness associated with the name of Savitri and that is greatness indeed—is her love which rescues her husband from the hands of Death. But this consideration should be kept out of account, for in comparing the three in point of faithfulness no such question can arise at all. All the three are most faithful wives and none of them can be said to be less faithful. The proof was of course according to the nature of the different circumstances in each case. All the three were *pativratas*,—Savitri had to win over Death and she succeeded; Damayanti was face to face with the head of the jungle tribe who suggested dishonourable action, and she by her wrath burnt him to death. Sita of course had to deal with Ravana, the demon chief, and it was nothing but the power derived from her *pativrata* virtue that she could hold her own against such tremendous odds. Besides there can be no question of degree in respect of the virtue known as *pativrata*. All the three were *pativratas* and all the three shared the sufferings with their respective husband. So far they have in common.

Savitri fixed her love on a poor man and so accepted poverty voluntarily, Sita and Damayanti chose royal mates. It cannot be said that Savitri was more loving because she did a great sacrifice in choosing a poor man. Damayanti also discarded gods and incurred the violent displeasure of Kali in choosing Nala. Sita was prepared to accept the breaker of the bow even if he turned out to be poor. But these things should not be counted. If a maiden's heart is fixed on a person whom she can get only by taking up a life of poverty, and if to get her heart's desire she voluntarily embraces the life of poverty, this though it may be commonly termed as sacrifice, is really not a sacrifice of the true type. It is a sacrifice with a motive, and a sacrifice with a motive is no sacrifice at all. There is a greater sacrifice in Damayanti's accompanying her husband into the jungle and not going to her father's house, and in Sita's renouncing the royal luxuries of the Ayodhya Palace—which still could have been hers—and choosing to go with her husband into the terrible jungles of South India.

Damayanti and Sita both accompanied their husband into the jungle but even in this the cases are not alike. Nala showed Damayanti the path that led to her father's house and asked her to go there, and Rama also asked Sita to return to Ayodhya with Bharat. Of course both prevailed upon their respective husband and remained with them. But Sita refused to go when she would have been escorted by Bharat in a convenient manner, whereas Damayanti would have had to go all alone. The circumstances under which they left for the jungle is also of much importance. Damyanti is obliged to leave the royal splendour and go to the jungles with Nala, Sita chooses of her own accord to renounce her magnificence. She was not required to have the Royal Palace, on the contrary everyone tried to persuade her to remain at Ayodhya. Rama, her husband also explained to her the hardships of the wilds and advised—nay even entreated her to remain at home. He contrasted the hard life of the jungles with the comforts of the palace. But what was the reply? These are her words—

> "I spurn the terrace and the pleasant seat,
> Mine be the joy to guard thy cherished feet,
> I would go forth, the lonely woods to roam,
> The lion's dwelling and the tiger's home.
> Happy and heedless, from all terror free,
> Careless of empire, caring but for thee.
> With thee delighted will I wander where,
> Blooms, dropping honey, scent the woodland air."

Rama again and again reminds her of the hard ground and the scanty and uncertain supply of food. But there is no arguing before love. Here is her sweet answer—

"I will go first and treading down the grass
Make the way pleasant for my love to pass.
On the soft turf disclose my gathered store,
And sit and banquet when thy meal is o'er.
The food thy dear hand gives me there to eat
Little or much shall be like *Amrit* sweet."

In vain does Rama try to impress upon Sita the austere hardships of the forests. Love answers in its own sweet way—

"Fear not for me when by thy side I go
My happy feet will never weary grow.
Though wild and rough the thorny ways I tread,
They shall feel softer than a silken bed.
And when with thee in grassy glades I lie,
Watching the landscape with delighted eye,
Till by thy side I gently sink to rest,
What thing on earth shall be so richly blest?
With thee is heaven, where'er thou art not, hell:
O lead me hence that I in heaven may dwell."

This is real love.

And the true spirit of self-sacrifice is shown when she nobly utters:—

" The wife alone her husband's fate must share,
And in thy trouble I may part will bear.
And if thou seek the wood thy wife has sworn,
To smooth thy path, nor let thy feet be torn."

But the selfless loving nature of Sita is most clearly shown when in the end she is banished by Rama himself. How pathetic are the circumstances!

In the very beginning of his drama Bhavabhuti introduces us to one of the most touching scenes in Hindu domestic life. Rama's coronation—after his return from the forests—is over; all the guests have returned to their homes. Sita's father also had come and has just gone away. Sita is sobbing at the departure of her father. None but an Indian can realise the full significance of this touching scene. Rama himself leaves the Council Hall and goes into the inner apartments to soothe the saddened heart of Sita. This reveals another trait of Sita's loving nature and the great dramatist uses this as an introduction to the highly pathetic scenes that follow—scenes which touch the chord of our very soul and which fill us with admiration for the selfless loving nature of Sita, the wifehood's ideal incarnate.

Then happen the circumstances which lead to Sita's banishment. Sita is banished. Whether Rama was justified in doing so or not is a separate question altogether, but he has left her—not as Nala left Damayanti when both were in misery. Sita was banished when she was in the enjoyment of the Imperial throne. Nala had shown Damayanti the way to her father's house just before he left her, and Damayanti knew that the chief reason for her abandonment was Nala's desire that she should go to her father's house and live in comfort. Of course the separation was very severe and painful but throughout her misery she had a sort of secret satisfaction that it was after all only through love that he had left her, it was with a view to end her discomforts that her husband had abandoned her. But in the case of Sita the situation was quite different. The happy joyous queen was taken to the forests under the belief that she was going to have a pleasant outing. Her ignorance of the impending calamity makes the situation all the more tragic. There in the forests she is left all helpless, friendless, with nobody to look after her. In an instant the great Empress has been turned into a miserable exile. Big with child, disgraced with scandal, left by her husband, down-trodden by misery, Sita wanders in the jungles like a haunted image of woe. More painful than the dreadful solitude was the sense of shame which had falsely tarnished her name, more biting than all the physical sufferings was the sad consciousness of being banished by her husband because of a dishonourable scandal.

Still she has not a single word of reproach for Rama. Kalidas in his *Raghuvansha* makes Sita send her salutations through Lakshmana to her mothers-in-law. "And as to the king," says she, "Ask His Majesty, O Lakshamana, whether it is befitting his family traditions to believe in a scandal even after my purity has been testified by fire itself." This is all that she says about her banishment and even this is not said in a spirit of complaint or reproach but in all the simplicity of an innocent victim of fate. Immediately afterwards she says that she should not even suspect that her husband had banished her willingly, her own wretched fate was at the bottom of all her miseries. All her troubles and miseries together do not even a bit decrease her love for Rama. "I will," says she, "do a great penance, so that in the next life also I may get you as my husband." These are her words, not uttered in the impulsive ecstasy of love, but uttered when she is burdened by miseries which are caused by the very object of her love. In these words are embodied in an intensified form the whole devotion and effection of Sita for her beloved husband. And where else do we find such example of selfless devotion and love?

While she is in banishment Bhavabhuti in his *Uttararama-charita* artistically devises a very pathetic scene. Rama has come into the forests with a view to kill Shambook. After he has finished his work he wanders into the woods. It is the same forest where he had lived with Sita for a long time when he was in exile for fourteen years. The famililar scenes rouse in his heart a host of memories and emotions. Bhavabhuti contrives to bring Sita also on the scene and to add more pathos to the already pathetic scenes he arranges in such a manner that Rama should not know of the presence of Sita. The divine Gangesh had sent her there but according to what she uttered Rama could not see her on that occasion even though she be before his very eyes. The memories of the past overwhelm Rama. "Alas"! utters he, "O daughter of Videha, my beloved companion during my residence in the Dandaka forests! Alas!" and he faints. Sita is completely upset, she falls on the feet of Tamasa who is, of course, superhuman, and implores her to bring her husband to consciousness. "Thou thyself," replies Tamasa, "O auspicious one, bring consciousness to thy husband. Thy hand is pleasant to touch." And she touches. Thus Bhavabhuti has wrought a very effective scene. Rama revives to consciousness; he feels the familiar soothing touch of Sita's hands, but he can not find her out. He feels she is somewhere near but he can not see her. He is plunged in a deep emotional fit and begins to speak out his mind which is full of Sita's memories. Sita listens silently, she is in a peculiar condition. Her heart is filled with joy to find that her husband still sweetly remembers her, the spirit of indiguance towards one who has himself banished her does not even approach the loving heart of Sita. The unselfish and profound love of Sita is most beautifully illustrated by the fact that she does not even allow herself the enjoyment of feeling satisfaction at the love-laden utterances of Rama which might have touched the pride of any other woman.

The husband himself had banished the wife and was now bitterly feeling the pangs of separation. An ordinary woman would consider this as her victory and might even have gloated over it, and a superior woman would consider it as a balm to her wounds and would feel inclined to forget her past injuries. But Sita goes a step further. The idea of past injury does not even occur to her and the sight of Rama feeling her separation is too painful to her to give even a hint of satisfaction. She can not bear any inconvenience to Rama and the sight of Rama feeling intensely her separation is most unbearable to her. This is really the climax of the nobility of her soul and the lovingness of her heart. When Vasanti suggests to Rama that there could be no greater infamy than the banishment of the deer-eyed Sita, Sita checks her by saying, "O even you have become so hard and merciless." She again and again curses herself because it is she who is the cause of all her husband's troubles. That even in separation she causes pain to her husband, cuts her to the quick. "Oh! truly hard-hearted am I," says she, "That live even when I see my husband in such pain!" Such loving devotion to one's husband is certainly unusual. It is these and many other such instances which make Sita the most loving heroine of Indian Literature. Even in the whole range of world's literature she must have a very high and honoured place in respect of lovingness and devotion to her husband. She is, if not the most, at least one of the most loving heroines in the literature of the world.

Indian Medical Schools.

By Mr. R. S. KIBE, L. M. S.

EVER since the regular 'association' is formed and annual conference punctually holds its session in some important central place, the sub-assistant surgeons of India, have come to be known to the better portion of the laity who by virtue of superior understanding have the power to judge between merits and demerits.

That the class of sub-assistant surgeons have passed through various stages of evolution since its formation (*vide* Nagpur Conference President's address), is in itself sufficient to bring into relief the main factor which if the authorities are moved to mould in respect of troubles and training of the medical education, the question would for a long time to come, be not raised.

All over India, roughly speaking, there are at present 16 medical schools established in the various provinces of the Empire (as per I. G. E. Bengal's report for 1911.)

Prominent among these are the medical schools at Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Indore, Lahore and Patna. At least officers of I. M. S. come to know more of the alumni of these institutions and the schools whereof, general qualification for admission is matriculation of a university, where enrolment is large the teaching staff consists of more Europeans, where the school is attached to a large hospital, the course extends over full four years where the curriculum comprises all the modern medical sciences at least in a nut shell and the instruction is imparted in English, that school is highly spoken of and the deplomæd sub-assistant surgeons are in the good books of the officers.

But like the whirlwind no sooner are they out of sight of the school premises, than the respect for the alma mater gradually begins to fade when the alumni commence to realize the stern reality that inspite of the special training in up to date methods, they are in the general category of the sub-assistant surgeons and that no power on earth would elevate them to upper strata.

Wide awake they see that a Sub-Inspector of Police by dint of labour and skill can aspire to be even "A. D. S. P." (Assistant District Superintendent of Police) or a Naib Thasildar an E. A. C.

(Extra Assistant Commissioner) or a clever 'quill driver,' in course of time can hope to be the superintendent of this office; all possible, they say in the routine of service; and scale of promotions even can be jumped over when special merits are evinced; but all progress, all high aspirations, are stopped for the class of professional men who have to take more care and greater pain for the philanthropic work allotted to their charge (I mean sub-assistant surgeons.)

This miserable and yet progressive history of the sub-assistant surgeons, is however a hopeful sign of the times foretelling a great future for the class but nothing like trials in different ways if old ways seem no good and would not ameliorate the condition.

Generally speaking, medical 'schools' were started for Service Corps but time has been a powerful factor in enlarging the field and now its wings have spread so wide that radical changes from top to bottom of the 'school' course seem imminent.

Markets have increased in rates, general living has become enormously dear, daily expenditure is doubly increased, average wants are every moment multiplied, fashions are changing now and anon and struggle for existence has become very keen and how can we expect the average run of sub-assistant surgeons to turn a deaf ear to these thundering 'knocks' of changing circumstances? This is not a mere cry, the actual state of things is already revealed by reports of commissioners and our kind Government is about to solve the question of pay as soon as it comes out of financial straits.

It behoves at this time therefore to put on record our views once more.

Sub-assistant surgeons come under non-gazetted list in all the Indian provinces as also the Mamlatdars of Bombay and Tahsildars of Central Provinces. I cite these instances because they are familiar all over and that there may not be vague conception of their general education, superior talents for work, their special ability and departmental examinations. If Tahsildars or Mamlatdars are nowadays mostly graduates, the sub-assistant surgeons have from the very beginning been deplomed or certified to practice medicine and surgery and though the portals of the university were closed against them as they are even now it is acknowledged on all hands that they have stood the test of the "University of Hardknows.'

The Police and excise departments presenting a greater anomaly regarding pay promotions and qualification are left out of consideration.

As collection of revenue is an important duty of the state, so is giving relief to the 'sufferer,' an equally important one. If the former is done in accordance with set codes, the latter is performed in conformity with the rules of science and art; yet both are officers discharging duties to bring closer the ties of affection of people and good will of Government to each other. And yet one is born with a 'silver spoon' in the service while the other not even living from hand to mouth as the heavy load of the salary of the one presents great anomaly when we consider the scale of pay the latter receives.

One alluring chance in favour of sub-assistant surgeons frequently brought forward is that of so-called private practice. But this is only in name as can be imagined from the nature of posts awarded to them and keen competition in the medical line going on all over.

The Indian public is too far backward to understand the respective position of an officer unless the salary is taken into account, be he of any creed. And it is a happy fruit of the 'association' that side by side with other advantages, the scale of pay is coming to be soon revised.

In view of these changes it is necessary that the medical schools should be reorganized and modelled on newer and better lines to cope with other branches of study.

So long as the universities are not prepared to make arrangements to affiliate the Indian medical schools under the plea that "these are mere departmental classes," it should be so arranged that all Indian medical schools no matter how far from each other, should be brought under one 'focal point' as regards their study, course, examinations and entrance in service.

Medical relief in India is given by our progressive government particularly through the instrumentality of sub-assistant surgeons to the larger bulk of the populations residing in the remotest corner of the land which is yet many centuries back in point of civilization and the conditions following it. But supply is less than demand of the sub-assistant surgeons and any how both ends are made to meet and carry out the evangelist work in so far as conditions allow.

But unless all schools have fully equipped hospitals, up to date methods of teaching, well organized staff, one standard of admission throughout, the same course curriculum even and examinations, there would be diversity of public opinion regarding efficiency of one with the other and the final effect would likely to be so much marred by the individual defects. That this ideal is very 'high' perhaps difficult to attain is an admitted fact but so long as we do not try to sore high, and build castles in the air, none would be in our possession even on earth.

In short we must have our medical schools completely reorganized as signs of the times vividly point out that these schools are backward institutions and to supersede them, colleges of physicians and surgeons are coming into existence. This is the pious wish of one and all who have the interest of these schools at heart and a wish sincerely made would certainly have its powerful psychic effect towards bending the general inclinations to its own level and bring about the desired end. And no one if he sets a thinking, would count upon this as sad hope or vain ambition. The ladder of ambition must be scaled step by step or else in hurry to climb the topmost, if we fail to catch the right step, not knowing when and how we would be hurled down in blank oblivion. It therefore behoves us to lay down set this critical moment, a scheme to be submitted to those concerned. As they are, medical schools have to take their share in the prevailing state of things. To be clear, all provinces are not on par with each other, some have been modernized in proportion to the wave of civilization that dashed on its shores. The effect was that farther apart from the central place of modern science and art and the allied conditions of life, the chances are less and less for its whole sale reforms. In consequence, the medical schools of such provinces are less likely to keep pace with their sister institutions of civilized portions of the country in point of clinical tests, keen observations and multiplicity of subjects and execution of work. Thus there is great difference between medical school and medical school. At present Indore and Poona medical schools are highly spoken of but of what avail is this praise? All are birds of the same feather regarding their pay and observation. In days gone by this was inevitable but the new era has now dawned, constitutions have changed, needs are increased and with this general change, if the question of Indian medical schools be left as it is, the 20th century would leave a great blot on the map of progress. Let us therefore be up and doing.

India's Contributions to World Culture.

By Mr. CHAND NARAYAN ZUTSHI, M. R. A. S.

SOME of the recent books on India have made it quite clear that the protagonists of Western culture have been too lavish in their estimate of anything Indian and quite unsparing in passing their final verdict on India's religion, her philosophy, literature and art. To them Indian religion is a false superstition, Indian philosophy a mere guess-work and Indian Art and literature crude and grotesque. They have told us as well that we have had no glorious past, no inspiring history, that India is a pool of conservatism, a sheltered backwater unaffected by the currents of modern life and that therefore the only chance of making herself progressive like the West lies in her giving up her 'barbarism.' These are in brief the charges made against India. How she is going to refute them and what are the means to do so are the questions which must strike every patriotic Indian in the country. I am inclined to think that the solution lies in the spirit of self-assertion which the young India is called upon to display. One of the most effective means to the end lies in the wider publicity India can give to the World or at least to her enemies of her views on the subject. It is to this end that I subscribe my humble quota of views in the present article which aims to enumerate as briefly as possible the great contributions India has made to the sum total of world culture—contributions which have gone to the making of the so-called mighty West—and to show that India has evolved a type of civilisation which had a far-reaching influence on the cultural movement of the West.

That India has been the cradle of an ancient civilisation, more ancient than the western has been acknowledged by the discriminating scholars of the West. Prof. Kenneth Morris during the course of his lecture delivered in the Raja Yoga College. Point Loma, California said, "I doubt Alexander carried here any cultural impulse in the ordinary sense; it is our Euro-American conceit to imagine the Greek was the highest thing in civilization in the world at that time. We may take it that Indian civilization was far higher and better in all essentials; certainly the Greeks who went there presently, and left a record, were impressed with that fact."

And then of all the three ancient literatures of the world, Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, Sanskrit is "more copious than Latin, more exquisitely refined than Greek and more perfect than either. The Sanskrit, is the most ancient type of the English of the present day, (Sanskrit and English are but varieties of one and the same language,) so its thoughts and feelings contain in reality the first roots and germs of that intellectual growth which by an unbroken chain connects our own generation with the ancestors of the Aryan race,—with those very people who at the rising and the setting of the sun listened with trembling hearts to the songs of the Veda, that told them of bright powers above, and of a life to come after the sun of their own lives had set in the clouds of the evening. These men were the true ancestors of our race, and the Veda is the oldest book we have in which to study this first beginnings of our language of all that is embodied in language. We are by nature Aryan, Indo-European, not Semetic ; our spiritual kith and kin are to be found in India, Persia, Greece, Italy, Germany ; not in Mesopotamia, Egypt or Palestine." So says Prof. R. T. H. Griffith, an authority on Sanskrit. It is the Sanskrit language that gave the key to the science of modern European philology in the beginning of the 19th century at the introduction of the Sanskrit grammar by Panini in Europe, while the science of philology was known to the Indians at least 3,000 years ago. Prof. Max Muller, an authority on the subject says, "The Hindus and the Greeks are the only nations who developed the science of grammar ; but the achievements of the Greeks in grammar are poor indeed compared with marvellous work of Panini— the greatest grammarian that the world has seen." Then Ramayan and Mahabharatha are the two great monumental works of Indian literature—the two great epic poems of the world. These Indian epics have exercised the same influence in moulding the social and religious life of India as the Iliad and the Æneid did in Europe, which compared to them are but shorter poems and with perhaps less lofty ideals and teachings.

Turning to the contributions of India in the sphere of art and sciences both applied and exact, let us take the system of Indian music which is unquestionably the most exquisitely fine and sweet and the most natural system in the world, being based on Rags and Raginis set to the various human emotions. It is this system of music which, however strange to the western ear, has revolutionised the Western system of music and is of much earlier origin than the Western and has a history of 3,000 years of development behind it. Prof. Victor Goloubew, a famous authority on Indian art speaking in Paris at a meeting held in the Hall of the Institute Oceanographique on 12th June 1920 paid a glowing tribute to the immortal contribution of India, ancient and modern, to the domain of art which has enriched humanity.

Turning to the science of Mathematics the contributions of India have been none the less significant. That ancient and modern India has produced mathematicians of the highest ability is beyond the shadow of a doubt, and some of the ancient Indian methods of calculations, as far instance the Subhankari system, are marvels of swift and exact calculation in the largest figures in Arithmetic. "The Hindus invented the decimal number system, purely negative numbers and zero, they knew the fundamental operations, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. Europe owes much to India also in Algebra. "Arabian writers translated Hindu works on Algebra in the 8th century and Leonardo of Pisa learnt the science from the Arabians and introduced it in modern Europe." Mr. R. C. Dutta in his history of Civilisation in Ancient India says: "The Hindus had discovered the first laws o geometry in the 8th century before Christ and imparted it to the Greeks." This shows that geometry was discovered in India.

In the domain of applied sciences the science of medicine and civil engineering were known to the Hindus sixteen centuries back. The engineering work of tunnelling was unknown to the West half a century ago, but "the subterranean temples of Ellore carved out of rocks for a mile and a half under a mountain" form a tangible proof to this day of the marvellous skill of the Hindus in engineering which is the boast of the modern West.

The science of preserving iron from rust which has not yet dawned upon the western world was known to the Hindus even in the time of Raja Deva whose gigantic pillar though exposed to the corroding influence of weather for the last sixteen centuries bears amply testimony thereof.

The Hindu science of medicine which has furnished ample material for the development of western materia medica was known to the Hindus even in the 4th century. "When the Greeks visited India in the fourth century they found the Hindus proficient in the art of healing, and Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal." Then the exact anatomy of the human body was known to the Hindus so far back as the sixth century B. C.; surgery was an applied science in India during the early centuries of the Christian era; the first hospitals of the world were built by Hindus, scientists and philanthropists; the application of minerals to therapeutics is very old among the Hindu medical practitioners; zinc was discovered in India before the time of Paracelsus; and the circulation of blood was known before Harvey."

The theory of evolution for which Spencer, Huxley, and Darwin have made their mark in the western world was one of the cardinal doctrines of the sages of India. Dr. R. Heber Newton says, "Confirmed idealist as was the Hindu philosopher he could speak of the material world only in terms of mind. Evolution became the doctrine of the progressive unfolding life through the action of Infinite and Eternal Spirit. It was, it is the History of the Divine being. It was, it is, religion. And this Eastern wisdom over Western world cannot reject as an alien conception when not alone idealist philosophers like Berkeley hold it, but savants like Huxley confess that, as between the two conceptions of idealism and materialism, they would have to take the first theory." .

Turning to the domain of philosophy and religion India's contribution to the enrichment of the world have been too remarkable to deserve more than a passing mention here, I would therefore only quote some of the western philosophers and thinkers by way of testimony to the superiority of India over the philosophical and religious speculations of the West. Dr. Matheon says "It is not too much to say that the mind of the West with all its undoubted impulses towards the progress of the humanity has never exhibited such an intense amount of intellectual force as is to be found in the religious speculations of India. These have been the cradle of all the Western speculations, and wherever the European mind has risen into heights of philosophy, it has done so because the Brahman was the pioneer. There is no intellectual problem in the West which has not its earliest discussion in the East and there is no modern solution of that problem which will not be found anticipated in the East." A French historian and philosopher Victor Cousin writes: "We are constrained to bend the knee before the philosophy of the East and to see in this cradle of the human race the native land of the higher philosophy."

Limitations of space forbid me to multiply illustrations of this kind *ad infinitum* in the present article which will however I hope suffice to show to the detractors of Indian culture who regard India as nothing more than the land of dreamers and visionaries, that India has been the store-house of wisdom for the whole world to draw upon, that it is India that has given to the world the greatest poets, the greatest philosophers, and the greatest religious teachers and that, while the other ancient countries, Egypt, Assyria or Babylon have gone to the dust with their hoary civilisation, it is India which is still growing and breathing and is still a living force in the world. Take for instance the romantic movement of Europe in the 19th century which was not without the influence of the poetry of India. The Shakuntala of Kandas made such a profound impression on the German philosopher—Goethe, one of the great exponents of European romanticism that he burst into these lines:

> "Wilt thou the blossoms of the spring, the fruits of late autumn;
> Wilt thou what charms and raptures,
> Wilt thou what satisfied and nourishes,
> Wilt thou in one name conceive heaven and earth,
> I name, Shakuntala, thee, and everything is said"

Then the Bhagwat Gita has given a great impetus to the thought-world of the West and influenced very much the writings of Thomas A. Kempis, Browning and Tennyson. The noble teachings of Gita, Vedas and Upanishads have made an indelible stamp upon Emerson and Thoreau, the two American philosophers. Thoreau speaking of the Vedas says: "I have read (some of the portions of the Vedas) fall on me like the light of a higher and purer luminary, which describes a loftier course through a purer stream,—free from particulars, simple, universal. It rises on me like the full moon after the stars have come out wading through some far summer stratum of sky." Emerson in his poem "Brahma" says:

> "If the red slayer thinks he slays,
> Or if the slain thinks he is slain.
> They know not well the subtle ways,
> I keep, and pass, and turn again."

These have been in brief the various and varied contributions of India to the sum total of world culture which some of the superficial western writers seem wholly to hoodwink, and it is strange irony of fate that India inspite of her being the fountain-head of world culture should be made a target of cultural attacks at their hands. The only explanation that could be made as to why she is subject to such cultural onslaughts seems to me to lie in the oft quoted words of Sir John Woodroffe who says "The institutions of a coloured people particularly of a politically servient one are very likely to appear inferior to those without understanding and freedom from prejudice." These writers seem to forget that the path of upward evolution lies in peaceful harmony and in the modern method of "sympathetic treatment" of others' religion and institutions in a spirit of good will and mutual respect and not in mistaking others as our deadly enemies and engaging ourselves in world-wide strife and discord. Hence unless we realize and appreciate these vital truths of real progress the poet's words anticipated long before that

> "East and West without a breath,
> Mixed their dim lights like life and death
> To broaden into boundless day,"

will be falsified and remain no better than a day-dream.

The Text of the Sakuntala—II.

By PROF. B K. THAKORE, B. A.

A play on the stage is a rich and varied feast of all the fine arts. The Sakuntala itself has appropriate occasions provided in it for a display of painting (Act VI the King's incomplete painting of the heroine and her friends), sculpture or the art of making lifelike figures and objects in precious wood or metal or stone (the King's and Indra's chariots. the various animals, birds, creepers, trees etc., mentioned in Acts I, IV. VII and elsewhere,—some of these may be actually brought on the stage or presented in pots, or may be merely scenes or pictures, or they may be painted figures like the toy-peacock in Act VII), the jeweller and goldsmith's art (the King's ornaments. the miraculous ornaments presented to Sakuntala by the 'sylyan nymphs' above all the Abhijnana or ring), and strange mechanical devices for ascent and descent almost bordering on the miraculous; Soanmati's descent and ascent, the King's descent from Swarga). And music and dancing are of course far more akin to the dramatist's principal medium of human acting than any of these other arts. On *apriori* grounds then we have no reason whatever to question the authenticity of a scene with music and dance for its principal function. The beginning of Act VII is again the most appropriate place for such a relaxation. Moreover new developments and inventions could be here recommended as the inspirations of heavenly dancing girls. Nor is the scene in itself so clumsy, if we remember the limitations and conventions within which the dramatist had to fashion his creation in Ancient India. Indra on his throne in heaven with his court round him could not be presented by the Indian dramatist as a scene of mute figures, with only the dancing girls singing and dancing. Appropriate dialogue would also have to be provided, that is to say such a durbar would need an act to itself, and that would destroy the artistic unity and balance of the play altogether. Thus even a Kalidasa might be forced to the device or pretext of a durbar that could not be held although it was thought of because the course of events moved faster than had been anticipated.

Nevertheless, I reject this scene without hesitation. It flatly contradicts the first three speeches of Act VII, which in all the versions including the Kashmiri, clearly state that a victory durbar was actually held at which Indra showered unusual honours upon Dushyanta. A minor reason, which many students might well hold to be equally decisive, is that the verse at the end which is the soul of the scene is hopelessly corrupt. The words as they stand defy all attempt at construing them into sense.

5. In the passages so far dealt with I have decided in favour of the Devanagari version. I now turn to others in which that version appears to me to have unjustifiably contracted Kalidasa's text. Our information about India during the period lying between Kalidasa's generation and the ninth or tenth century is very meagre. But it is not at all unlikely that dramatic performances were far more frequent in some parts of India than in others And I may hazard the guess that the Devanagari text is substantially the creation of that part of India in which during the period indicated dramatic performances were frequent. For the Sakuntala as it stands is obviously too long, and for any one who wants to perform it, the temptation to contract it is almost irresistible. Now, any

one who wanted to stage the Sakuntala to-day, would find it easy to contract it. He would turn Acts II and VI into brief *vishkambhaka* or *pravesaka* scenes, and leave the rest of the Acts almost untouched. But this course could not possibly occur to the actors and dramatists of the period referred to. The only dramatic literature they knew was the ancient Sanskrit drama, and they accepted by training and by instinct its conventions and limitations. With their ideas of structural development and balance and also of the relative importance of persons and incidents, they would necessarily have judged these two Acts just as indispensible as any of the others. Hence they attempted to omit and to shorten speeches throughout the play wherever they could do so without injury to the original, or without leaving traces of their activity ; and it is a testimony to the perfect craft of the original as also to its early popularity, that they could cut out so little of it. Of course I throw this out as a mere suggestion. I do not advance it as a theory or hypothesis. No theory or hypothesis ought to be advanced by a responsible student without some evidence in its favour. And the only evidence that could throw light on the point would be a manuscript or manuscripts only a few centuries later than Kalidasa (19).

Let us look at the beginnings of (1) Act III, and (2) Act IV, and at (3) the King's entrance into the hermitage of Kanva in Act I. The three passages have this feature in common, that some dramatic time must elapse between what has gone before and what is to follow. They are transitional pauses between two actions or situations, which because of the sharp difference between them have to be separated by appreciable intervals. Such softening passages as they might be called require no little skill and art and invention to make them natural or appropriate. A good many people, however, are apt to be impatient with them, not having imagination enough to realise the shock or at least the feeling of abruptness that would be experienced, if these interludes were omitted or seriously curtailed and the preceding and succeeding scenes brought too close to each other. With this general remark I will take up these passages in the reverse order.

5. (1) Between the primeval forest, fit field for a royal hunt, and the Asrama, Kalidasa places a region which is neither the one nor the other, but a semi-wild debatable margin, at one end merging into the forest, and at the other into the hermitage. This, I take it, is the original and literal meaning of the word **उपवन.** The bright light that plays upon the Sakuntala throughout is in part the consequence of the extreme concreteness and precision with which Kalidasa places before us the geography of the regions he is dealing with. In Act IV the nucleus region of the hermitage ends at the point from which the female deer big with child, casts her glances of farewell at Sakuntala, who is fast approaching the boundary of the Asrama. The boundary itself is indicated by the point beyond which the tame young deer to whom Sakuntala has been a mother, wants in his mute way to prevent her from going. At that point begins the more uneven region of the **उपवन.** And at some distance in this marginal land is the irregular sheet of water (formed by a natural depression) where the party halts under a wild big shady tree, and Kanva gives his message to the King and his parting advice and benedictions to his beloved child. Turn now to Act I. The hunted antelope belonged to the hermitage and so when pursued by the King took a bee-line to that place of safety. The king's horses are exceptionally strong and fleet and overtake him just as he is about to cross the edge of the forest and pass into the Upavana. But he is saved nevertheless by

the intervention of Vaikhanasa and others, whose presence there at that hour of the day is perfectly natural, the spot being only a little inside the forest. When the ascetics leave the King, therefore, it is this edge of the forest that he crosses and passes at once into the Upavana. This Kalidasa describes by two verses the first (नीवाराः०) referring to the part adjoining the forest and the second (कुल्याम्भो०) referring as clearly to the part immediately adjoining the hermitage. The second verse is not merely a description in other words of the same spot as is described by the first. And as said above an appreciable dramatic interval is here necessary. Monier Williams and Patankar have therefore done well in keeping both these verses, as in the Bengali and Kasmiri versions, although they generally follow the Devanagari text as settled by the commentator Raghava Bhatta, who here rejects the second of the two (20.)

I may also add, although it is a very small point, that the Kasmiri arrangement in which the charioteer says his two words—सर्वमुपपन्नं—immediately after the first verse, and the chariot proceeds onwards and then the King says his second verse and immediately after मा तपोवन० appears to me the best of all.

5. (2) In the beginning of Act IV Raghava Bhatta is satisfied with two verses—यात्येकतो० and अन्तर्हिते० The Bengali and Kasmiri versions give two more—कर्कन्धूनां० and पादन्यासं the Bengali giving these as third and fourth while the Kasmiri gives them as first and second, placing the others third and fourth. How many of these four verses are we to keep and in what order? It is rather a nice point whether the dramatic interval required after the curse episode would be sufficiently provided by two verses, or more would be better. Perhaps no definite opinion is possible either way. But on making out a time analysis of the play, it clearly appears that what is here required is something more than a mere dramatic interval. For the day of the curse and the day of Sakuntala's departure though placed together in immediate succession by the poet, are really separated by an interval of several months. Kalidasa places the curse on the very day after Dushyanta has left, as indeed he was bound to do, when he had limited so strictly the period within which he makes his hero promise that Sakuntala would be sent for (21). And he places the departure of Sakuntala from the Asrama immediately on Kanva's return from pilgrimage. This also is absolutely the best decision for the poet, or at any rate if he had allowed an interval, he would also have had to account for it in some natural and proper manner. The reconstructions of plots by a dramatist of genius are always marked by the propriety and naturalness he bestows upon every incident, on every feature of time, place, order, manner, and other circumstance. Thus in the plot as Kalidasa has reconstructed it there is an interval of several months between the end of the prelude to Act IV and the beginning of the Act itself. This also has got to be somehow marked in the very beginning of the Act, for the story has gone on from its commencement upto the end of the curse episode without a break. We begin in Caitra-end of Caitra or beginning of *Vaisakha* and have come down to the end or latter part of Jyeshtha. If we assume that Kanva would go on his pilgrimage and return from it making both the journeys at the same rate of speed, that he would start for it in good time to reach his destination before the rains began, and that he would start back for home soon after the rains, say on or immediately after the Vijayadasami—a most

natural set of assumptions to make; since we know that he started when the rains were two months off, it follows that the return journey also occupied two months so that he reached home again in Margasirsha. The interval between the end of the curse Vishkambhaka and the beginning of Act IV is therefore the interval from the end of Jyeshtha to the middle of Margasirsha. The seventh month of pregnancy is also universally regarded in India to be much safer for a pregnant woman to make a journey, than either the sixth or the eighth (22.)

It is the third verse (कर्कन्धूनां०) that gives the local touch. Those lovers of Kalidasa who realise that his primacy as a descriptive poet in Sanskrit literature is essentially connected with minute accuracy of detail imaginatively selected and rendered, will find even this single consideration decisive.

Lastly, it is the fourth verse (पादन्यासं०) which gives the moral or the sentiment that fits the course of events beginning here and marching swiftly on to भगवति वसुधे देहिमे विवरं in Act V. The moral of the first verse (यात्येकतो) is not so pointed and is far less appropriate. So even if it be advisable on any grounds beyond my ken to shorten the Sishya's speech, I would rather omit the first two of the verses than the last two. And it is the Bengali order of the verses that best marks the stages through which dawn passes into sunrise (23.)

Let me also add one further argument in favour of the retention of the fourth verse. From the first moment Dushyanta and Sakuntala catch sight of each other, the love interest of the play begins and grows steadily and swiftly until they marry and Bharata the future Chakravarti is conceived. Love is the ruling sentiment (रस) of the first three Acts. In selecting for his arrows two such exalted beings as Dushyanta and Sakuntala the God of love "placed his foot (पादन्यासं कृत्वा) "upon the highest objects within his ken, and worked his will with them overcoming every obstacle. But having reached the Zenith of his success and even passed beyond it (क्रान्तं) it is in the course of nature or Inexorable Law that this excessive ascent (अत्यारूढिः) should, as if out of its own irresistible momentum, produce a precipitate fall. The God of Love is as a matter of fact dethroned for the rest of the play. The ruling sentiments of the remaining Acts are:—

Act IV—वात्सल्य with touch of अद्भुत
Act V—करुण with more of „ (24)
Act VI—करुण subordinated to „
and Act VII—अद्भुत and वात्सल्य

leading on to a consummation and a tranquillity beyond all ordinary human sentiments.

This rise and fall in the play of the God of Love is what the verse suggests in the guise of a description of the rise and fall of Love's friend and the lord of all art, the Moon. This argument is only for those who appreciate how strong is the convention in Sanskrit poetry of thus suggesting at appropriate points in a work of art, an inner meaning just radiating out of the ordinary every day sense of the words,—which therefore conceal more than half their propriety and beauty from readers whose perceptions come to a full stop at the obvious.

Lastly, in Kalidasa's reconstructed plot taken by itself the curse is the turning point. But in the play taken as an organic whole, this curse, the instinctive reaction of a superman like Durvasas, who is employed all unknown to himself as a tool by higher powers for higher ends is like the rising of the sun in the world of nature, necessarily involving the setting of the moon. The purely mundane force of physical attraction or love has served its purpose; the play marches forward into the broad daylight of higher motives.

5. (3) The shortest beginning of Act III is to be found in the southern version. The Devanagari has one verse more **अनिषमपि०**. The lovesick hero in Sanskrit literature is, however, prone to loquacity rather than to reticence. Carlyle's dour commandment—"Consume thy own smoke," is a view of manliness alien to ancient Hindu culture and psychology in spite of its pronounced ascetic bent. The strict hours and single meal of the plainest and most *sattvic* fare, not too abundant in quantity, which the King shared with the sacrificers from the day he entered the hermitage as their guardian, would also favour intellectual activity and farfetched subtlety. Nor does the dramatic situation require the least rapidity of movement. And the main end of the play being the representation of the circumstances most favourable to the conception, birth, and early upbringing of a *chakravarti* like Bharata, we have to assume that the King has steadily attended to his new and exacting duty for some time with single-minded devotion, so that the discipline and purification of his system begun by his hunting expedition have had time to be lifted on to a higher level. 'Sakuntala's love-fever has also to be given sufficient time to reach the extreme point which we find delineated in this Act. The meeting of the lovers is therefore to be visualised as taking place on a day nearer the end than the beginning of the King's stay at the hermitage (25). Thus we have every reason to prefer the longest version of this passage to all others, provided of course that there is no objection to the additional parts either in themselves or in the relative place assigned to any of them. Lastly, looking at the Act as an artistic whole, it falls into three sections; this is the initial section; the middle section beings with.

अये लब्धं नेत्रनिर्वाणम्

and ends at **णिव्वुदम्ह**, and from that point onwards to the end of the Act is the third section. Such movement or action as the Act deals with consists of:

(1) Showing that the mutual attraction of the lovers has reached an intensity almost physically insupportable;

(2) An immediate *gandharva* marriage as the inevitable consummation;

(3) And finally *Sambhoga-Sringara* in that chaste and elevated key, which alone would harmonise with the place and the character of the lovers. An aesthetic balance between the three sections is essential, and this is to some indefinable extent also a matter of relative lengths, although of course every one knows that artistic proportion is quite different from arithmetical. Indeed, I have argued above in another connection that the third section must be short. Here my argument is that the first section must be longer than it is in the southern and Davanagari versions.

The Kasmiri version does not give the **संमीलन्ती०** verse with its introductory sentence. It is, however, necessary both as enabling the King to select a particular direction, and because two verses mark the length of the way better than only one (**शक्यमर०**). In fine, I would place the verses in the following order.—(१) **जाने०**, (२) **अद्यापि नूनं०**. (३) **तव कुसुम०**, (४) **अनिष०**, (५) **वृथैव०**, (६) **संमीलन्ता०**, (७) **शक्यमर०**, (८) **अभ्युन्नता०**.

The southern version gives only Nos. 1, 3, 7, and 8. Vidaysagara does the same, although he notes that one of his manuscripts gives all eight, and another the above four with Nos. 2 and 6 also. Raghava Bhatta gives Nos. 1 3, 4, 7 and 8. Burkhard gives Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, and 8. Out of the eight I am not prepared to omit any except No. 5; and even for that I fail to see any clear ground for omission. Monier Williams accepts all eight, only he transposes Nos. 2 and 3, and he cites as his authorities "the Taylor and my own Bombay Devanagari manuscript supported by Sankara and Candrasekhara and all the Bengali manuscripts" (p 102 note 1, see also p. 103 note 1). Lastly, S. Ray omits (2) and (5) and would like to omit (3) and (4) also; but his tests and standards are hardly the right ones to apply to the heart-easing divagations of a man lovesick and overstrained. However, that there should be such divergencies of judgment in connection with this passage, furnishes an excellent illustration of the difficulties inherent in aesthetic or internal criticism.

5. (4) One other Devanagari omission is in my humble opinion at least equally serious. In Act VI the nadir of the king's dejection is represented in the Devanagari by the verse अस्मात्परं० In the Bengali and Kasmiri versions it goes to an abyss deeper still in the verse.

आमूलसध्यसंतति कुलं तत्पौरवं प्रजावन्ध्ये ।
मय्यस्तमितमनार्ये देश इव सरस्वतीस्रोतः ॥

(इति मोहमुपागतः)

Here सन्तति has two senses (26) one applying to the case of the king's कुल the other to the river Sarasvati, which left the surface and went underground the moment it reached un-Aryan lands And there is the further meaning irresistibly suggested and therefore certainly present to the mind of the King that सरस्वतीस्रोतः in the sense of the highest and purest culture, would also set in the kingdom ruled over by the Paurava family, that the Paurava land would sink back into an un-Aryan land, on his death without an heir capable of discharging the exalted duties of the kingly office in the time honoured Paurava spirit. We do not know for certain when Kalidass flourished. But the Raghuvansa and the Malavikagnimitra are there to justify the assumption that our poet knew full well, perhaps even from bitter and indelible personal experience, how the moment a strong king was no more, anarchy would spread over a whole country, and culture and all its works disappear in a twinkling. The strength of the Dushyanta's own sense of duty, the intensity of his devotion to it, and the high degree of efficiency he brought to its daily performance, are the measure of the shock that the thought of such a fatal catastrophe would give him: especially as he now realised—years having elapsed (27) that it was his own fault that he could now do nothing to avert it. This verse brings on *moha* much more properly than the last, although the Pitri-tushti motive was also one of the strongest and most universal amongst the ancient Indo-Aryans. It seems to me therefore that this verse and the two intervening speeches are an integral part of the play as Kalidasa wrote it. The second of these speeches—the ceti's भट्टा अलं संतापिदेण । वअत्थो उज्जेव पह अवरासुं देवीसु अपुरुवपुत्तजम्मण पुव्वपुरिसाणं अरिणो भविस्सदि । (आत्मगतं) णमे व अणं पडिच्छदि भट्टा । अधवा अणुरूधं अब ओसधं आदह णिअत्तंदि । might jar on modern ears. But it is vain to try to force Sakuntala into our familiar mould of monogamous fidelity. Secondly, it is quite a natural and proper speech for a ceti. Thirdly the poet has expressly added that the king did not hear these words. Shakespeare intent upon Svabhavokti (naturalness in *speech*) as all dramastists must be, commits sins of taste far grosser than this in innumerable passages.

5. (5) One more Devanagari omission briefer than any that has gone before. After the King suddenly presents himself and replies on the spot to Sakuntala's message of love in the last extremity of longing (Act III), the Bengali version proceeds.

सख्यौ—(विलोक्य सहर्षमुत्थाय) साअदं उपासमीहिदपुलस्स
अविलम्बिणोमणोरधस्स।
राजा—सुन्दरि अलमल आयासन संदष्ट० (32)
शकु०—(ससाध्वसमात्मगतं) हिअअ तधा उत्तम्मिअ दाणिण किंपि
पडिवअसि। (29)
अन०—इदा सिलादलेकदेसं अनुगेण्हदु महाराओ। (30)
(शकुन्तला किंचिदपसरति) (29)
राजा—(उपविश्य) प्रियंवदे कच्चित्सखीं वो नाति बाधते शरीरताप (29)
प्रियं०—(सस्मितं) (31) लद्धोसधो संपदं उपसमं गमिस्सदि।
महाभाअ दाण्हं पिअ०। सहासिणोहा०

Here, to begin with, the Devanagari and Southern versions omit 'Sakuntala's soliloquy, so that in these versions the first words she utters after the King's appearance are **हलाकिं अन्तेउरविरह०**—The central figure of the scene says not a word while the other persons exchange ten speeches. She says nothing even when the King addresses her direct. The Indian stage must from the very beginning have had strict conventions of maidenly modesty, conventions reflecting the immemorial customs of the respectable classes of society. But a soliloquy or a remark aside to her friends is frequent, as we see earlier in this play itself (Act I) and in other Sanskrit plays, and complete silence for such an interval and at this stage of her feelings is hardly natural. The omission of the soliloquy in the Devanagari and Southern versions is thus a serious blemish, although it may appear a mere trifle to superficial observers. The Kasmiri version it may be added, places the *atmatagata* remark before the King's **सुन्दरि अल०**. And in the first sentence of the last speech in the above quotation it adds the word **कालेव०** and follows it up with a *janantika* remark by Anasuya. But neither of these little changes is an improvement. Lastly, the King addressing Priyamvada direct, because, as the Kasmiri version indicates by a stage direction, Priyamvada is sitting side by side with Sakuntala, so that Anasuya and the King are sitting near her feet on each side of her—is the reason why as the scene proceeds Priyamvada becomes the principal speaker for the next few speeches. The Devanagari version omitting the stage direction, the King's query as to Sakuntala and Priyamvada's reply (first sentence), ought at least to have like the Southern version, made the further change of taking away from Priyamvada the incidental role of principal speaker for the next few speeches. 33.

6. In this final article I shall bring together with a minimum of comment or argument a few of the more important of the minor emendations likely to occur

to students who accept my method of using all the materials available with perfect freedom.

6. (1) In Act I after the King gives his signet ring and the friends jump to the natural conclusion that their visitor is Dushyanta himself, the King still makes an attempt to say something not altogether inconsistent with his former statement. His motive at this moment also is the same as when he came up viz., to prevent as far as possible the springing up between him and the maidens of that barrier of stiff formality which would be the inevitable result as soon as they knew him to be so exalted a personage as King Dushyanta. The author's dramatic motive here is only a little to prolong the situation in order that the Act could be rounded off instead of ending abruptly. In the Devanagari his speech is अलमस्मानन्यथा संभाव्य । राज्ञः परिग्रहो (V. l Monier Williams following शकरप्रतिग्रहो ऽयमिति राजपुरुषं मामवगच्छथ । But it is not at all necessary that the King should commit himself to the positive misstatement of the last four words, and the Bengali, Kasmiri and Southern readings agree in omitting them. These are :—

अलमन्यथा संभावनया (V. l. Southern था संभाव्य; Kasmiri मस्माकमcoभावितेन । राज्ञः प्रतिग्रहो (V. l. Southern a Kasmiri परिग्रहो) अपग्रह यम् ।

Patankar and Ray adopt

अलमस्मानन्यथा संभाव्य । राज्ञःपरिग्रहोयम् ।

Parigraha or Pratigraha makes no difference, both words meaning 'a present.' The commentators' ingenious attempts to make राज्ञ :, शवपुरूष and परि (अति ग्राह yield two senses are hardly necessary. The impersonal first sentence and the second sentence without the last four words are quite sufficient.

6. (2) The first verse in Act II. Raghava Bhatta reads आयासि as the last word of the first half. Pischel, Krishnanatha, Burkhard, Abhirama, Monier Williams following Katayavema, Patankar and S Ray read आश्वासि instead. And all of them read तद्भावदर्शन० Pischel however notes that his manuscript R.—*i.e.*, India Office No. 1491—has भावि instead of भाव And it does seem to me, whatever the orthodox scholar may think of it—that

काम प्रिया न सुलभा मनस्तु तद्भावि दर्शनायासि ।
अकृताथऽपि मनासजे रतिमुभयप्रार्थना कुरुते ॥

not only gives the simplest reading, harmonising in the most direct sense with the context, but also strikes at once the keynote of the Act, the King's longing somehow to bring about a very early meeting with 'Sakuntala. All the learned objections of the commentators including Patankar to भावदर्शनायासि० become irrelevant the moment व is changed to वि

6. (3) Anasuya's first speech in Act IV. For the first sentence we have three alternatives to choose from

(*a*) In the Raghava Bhatta reading एतत् has to be taken to mean विषइज नवृत्तं—see besides Raghava Bhatta's Abhirama, Vidyasagara and S. Ray's commentaries, and Kale's notes. Some condensation is natural in the hurried speech so frequent in a play. But condensation amounting to obscurity is hardly to be found in Kalidasa.

(*b*) For नविदितं in the above reading the Bengali has निपतितं (Pischel) or ननिपतितं (Krishnanatha). Without the negative the यथा would merely indicate manner or kind; with the negative it also emphasizes the degree of अनार्यत्व

(*c*) Thirdly, we have the composite readings of Monier Williams and Patankar made up by piecing together parts from more than one family of manuscripts. Monier William's based upon the Mackenzie manuscript, Katayavema and India office No. 1060, is the best, which I therefore give adding only यथा which several of our authorities have—to make it slightly clearer :—

एव्वं ण म विसअपरंमुसस्सवि इमस्स अणस्सण पदंणविदिअं यातेण रएणा सउन्दलाए अणज्जं आअरिदुत्ति ।

6. (4) Anasuya's second speech in Act IV. The Kasmiri version offers the best variant :—

अध वा दुक्खसीले तवस्भिअगे को अब्भत्थीअदु । ण ह हिगमणेण दोसा त्ति ववसिदं । दाणिं पारेम्ह । पहासणिव्वुत्तस्स तादुकस्सवस्स दु ससन्तपारंणोद आवरणवअत्तं कापि सउन्तलं णिवद इस्सदि ।

The speaker's feeling of pain sorrow and helplessness is much lighter here than in the other versions. The continuity with the curse Vishkambhaka is unnecessary, as a sufficient dramatic interval has been provided by the four verses of the sishya; and continuity with the tone of what immediately follows is the more important consideration. This, to my mind, is therefore the best version of the concluding portion of the speech, with the small exception that I prefer the Devanagari पवास to the पहास here. That सामताथं (Act I) was Prabhasa even in our author's days is very likely. But we cannot be quite certain about it until Kalidasa's date can be fixed more precisely. And this is as good a point as any in this essay for me to add a word making the contrast between what orthodox scholars look down upon and stigmatise as merely internal criticism and their own rigid processes of textual collation and emendation. The whole of the text and all that it implies both directly and indirectly have to be taken into consideration and not merely the particular passage which we are trying to settle. Moreover the method as I am using it accepts the method of textual scholarship and research at its full value, treating it as an important and indeed indispensable subsidiary. But of course it questions and sometimes feels bound to reject the claim of this scholarship to have the last word; what is only apart can never hope to dictate to the larger broader based and aesthetically rounded organic whole of which it is a part or limb. Textual criticism is the eyesight of all criticism. But even the eye cannot hope to always dictate to the whole body.

6. (5) In Act V. the Bengali.

किं कृतकार्यद्वेषाद्धर्मं प्रति विमुखतोचिता राज्ञः ।

is also adopted by Vidyasagara, Monier Williams, Patankar, and S. Ray. It is certainly better than the Southern

किं कृतकार्यद्वेषाधर्मं प्रति विमुखता कृशावज्ञा ।

or Raghava Bhatta's

किं कृतकार्यद्वेषो धर्मं प्रति विमुखता कृतावज्ञा ।

But the Kasmiri reading is

किं कृतकार्यद्वेषा द्धर्मं प्रति विमखता राज्ञः ।

and if we are to accept Bohtling's suggestion (noted by Monier Williams) "that कृतावज्ञा is probably an interpolation from the margin", the oldest Devanagari reading would be

किं कृतकार्यद्वेषां धर्मं प्रति विमुखता राज्ञः ।

and these last two readings are certainly superior to the others. And the plural subject in the remaining half of the verse विकाशः inclines one to prefer

द्वेषो to द्वेषात

6. *(6)* In the Pravesaka to Act VI. as the syala returns from his audience with the King the Bengal and Kasmiri versions have—

श्यालः—सिग्ध सिग्धं पदं (इत्यर्धोक्ते)

धीवरकः—हा हदेम्हि । इति विषादु नाऽयति)

श्यालः—मुञ्चध रे०

which is a graphic touch true to the nature of the policeman of all ages and climes. But how many of our scholarly bookworms can from the simple words above visualise the "Syala as he rushes out of the gate at the poor fisherman, a picture of instant death but with a twinkle in his eye as he pronounces threateningly the first three words at the top of his voice, but as soon as their effect is produced on the Victims, stops his onrush close to him and finishes the sentence benigny with मुञ्चध रे० ?

6. (7) In Act VI. in the Sardulavikridita verse in which the King describes what additions he is going to make to his incomplete painting the second line of the verse should have चमर, the Himalayan Yak, as in Pischel, Krishnanatha and Burkhard. The word हरिण has been substituted for it in the Devanagari and Southern versions by people who thought that the proper name of this special variety might be unknown to many of their readers or audience (34).

6 (8) Going away with the picture (Act VI) the Vidushaka says in the Bengali version.—

जइ भवं मुश्चिसदि तदो मं महेच्छुणप्पसादे सद्दावेसि । एदंच तहिं· गोवेमि जहिं पाशवदं उज्भि अणकोवि आणो पेज्यदि ।

The second sentence here, omitted in the Devanagari and Southern versions 35, is however very necessary to inform us quite clearly that the Vidushaka was going to the highest storey of the King's loftiest palace.

Durga Puja.

By PROF. DEBENDRO NATH DEY.

DURGOTSAVA or the Durga Puja, is the greatest festival of the Hindus. The duration of the festival is longer than that of the other festivals of the Hindus. Properly speaking, it begins on the first *Rathjatra* day (car festival) which takes place in the month of *Asar* and ends on the *Purnima* day following the *bijaya Dasmi* day in the month of *Assin.* Not only Durga is worshipped, but also many other gods and goddesses are worshipped with her. The assemblage of the gods and goddesses is quite peculiar. Before the *Rathjatra* festival, in the month of *Asar* (June), a large bamboo is cut out of a cluster on an auspicious day. This bamboo is kept in a tank for a few days. Then on the first *Rathjatra* day, which is considered auspicious by all Hindus, a small piece of bamboo is cut and of the large one. This small piece of bamboo is anointed with *chandan* (sandal-wood plaster), turmeric, and cinnabar and then worshipped by the family priest, who utters some *mantras* or incantations with a view to bestow vitality on the bones of the would-be gods and goddesses. Needless to say, that this piece of bamboo is intended to supply bones of the gods and goddesses. After a few days, the carpenter makes his appearance to commence the work of *katamo* or the frame work. He first of all prepares a platform, whereon the gods and the goddesses are placed according to their positions. Next comes the potter, who prepares the skeleton of the idols with the sacred bamboo sticks. Then each skeleton is wrapped up with straw, which is covered over with mud. The heads are placed on the body afterwards. The potter completes his work by investing the deities with hands, feet, heads and every feature peculiar to each. The painter then paints the deities with colours peculiar to each and paints their eyes. After the paints are sufficiently dry, at an auspicious hour the entire group is removed to the place of worship. Before three or four days of the puja, the *mali* (gardener) comes in to decorate the gods and goddesses. It should be stated here that in former times the *mali* used to decorate the gods and goddesses. But at present a class of people have come into existence who decorate the gods and goddesses with lace and tinsel ornaments. The business of the *mali* caste is to prepare garlands and ornaments of flowers. From this circumstance, it appears that the decoration of the gods and goddesses had been done before with flowers and flower ornaments. But now-a-days, lace and tinsel ornaments are used instead of flowers.

Before we come to the festive days of the actual and chief performance of the ceremony, we should give a short description of the gods and goddesses and their attendants. In the middle, Durga—the ten-handed Durga—stands with her right foot on the back of a lion and with her left foot on an *asur* (demon). She has three eyes and a crescent moon on her forehead. She holds in her left hand with the forelocks of the demon the serpent noose. The serpent coils round the demon and the lion attacks him with his teeth. It is a terrible sight to behold ; but when one looks upon the divine countenance of the goddess, the terror vanishes. She tramples under her feet those who are wicked; but blesses those who are good. The demon has a shield and sword in hand, is pierced in his breast by the lance of the goddess and besmeared with blood, gushing from the wounds. On the right hand side of Durga, stands Lakshmi—the goddess of wealth and fortune—on a full-blown white lotus and in her each hand, she holds a full-blown white lotus. On the left hand side, stands Saraswati—the goddess of learning and wisdom—on a white lotus and in her hands, she holds a vina, guitar. She is white as purity herself, while the yellow-coloured Lakshmi is described as bright as gold. These two deities are represented as the two daughters of Durga. Below Lakshmi, sits Ganesh on a lotus, with his wife Cola-bow. This deity has four hands and an elephant head. The story is that Durga, the mother of Ganesh, incurred the displeasure of Sani—the god of misfortune and adversity—who cursed the goddess that she would give birth to a headless son The goddess besought Sani to revoke his curse. Whereupon Sani said to the goddess that the curse once pronounced could never be revoked. The goddess continued her solicitations when Sani was propitiated and proposed a certain modification to the curse pronounced by him. He proposed that Ganesh would remain alive if the head of the first being who would first be seen at the time of his birth, be placed over his shoulders. It so happened that an elephant passed by at the time of Ganesh's birth and was seen first by his mother. The mother had no other alternative but to place the head of the elephant on her headless-son. Ganesh, thus revived, could feel that the head of an elephant had been placed over him. He implored his mother to remove this drawback and the mother in order to make good the loss, declared that all people on earth would worship him first. To the left of Saraswati, the victorious and gold-coloured Kartic, another son of Durga sits on a beautiful peacock. He has taken a vow to remain unmarried. The *chal* or the top-piece contains the representations of many gods and goddesses of the Hindu mythology, many war scenes, the celebrated marriage of Rama with Sita and a various other scenes too numerous to mention. We cannot omit to make mention of Siva, the husband of Durga, who is placed in the middle of the *chal*, just overhead.

The religious rites commence from the *Sasti* day, the day immediately preceding the first day of the puja. An the evening of the *Sasti* day, the spirits of the gods and goddesses are invoked under a wood-apple tree. It is supposed that the spirits come down into a *ghat*—an earthen pot. Then the *ghat* is carried to the puja hall, where the clay representations of the gods and goddesses in the *Pratima*—the whole entire assemblage is called Pratima—are worshipped. After which, all the men, women, boys and girls throw themselves before the deities and pray with the greatest enthusiasm, Suffice it to say that the *ghat* is placed in front of the *Pratima*. The next morning, Cola-bow the wife of Ganesh is bathed in the river or tank and is adorned with the garb of a woman, anointed with cinnabar on the forehead and placed by the side of her husband. At an appointed time both in the morning and evening, the goddess and her attendants are worshipped on each of the three days in the same manner as on the evening of the *Sosti* day. Numerous offerings are made to the goddess and her attendants; many goats and buffaloes are sacrificed in honor of the goddess—only by the *Saiva* sect of the Hindus. The second day of the puja *i. e.*, the *Astami* day is observed by the Hindus to be the most important. On this day many people, especially widows and those males and females who have children, fast with a view to obtain benefit for themselves as well as for their children. The *Sandhi* puja, which takes place when the waxing moon passes from its eighth stage to the ninth, is the most important feature of all the observances. On the fourth day, the *Protima* is consigned to the holy waters of the river or a tank. There is no regular worship on this day, but the praises of the goddess are sung with a prayer that she may return the next year. The ladies bid farewell to the deities and in the afternoon, they come out, feed the goddess and her attendants with sweetmeats and betel, and then with their *saries* wipe the dust off the feet of each and implore them to return again the next year—the ladies, make a circuit several times, round the *Protima* and retire with some grains and coin presented by the head of the family.

On the three days of the puja, many Brahmins, friends, and relatives are fed; many musical performances and other entertainments take place. During this festival, *Dhoti*, *chudder* and *sari* are presented to various friends and relatives and to the inmates of the house—on the fourth day when the *Protima* is consigned to the holy waters of the river or a tank, the people come back home. They all assemble in the puja hall, when the family priest sprinkles holy waters on them and prays for the peace and prosperity of the people. They now write the name of Durga on a wood-apple leaf and throw it into a vessel full of water. The people now commence *Kola-kuli*, which is a very peculiar and interesting custom. The young makes *pranama* (bows) to the old and the old makes *asis* (utters blessings) to the young and then they embrace each other. This custom of embrace is observed by all people—whether rich or poor, learned or ignorant. The origin of this festival is shrouded in obscurity. We have to depend upon tradition. There was disorder in heaven, not in consequence of the quarrels of the gods and goddesses themselves, but in consequence of the terror occasioned by the demons and asurs in heaven. The demons and asurs were all powerful; they began to molest the gods in heaven, dethroned them and reduced them to a most pitiable condition and even defied the power of the Creator himself. In this crisis, the gods in a body went to Vishnu—the lord of the gods. The gods headed by Vishnu, then went to Durga and sought her assistance. She was induced by the earnest entreaty of the gods, to undertake a war with the king of the demons and *asurs*. In order to take with her all the powerful and fatal weapons of war with which to kill the Demon-king, she immediately reinforced herself with eight hands more. The omnipotent ten-handed Durga ascends up in the air—since then, the celebration of the *Durgotsara*. The festival of Durga—commenced—Durga was victorious and the gods were all saved from their enemy the Demons and asurs—Suratha—a king of the Chaitra family—first celebrated this festival in the month of Choitra. The month of Choitra is one of the months of spring season *i. e.* *Basant* season. So this festival is called *Basanti* Puja. But when Rama was engaged in war with *Rom*—the king of Ceylon—in order to propitiate the goddess, commenced the worship of Durga—Durga Puja—in autumn season *i. e.* in the month *Assin*. And this *Assin* festival is now observed by the people.

We can not conclude this article without mentioning that *Durgotsara*—the chief religious festival of the Hindus—has its parallel among the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Greeks and some other nations. In the Grecian mythology we have the Ceres who resembles our Lakshmi—the goddess of wealth and prosperity and in the Minerva of the Grecian mythology, we have our Saraswati—the goddess of wisdom and learning—Jove and Juno may very properly be compared with Siva and Durga. In Egypt the ceremony to Isis used to be observed for a week at the beginning of autumn. This festival may be likened to Durga Puja.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically, or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever be enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P.*, on "*The Critical Faculty.*"

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.—II.

The Political Poetry of Swinburne.

By **Mrs. C. BIGGANE.**

THOSE who see in Swinburne's political poetry an "hysterical appeal to lawlessness" greatly misunderstand the poet. "Songs before Sunrise," and still more the great drama "Erechtheus" in which he embodies his and Mazzini's severe code of ethics, are a call to a higher life, a life of austerity, self-sacrifice, and service, a life lived always in conformity with the "moral and religious law of nature."

Though to his last days Swinburne always thought and spoke of himself as a Republican, his practical Republicanism seems to have been entirely limited to Italy and France. He had no sympathy either with the South African Republics, or with Irish Republican aspirations. There was a distinct lack of cordiality in his attitude towards the latter nation. He disliked Gladstone's Home Rule proposals, and denounced the acts by which the Irish agitators sought to enforce their demands as "the basest and most barbarous atrocities." In English politics he was a Conservative and a Unionist. He admired America, but he had no real wish that England should follow her example. England had "filed the teeth of monarchy." She was, he felt, free already. He hailed Queen Victoria as "a blameless Queen," pulverised her enemies in scathing sonnets, and to the end of his life strongly resented the slightest criticism of her. A democrat Swinburne never was, despite certain poems in which he professes a theoretical admiration for democracy. By birth, education, and disposition he was essentially aristocratic. The son of Admiral Swinburne and Lady Jane Ashburnham, he came of two families of long and noble descent, and of pronounced Royalist and Catholic sympathies. He was almost inordinately proud of his distinguished ancestry, and regarded with complacency their persistent devotion to a reactionary cause. His manner was always courteous, and even a little ceremonious, and there is something of arrogance in his artistic independence, disregard, and defiance of popular tastes and opinions. It must never be forgotten that Swinburne drew his earliest ideas of Republicanism from Landor, and the Republicanism of Landor was Roman, unyielding, and scornful of the crowd.

"Republican as I have lived, and shall die, I would rather any other state of social life, than naked and rude demoracy; because I have always found it more jealous of merit, more suspicious of wisdom, more proud of riding on great minds, more pleased at raising up little ones above them, more fond of loud talking, more impatient of calm reasoning, more unsteady, more ungrateful and more ferocious; above all because it leads to despotism, through fraudulence, intemperance, and corruption."

In his later years Swinburne came under other influences; the fiery enthusiasm of Victor Hugo, the ardent idealism of Mazzini, were more congenial to his own nature than the temperance, the love of calm reasoning that characterised the politics of Landor ; but he carried through life the aristocratic temper and the loftiness of view which made its mark on him at his most impressionable age.

Moreover, for him as for Mazzini, the word Republic denoted much more than a democratic form of Government; nor, in the eyes of Mazzini at least, was unrestrained liberty for the individual by any means its distinguishing feature. For Mazzini the Republic implied "Association, a new philosophy of life, a Divine Ideal that shall move the world, the only means of regeneration vouchsafed to the human race." It meant the Association, the Brotherhood, of all the individuals composing a nation, al the nations composing Humanity, treading the path of progress in one faith and hope towards the Divinely-appointed end of human perfection. So too, when Swinburne speaks of "the immeasurable Republic," "The serene Republic of a world made white," his thought, like that of Shelley, has soared far beyond the idea of a political Republic into a new-made earth, in which "all things have put their evil nature off," and men walk "one with the other even as spirits do," in which Humanity

"risen and sunlike-souled
Free, boundless, fearless, perfect, one"

is at one with Liberty, and with the universe of which she is the soul.

In his reverence for Humanity Swinburne was at one with Mazzini, but here master and disciple come to a parting of the ways. Mazzini was deeply and intensely religious; his religion forms the basis of his political and social teaching, which, apart from it, would be a dead letter. He believed in one God, who reveals Himself continuously and progressively in and through Humanity. He believed in one Providential Law of Life, the Law of Progress; the Progress towards perfection of Humanity in this world, and of the Individual in this life and hereafter. He believed in Association as the means of Progress. The object of his political activity is clearly stated. "We seek the reign of God upon earth as in heaven, or better, that the earth shall be a preparation for heaven, and society an endeavour towards a Progressive approach to the Divine Idea." It is his belief in heaven that makes him believe in the sacredness of the earth as "the place appointed for our labour of self-improvement, and of development towards a higher state of existence"; and his call to self-sacrifice and to martyrdom is made in the name of the immortality of the soul. "It is of little importance" he says "that......all who seal their faith with their blood cut short their own development here upon earth; God provides elsewhere for them."

In a personal God, a Divine Being distinct from and above Humanity and the world that He has made, Swinburne does not believe; he acknowledges no God save in the Eternal Element or Elements out of which the world arose, and in the soul of Man which is a part of those Elements. He expresses his faith very beautifully at the close of the ode to the Mother of the Cairoli brothers, where he bids his song go forth in guise of a pilgrim.

"To the pure spirit of man that men call God,
To the high soul of things that is
Made of men's heavenlier hopes and mightier memories;

To the elements that make
For the soul's living sake
This raiment of dead things, of shadow and trance,
That give us chance and time
Wherein to aspire and climb
And set our life's work higher than time or chance;
The old sacred elements that give
The breath of life to days that die, to deeds that live;

To them, veiled gods and great,
There bow thee and dedicate
The speechless spirit in these thy weak words hidden;
And mix thy reverent breath
With holier air of death,
At the high feast of sorrow a guest unbidden,
Till with divine triumphal tears
Thou fill men's eyes who listen with a heart that hears."

In the immortality of the individual soul he did not at this time believe, at any rate in the same sense as Mazzini did. Death was final for the individual, Humanity, the collective life of man, alone endured.

"Men perish, but Man shall endure,
Lives die; but the life is not dead."

Humanity was not to him, as to Mazzini, merely "the living word of God." In a sense, it *was* God.

" O Spirit of Man, most holy
The measure of things and the root"

he says, thus echoing the very words of Protagoras the Humanist, "Man is the measure of all things, determining what does and what does not exist."

"Man's soul is man's god," he says again in the lofty "Prelude." It is the only light whereby to steer over the sea of life;

"Save his own soul's light overhead,
None leads him and none ever led,
Across birth's hidden harbour bar,
Past youth where shoreward shallows are,
Through age that drives on toward the red
Vast void of sunset hailed from far,
To the equal waters of the dead ;
Save his own soul he hath no star,
And sinks, except his own soul guide,
Helmless in middle turn of tide."

Swinburne's philosophy provides little stimulus, I think, to moral effort or political activity. Man requires the goal and crown of his labours to be well-defined. Mazzini pointed to the Divine Ideal as the end of political and moral progress. In "Hertha," the poem in which he sums up his mystical Pantheism, Swinburne seems to consider growth, progress, as an end in itself. It is not an idea that would arouse much enthusiasm in the average mind, and even the poet himself seems to have felt something of man's want, for in many of the poems he speaks of Liberty as the end and reward of human endeavour.

Nowhere is Swinburne's independence of Mazzini more marked than in the prominence he gives in "Songs before Sunrise" to the idea of Liberty. To Mazzini it was obvious that Liberty, like Progress, could not be an end in itself,—a conviction that he repeatedly emphasises.

"Liberty is only a means" he says "woe to you and to your future if you ever accustom yourselves to regard it as an end."

"Liberty is a mere instrument of good or evil according to the path it chooses."

and again,

"Liberty is no more than an Element of social life. It provides the materials : it does not breathe into them the breath of life."

Association, or Fellowship; not individual Liberty, appeared to him the real and only means of progress. "The Republic, as I at least understand it" he says, means Association, of which Liberty is only an Element, a necessary antecedent."

8

Swinburne was too great an individualist to be much attracted, except in theory, by the doctrine of Association. He gives it his approval, but when he speaks of it one feels that it is with a factitious enthusiasm. It is only when he speaks of Liberty, as in "The Pilgrims," "To Walt Whitman in America," "Mater Triumphalis," that the breath of life, of personal conviction, comes into his verse, and lifts it at once to the divinest poetry. Liberty meant far more to him than it did to Mazzini; far more than mere freedom from political and moral restraint. It was a condition of the soul; it was freedom from ignorance, superstition, convention, fear, hatred, vice, all the ignoble things that darken the divine fire within; and it was in the soul that the spirit of freedom must have its dwelling.

"Hath she on earth no place of habitation ?
Age to age calling, nation answering nation,
Cries out, where is she ? and there is none to say;
For if she be not in the spirit of men
For if in the inward soul she hath no place,
In vain they cry unto her, seeking her face,
In vain their mouths make much of her; for they
Cry with vain tongues, till the heart lives again"

Further, Swinburne saw in Liberty the Principle underlying all things. It was to him the very law of life.

"The cause, the centre, the mind,
The secret and sense of the earth."

"O Soul, O God, O Glory of Liberty
To night and day their lightning and their light !
With heat of heart thou kindlest the quick sea,
And the dead earth takes spirit from thy sight,
The natural body of things is quick with thee."

It matters little that Swinburne spoke of himself as an atheist, nor by what name, Liberty, or Love, or Truth, he called the indwelling Soul of the Universe, the "spirit of influence" that he worshipped. His Liberty is in its essence the same thing as Dante's "love that moves the sun and the other stars," the same thing as Mazzini's God. It is the

"life which feeds the spirit and the star,
Thrills the live light of all the suns that roll,
And stirs the still sealed springs of every soul."

Rightly understood, the teaching of Swinburne in "Songs before Sunrise" has a very real ethical value: the political value of the book it is less easy to determine.

We cannot escape from the consciousness that the poet is inclined to be vague, both in his advice as to our present conduct, and in his plans for the future. This lamentable tendency is plainly perceptible even in the "Halt before Rome," in which he celebrates the unfortunate expedition of the Cairoli brothers, and which is one of the most definite of the political poems in its references to actual events. In many other poems Swinburne's method is almost wholly one of splendid personification, or of appeal to the glorious past, always the last resort of the rhetorician whose argument affords him insufficient support. To the poet this device was especially tempting as affording him a pretext for the display of imaginative qualities of the highest order. One need only turn to the beautiful stanza in "The Eve of Revolution" in which he recalls the ancient glories of Greece to see to what profit he could turn so happy an occasion.

"There where our east looks always to thy west,
    Our mornings to thine evenings, Greece to thee,
These lights that catch the mountains crest by crest,
    Are they of stars or beacons that we see?
Taygetus takes here the winds abreast,
    And there the sun resumes Thermopylae;
The light is Athens were these remnants rest,
    And Salamis the sea-wall of that sea.
    The grass men tread upon
    Is very Marathon,
The leaves are of that time-unstricken tree,
    That storm nor sun can fret
    Nor wind, since she that set
Made it her sign to men whose shield was she;
    Here, as dead time his deathless things.
Euratas and Cephisus keep their sleepless springs."

It is obvious to us now that much of "Songs before Sunrise" was founded on a misconception. Both Swinburne and Mazzini were mistaken in their ideas as to the future destiny of Europe, Italy, and Rome. Nearly half a century has passed since these poems were written, but Swinburne himself lived long enough to see the feet of Europe set upon a path widely different from that laid down in them. We have had many a "swift Revolution changing depth with height"—in France, in Spain, in Portugal, Germany and Russia, but the "Serene Republic" of the regenerated earth is as far off as ever. Republicanism itself would seem to be an out-worn ideal; the Socialism that Swinburne and Mazzini opposed has succeeded it as the expression of the hopes of men. In Italy too it was moderation and discipline that won the day, nor has Mazzini's noble dream of Rome as the leader of the civilised earth ever been realised. It had but little appeal even in his own day, and even for his own countrymen. It can have still less for us.

Swinburne never took any active part in political life, he never put his theories to the test of action, and when they were so put by others the result was very different from that so ecstatically described in "The Eve of Revolution", or the "Ode on the Proclamation of the French Republic" (1870). Mr. Gosse tells us that after the coronation of William I as German Emperor at Versailles in 1871, he "averted his eyes completely from the subsequent history of Europe", though he remained to the end the enemy of the tyrant, the advocate of the oppressed, and the worshipper of Ideal Liberty. With Morris' ideas of social reform he was strangely out of sympathy. "The strong crying of earth" moved him, I think, only intellectually, for though he speaks of captives and martyrs, of

"women with labour-loosened knees
And gaunt backs bowed by servitude";

of the poor "Whom men's eyes forget", the

"slain and spent and sacrificed
People, the grey-grown speechless Christ".

one feels that he has not before his eyes poor and suffering individuals whom he had actually seen : he thinks of them collectively and in abstract terms, and the spirit that informs his poetry is rather one of anger and hatred against the oppressor than of love for the oppressed. It is characteristic of him that when he pleads for mercy for the condemned Fenians in 1867, there is no word of pity or sympathy for the objects of his appeal. It is only with anxiety lest England, whose "name from of old was pure", should cast away "mercy, the crown of her praise" that he exhorts her to "stretch out her hand but to save", to "put forth her strength and release". There are no stories told of him as of Shelley, "stumbling home barefoot in mid-winter because he had given his boots to a poor woman", nor does one ever feel in his pages the divine compassion for human sorrow and suffering that sanctifies the work of many a lesser artist than himself.

Having regard to all these things, it is, I think, obvious that the political faith of Swinburne, which bore little fruit in his own life, and seems sometimes even at variance with his attitude towards certain definite political questions, cannot be taken as seriously, or have so strong an appeal as the practical idealism of William Morris, which has had, and continues to have practical results, which has behind it the whole weight of a lifetime's effort and experience, and with which all his opinions and actions were entirely consistent.

From the artistic side too, "Songs before Sunrise" comes short of the high value its author himself set upon it. His most individual work it certainly is; it is the most purely intellectual work of the most purely intellectual of the poets, and it sums up the ardour, the devotion, the enthusiasms of his whole life. Of all his works it is also, perhaps, the most representative; but his best work, despite the great imaginative and artistic qualities displayed in it, I do not think it is, nor the work by which he will be longest remembered. For art which desires to be of the greatest, to attain permanence, must always build upon the permanent and universal passions of mankind. "Othello", Milton's "Samson Agonistes". Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality", (to take three poems which differ widely in matter and form) these can never lose their hold upon men, as long as the passions of love and jealousy endure, as long as men feel the bitterness of defeat and captivity in a righteous cause, or seek to know what lies beyond the darkness of death. By far the greater part of "Songs before Sunrise" is based not on the permanent human emotions, but on ephemeral or solely intellectual interests, yet when we have taken away all that is directly concerned with transitory things, all that is the outcome of revolt against the laws, the doctrines, the sentiments, and the tastes of his own day, there do remain certain motives and ideas which are permanently true, beautiful, and universal, in their appeal,—an ideal of patriotism, of self-sacrifice, of devotion to all that is most high—and it is in these that the real value of Swinburne's political teaching lies.

He himself was intensely patriotic. England is often blamed by him for her policy of isolation from Continental politics, and it is suggested more than once that commercial prosperity has deadened her to honour ; but erring as he considered her in this respect, she was always for him the land of Milton, of Shelley and of Landor, the home of the free, the refuge of the oppressed, an elect country crowned with sun and sea. Other poets, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Rupert Brooke, have loved her as well; none, I think, have visualised her so clearly, or sung her praise with so personal a devotion. Love of one's country, Swinburne held, should take precedence of all other loves.

"who loves on earth
Not friend, wife, husband, father; mother, child,
Nor loves his own life for his own land's sake
But only this thing most, more this than all,
He loves all well, and well of all is loved,
And this love lives for ever".

He himself would gladly have died for England had the need arisen, and in "Erectheus" he has enshrined for ever this great passion of patriotism taking for motive the immortality of those who lay down their lives for their country.

Yet great as Swinburne felt the love of one's country to be, and far beyond all lesser loves, it was in his eyes but a necessary stepping-stone to something higher still. They were happiest in their immortality who gave their lives for Humanity, for the love of Liberty, and for the future of the world.

"Life that was given for some divine thing's sake,
To mix the bitterness of earth with heaven,
Light with man's night, and music with his breath,
Dies not, but makes its living food of death."

says the old prophet Tiresias, standing beside the grave of Antigone, the symbol of life which was laid down for love.

To Swinburne the idea of love was inseparable from that of sacrifice; love that involved no sacrifice was scarcely worthy of the name. The lovers of Ideal Liberty in "The Pilgrims" serve her as the saints serve God, "in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness," but looking for no present victory, no personal reward.

"Pass on then and pass by us and let us be," says the mocking world,
"For what light think ye after life to see ?
And if the world fare better will ye know ?
And if man triumph who shall seek you and say ?
But there comes back the same unwavering reply,
"Enough of light is this for one life's span,
That all men born are mortal, but not man :
And we men bring death lives by night to sow,
That man may reap and eat and live by day."

He who loves greatly must be prepared to give ungrudgingly and to the uttermost. Even in the supreme passages of "Erechtheus" Swinburne scarcely surpasses the beauty of the verses in "Songs before Sunrise" in which he commemorates those who have so given.

"Unto each man his handiwork, unto each his crown,
The just Fate gives;
Who so takes the world's life on him and his own lays down,
He, dying so, lives.

* * * * *

.........death has no part in him any more, no power
Upon his head ;
He has bought his eternity with a little hour,
And is not dead.
For an hour if ye look for him, he is no more found,
For one hour's space;
Then ye lift up your eyes to him and behold him crowned,
A deathless face,
On the mountains of memory, by the world's well-springs,
In all men's eyes,
Where the light of the life of him is on all past things,
Death only dies.
Not the light that was quenched for us, nor the deeds that were,
Nor the ancient days,
Nor the sorrows not sorrowful, nor the face most fair
Of perfect praise."

It is the virtue of "Songs before Sunrise" that it sets before all else this ideal of self-discipline and self-sacrifice, and in so doing, it fulfils what Mazzini conceived to be the office of poetry in the new age—to "sing the joys of martyrdom, the immortality of the vanquished, the tears that expiate, the sufferings that purify," to "teach the young the gloriousness of self-sacrifice, the virtue of constancy and silence," to "teach a belief in future things, an hourly travail to promote it, without a hope in this life of seeing its victory."

Sacrifice and Aspiration, these two ideals sum up all that is of value in Swinburne's political teaching, and they are both contained in those burning stanzas of "Mater Triumphalis," in which, like all essentially spiritual poets, Blake, Shelley, W. B. Yeats, he looks forward to the coming of the kingdom, the ultimate triumph of the Soul of Beauty, Liberty, and Truth over the evil of the world. And these stanzas are at once the justification of his mistakes and extravagances, and his most fitting epitaph.

"Mother of man's time-travelling generations,
Breath of his nostrils, heartblood of his heart,
God above all Gods worshipped of all nations,
Light above light, law beyond law thou art.

* * * * *

Thou art the player whose organ-keys are thunders,
And I beneath thy foot the pedal prest ;
Thou art the ray whereat the rent night sunders,
And I the cloudlet borne upon thy breast.

I shall burn up before thee, pass and perish,
As haze in sunrise on the red sea-line ;
But thou from dawn to sunsetting shalt cherish
The thoughts that led and souls that lighted mine.

* * * * *

I am thy storm-thrush of the days that darken,
Thy petrel in the foam that bears thy bark
To port through night and tempest; if thou harken,
My voice is in thy heaven before the lark.

My song is in the mist that hides thy morning,
My cry is up before the day for thee ;
I have heard thee and beheld thee and give warning,
Before thy wheels divide the sky and sea.

Birds shall wake with thee, voiced and feathered fairer,
To see in summer what I see in spring;
I have eyes and heart to endure thee, O thunder-bearer
And they shall be who shall have tongues to sing.
I have love at least and have not fears and part not,
From thine unnavigable and wingless way;
Thou tarriest, and I have not said thou art not,
Nor all thy night long have denied thy day.

Darkness to daylight shall lift up thy paean,
Hill to hill thunder, vale cry back to vale,
With wind-notes as of eagles Aeschylean,
And Sappho singing in the nightingale.

Sung to by many sons of dawn and daughters,
Of this night's songs thine ear shall keep but one;
That supreme song that shook thechannelled waters,
And called thee skyward as God calls the sun.

Come, though all heaven again be fire above thee;
Though death before thee come to clear thy sky;
Let us but see in his thy face that love thee;
Yea, though thou slay us, arise and let us die."

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

War and Self-Determination.*

By Mr. CHAND NARAYAN ZUTSHI, M. R. A. S.

SHRIYUT Aurobindo Ghose, the author of this book, is too well-known a figure in the galaxy of eminent Indian writers and political philosophers to need any introduction to the readers. The book contains four essays—The passing of War?—The unseen Power—Self-Determination—The League of Nations—excellently written in the author's best style. The learned author treats these subjects of world-wide importance and everlasting interest from a high plain of thought and ideal and represents them most appropriately in all their ethical and spiritual settings—a permanent feature of his writings, which always gives his work a highly dignified tone and places them distinctly on a higher level than other literature of the day.

In the first chapter the author has effectively dealt with all the abortive attempts made in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe to make war physically, commercially and internationally impossible, has thoroughly examined the causes of failure of the various international machineries from the old Balance of Power down to the modern Courts of Arbitration and Concert of Europe brought into being from time to time for ensuring an everlasting peace of the world and has proved their futility and illusory nature. He rightly says that "the destinies of mankind can not be turned out to order in an American factory"; that "so long as men go on believing in the sovereign power of machinery, it is not likely that the gods either will cease from their studied irony," but that "only when man has developed not merely a fellow-feeling with all men, but a dominant sense of unity and commonality, only when he is aware of them not merely as brothers,—that is a fragile bond,—but as parts of himself, only, when he has learnt to live not in his separate personal and communal ego-sense, but in a large universal consciousness, can the phenomenon of war, with whatever weapons, pass out of his life without the possibility of return."

This leads us on to the present-day-much-talked-of principle of self-determination, the real significance of which has been laid bare by the author in a most scholarly and searching way. What is called the national self-determination in order to be real and stable has to be well-grounded on individual self-determination resulting from the moral and spiritual perfection of every unit of human society, which alone can give a meaning and significance to self-determination "in which our individual self-fulfilment no longer separates us from others but at each step of our growth calls for an increasing unity," and this alone is a distinct sign of advance in human progress. "Self-determination is not a principle which can stand by itself and be made the one rule to be followed; no principle can rightly stand in that way isolated and solely dominant in the complicated web of life and, if we so treat it, it gets falsified in its meaning and loses much of its virtue. Moreover individual self-determination must harmonise with a common self-determination, freedom must move in the frame of unity or towards the realisation of a free unity." The modern materialistic mind of the West blinded by the victories of physical science and intent upon introducing devices of salvation by machinery, may fail to perceive the real truth about this ideal and consider it impossible of universal application or realisation, but to any thoughtful man who follows the full and logical analysis of the idea which the author makes through the pages of his book, it will seem to be the only reasonable one and without the least doubtful possibility of its realisation upon which ultimately hinges the peace of the world. "A true principle of self-determination is not at all incompatible with international unity and mutual obligation, the two are rather indispensable complements, even as individual liberty in its right sense of a just and sufficient room for healthy self-development and self-determination is not at all incompatible with unity of spirit and mutual obligation between man and man."

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* By Aurobindo Ghose, S. R. Murthy & Co., Triplicane, Madras. Price Rs. 2.

Then the principles and possibility of the League of Nations—"that remarkably ill-jointed stumbling and hesitating machine" are probed to the very depths and thoroughly turned inside-out by the author. Its defects and limitations are set-forth with remar[illegible] lucidity and force and the conditions of its success on [illegible] lines of free self-determination are laid with due regard [illegible] perspicuity and brevity. The following paragraph shows the real germ of its failure and gives an idea of its imperfect constitution and of its being an inadequate substitute for the old international machines hithertofore invented for bringing about a world-wide peace. "If then a new order of society is bound to come with its inevitable reversal of existing conditions, and still more if it comes by a revolutionary struggle, how will a system of a League of Nations based upon existing conditions, a League not really of nations but of governments, and of governments committed to the maintenance of the old order and using their closer association as a means for combating the new idea which is hostile to their own form of existence, be likely to fare in this earthshaking or this tornado". While an effective League of Nations must draw in to its circle in one way or another all the existing nations of the earth; and that it must do on both just an agreeable terms so that they may join willingly and gladly and without any serious misgivings, reservations or heart-burnings; it must satisfy each and all by a fare and effective and, one must add in these democratic days, and honourable and equal position in this new society of the peoples. The constitution of the League must provide a trust worthy means for the solution of difficult, delicate and embarrassing questions which may hereafter endanger the infant and precarious frame-work of international society, and for that purpose it must establish a permanent, a central and strong authority which all nations can readily recognise and accept as natural head and faithful dynamic expression of the corporate being of mankind."

In conclusion it can not be but remarked that however imperfect and nebulous the proposed League of Nations appears to the author he sincerely wishes it a complete and speedy success and fervently breathes a prayer for the advent of a golden age and ever-lasting peace for mankind.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Literary Studies and Essays.

New Voices. By Marguerite Wilkinson. (The Macmillan Company, New York, U. S. A.), 1919.

Studies of Contemporary Poets. By Mary C. Sturgeon, (G. G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London), 1920.

The Problem of "Hamlet." By J. M. Robertson, (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London), 1919.

Sir Roger De Coverley and other Pieces. By Sir J. G. Fraser, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London), 1920.

Scottish Literature: Character and Influence. By G. Gregory Smith, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London), 1919.

Literary Studies. By Charles Whibley, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1919.

More Literary Recreations. By Sir Edward Cook, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London), 1919.

A Short History of French Literature. By William Henry Hudson, (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London), 1919.

Ben Jonson. By G. Gregory Smith, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London), 1919.

Books and Their Writers. By S. P. B. Mais, (Grant Richards, Ltd., London), 1920.

NEW Voices. By Marguerite Wilkinson is both critical and friendly. It is for everybody who wishes to know what the British and American poets of to-day are thinking and feeling, how they are saying what they think and feel and why they say it in these ways. Contemporary craftsmanship and the several schools, radical and conservative, are thoughtfully discussed, in chapters about The Pattern of a Poem, Organic Rhythm, Images and Symbols, and The Diction of Contemporary Poetry. A chapter for young craftsmen tells How Poems are Made. The second part of the book is devoted to a consideration of the spirit of modern poetry. Chapters on Democracy and the Industrial Theme, on Patriotism and the Great War, on Love, on Religion and Nature in the Poetry of To-day, add greatly to the humanity of the book. Nearly two hundred poems by the best living poets of the English language here and abroad are quoted in full as illustrative material. Altogether this anthology and exposition of contemporary English poetry is a most useful contribution to the study of present-day English literature in verse.

Studies of Contemporary Poets. By Mary Sturgeon is one of the successful works of recent critical literature and its popularity is evidenced by a third edition. To this six fresh studies have been added, of the work of Michael Field, Thomas Hardy, W. B. Yeats, J. C. Squire, John Drinkwater, and a group of Women Poets. There are now twenty-one studies in all of contemporary poets of very diverse age, manner, and message. But, with much diversity, these poets have one thing in common: they are of their time in the full sense of the words. Whether young, or not so young, or old, they possess the youthfulness of heart and mind which makes the poet a responsive instrument to the spirit of the time. This characteristic is strikingly brought out in the work under consideration, which is perhaps the best introduction to contemporary verse literature in English. Mrs. Naidu's earlier poems are dealt with but n[illegible] later ones in *The Broken Wing*, which is not even mentioned in the b[illegible]aphy.

The Right Ho[illegible] Mr. J. M. Robertson is a versatile and prolific contributor to contemporary literature and his latest disquisition is *The Problem of Hamlet*. He applie[illegible]h it critical principles of criticism to the long-standing aesthetic dispute on the "mystery" of the "character of Shakespeare's most famous personage", and after passing in review all the leading theories of the character of Hamlet, the author contends that they miss their aim by overlooking the structural evolution of the play. It is not possible to characterize the work in detail, but students of the subject will find it thought-compelling and instructive.

Sir James Fraser requires no introduction to the literary world; his reputation as a distinguished scholar and essayist having been long since established. Under the title of *Sir Roger de Coverley and other Pieces* he has done well to bring together a number of his scattered writings most of which were originally contributed to the press or as introductory essays to the works of classics. While all the essays are interesting and delightful, perhaps the one most valuable in the collection is the biographical sketch of Cowper, which is a very just appraisement of that poet. The collection as a whole is a notable contribution to modern English prose literature.

Mr. Gregory Smith's *Scottish Literature* is not a historical sketch of the subject but a collection of ten connected essays dealing with the character or habit of the literature of Scotland and the influence it has exerted on others. Thus it is mainly critical and the author at many places expresses views which will evoke emphatic dissent. But he disarms criticism by pointing out that "the way was untrodden" before him and that it is, therefore, the work of a pioneer. This is true for we do not know of any other work which has tried to cover the same ground. Judged from this standpoint, Mr. Smith's book deserves recognition as one which attempts the exploitation of a new field. Of more general interest than the other parts of the book are the chapters dealing with Burns and Scott. But the whole volume deserves attention at the hands of students of the subject, for it strikingly presents the achievements and limitations of Scottish literature.

Mr. Charles Whibley is perhaps the most accomplished of contemporary English essayists and his essays make delightful reading for he is sententious without being dull and scholarly without the taint of pedantry. His *Literary Studies*—which is a collection of essays which have already appeared in the press or in co-operative works like *Shakespeare's England* and *Cambridge History of English Literature*—may, therefore, be heartily welcomed. The eight studies brought together are brilliant sketches of the subjects they deal with and the work as a whole is of distinguished quality.

We noticed last year in terms of great appreciation the first series of the late Sir Edward Cook's *Literary Recreations*. His *More Literary Recreations* is no less welcome. Sir Edward Cook was one of the notable figures in contemporary English literature and that the high position he occupied was fully well-deserved is evidenced by these two collections of essays. "The Art of Editing," "Poets as Critics," "Single Poem Poets," and "The Charm of the Greek Anthology" are some of the best things in the volume under notice, which like its predecessor is a striking contribution to modern English prose.

The late Mr. W. H. Hudson was a highly qualified popularizer of English and French literatures. After having published three excellent works on

English literature—*An Outline History of English Literature*, *A Short History of English Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, and *Representative Passages from English Literature*—he turned his attention to French Literature and the result is before us as *A Short History of French Literature*. The work is elementary and is intended for beginners. It is not meant to compete with standard and comprehensive works. But within its narrow limits it is exceedingly well put together and is bound to interest those for whom it caters. Its statement of facts is accurate and its criticism is sane and fair. It is a most excellent student's manual.

Ben Jonson is the latest addition, by Mr. G. Gregory Smith, to the "English Men of Letters," second series, the first of which was prominently associated with the honoured and revered name of "John Morley" as its editor. Following the well-established traditions of the series, Mr. Smith presents a biographical sketch of Ben Jonson and a critical appreciation of his works. Within a short compass it is a comprehensive work and will repay perusal.

Mr. S. P. B. Mais's *Books and their Writers* is a collection of excellent short essays on some novelists, poets and books. Except Jane Austen amongst the novelists and some Chinese amongst the poets, the rest of those dealt with by Mr. Mais are contemporary writers. The author disarms criticism by the declaration that "I have laid no claim to be thought a literary critic: the following papers are not studies in literature." For all that they are well worth reading.

Our Library Table : Miscellaneous Literature

MR. F. S. Marvin—whose various historical works and collections of essays we noticed in terms of appreciation in a recent issue of the *Hindustan Review*—has arranged and edited another excellent series of essays, called *Recent Developments in European Thought* (Oxford University Press Bombay and London). The editor writes a "general survey," Professor Taylor deals with Philosophy, Professor Jevons with Religion, Professor Herford with Poetry, Mr. Gooch with History, Mr. Lindsay with Political Theory, Mr. Fay with Economic Development, Professor Bragg with Atomic Theories, Professor Doncaster with Biology since Darwin, Mr. Clutton Brock with Art, Dr. Walker with Music and Mr. Stowell with the Modern Renaissance. The writers—or rather lecturers—are well-known specialists and experts in the subjects they deal wit[illegible]d their contributions, taken as a whole, present a luminous sketch [illegible]ecent developments in the various branches of knowledge and activiti[illegible]yed by them. Indian students of western progress are bound to ri[illegible]m a perusal of this volume with a wider outlook and a deeper insight int[illegible]ropean civilisation of to-day.

Sir Valentine Chir[illegible] reprinted from the *Times* his recent communications on Egypt under th[illegible]le of *The Egyptian Problem* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London). Though [illegible]itten by an avowed Imperialist, the book offers the best exposition of the British administration of Egypt since "the occupation" and specially since the declaration of "the protectorate" in 1914. In spite of Sir Valentine's unconscious efforts to gloss over British maladministration and to explain away the rise and growth of Egyptian nationalism, the book brings out into strong relief the salient features of the great struggle which has culminated—since the publication of Sir Valentine's book—in the declaration of Egyptian independence. For this reason alone the book ought to command a large circulation in India and the many lessons it enforces and inculcates in the light of Egyptian experience ought to be of great value to Indian nationalists. But if the lessons are to be of any value in this country, they should not be misapplied without any regard to the very wide divergences in the conditions of Egypt and India.

Henri Bergson—the French philosopher—is perhaps the greatest name at present in the world of philosophy. His *Mind-Energy* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) translated into English by Professor H. Wildon Carr, is his latest contribution to philosophical literature. The book is not a systematic treatise but rather a collection of lectures and essays chosen by Bergson "with the view of illustrating his concept that reality is fundamentally a spiritual activity." A second series is promised illustrating Bergson's theory of philosophic method. Except for the essay on Dreams—which is cast in a popular form and will appeal to the layman as well—the book deals with abstruse psychological problems and demands serious attention. It is not likely that students of the subject will accept all the theories and statements of the author, but there can be no gainsaying that his views and opinions are entitled to very great weight and no student of modern Psychology can afford to ignore or neglect Bergson's works.

In the literature of Indian sport, Mr. E. P. Stebbing's name deservedly occupies a prominent position as the author of *Stalks in the Himalaya* and *Jungle By-Ways;* and his reputation is bound to increase with the publication of his latest work—*The Diary of a Sportsman Naturalist in India.* (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London). The author presents us with graphic accounts of big game sport in various parts of India and his narratives are vivid in their portraiture of the lights and shadows of Jungle life and the incidents relating thereto. The subject of game protection is also dealt with and should evoke the attention of the Government and sportsmen alike. On pp. 258-9 is given a list of the classics of Anglo-Indian sport beginning with Forsyth's *Highlands of Central India* (which [illegible] just been reprinted) and ending with Eardley Wilmot's *Forest Life and Sport in India.* To this useful bibliography of the subject we feel fully justified in adding the three books of Mr. Stebbing himself, which are notable contributions of great interest.

At last India is in the thick of elections and contests on democratic lines. It is significant that two members of [illegible] Indian Civil Service should have published works with a view to assist candidates, agents and officers

Both *Indian Electioneering* by Mr. E. L. Hammond (The Pioneer Press, Allahabad) and *Indian Election Guide* by "I. C. S." (The Statesman Press, Calcutta) attempt to cover the same ground and each of them—originally contributed to the *Pioneer* and the *Statesman* respectively and thence reprinted in the volumes before us—is likely to be of great utility to those interested in the elections. Mr. Hammon's book is more expository and comprehensive, but that of the "I. C. S." contains better practical information. The two supplement each other at various points and it would be an advantage to have both of them handy. Mr. Hammond's work is the better got up of the two.

Dr. Arthur Way is well-known for his spirited translations of many Greek and Latin classics and is one of the most effective and successful translator of the Greeks poet and dramatists. To his excellent renderings of Homer, Aeschylus, Euripedes, Sophocles, Virgil, Horace and others, he has now added *Sappho* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London)—containing translations of the Sapphic fragments with just sufficient connective matter to produce an intelligible sequence in the hope of thus making them "as interesting to the general reader as they have been to the scholar." The general reader—for whom Dr. Way's translation is intended—can scarcely appreciate Sappho better than in the rendering under notice. Lovers of the classics, who can not enjoy them in the original, will be grateful to Dr. Way for his splendid translation.

Whether one agrees with him or not, no student of current Indian affairs can afford to disregard or neglect the utterances or writings of Lord Meston dealing with this country. His Rede lecture published under the title of *India at the Crossways* (University Press, Cambridge) is a thoughtful contribution to the study of the problem of the development of democratic institutions in this land. It may be that Lord Meston is over-cautious, if not pessimistic. But the warnings he conveys deserve careful consideration and his reading of the situation can not be set aside so easily as some enthusiasts would very much like to do. The essay is thought-evoking and thought-provoking and deserves a large circulation amongst educated Indians alike for its candour as for its sympathetic insight into the realities of Indian life.

The Times Book o[illegible]*a* (Printing House Square, London) is a marvellous compendium [illegible] and accurate information about the great Dominion. It deals with t[illegible]opment of Canada since the confederation and lucidly surveys politi[illegible]iculture, mining, fisheries, forestry, railways, industries, finance, educ[illegible] and even journalism and literature. A map and an index render it eve[illegible]re useful as a work of reference. To the general reader the last chapter o[illegible]ournalism and literature will make interesting reading. We wish there [illegible] available a similar up-to-date publication dealing with India. The *Times* [illegible]uld undertake it, By the publication of his *English Madrigal Verse 1588—1632* (Oxford University Press, Bombay and London) Mr. E. H. Fellowes, the editor, has conferred an inestimable boon on lovers of English literature. The poems have been culled from the song-books of the Elizabethan period and the book offers for the first time a comprehensive collection splendid lyric poetry composed in the golden age of English literature. Of the many anthologies which have seen the light during the last decade, the one under consideration is to our mind, not only the most important but also the most delightful. Every lover of good literature should possess a copy of Mr. Fellowes' book.

The Foreign Office List (*1920*)—published by Messrs. Harrison & Sons (44, St. Martin's Lane, London, W. C.)—is now in its ninty-third edition. It includes complete lists of ambassadors, ministers and consuls, compiled from official sources with a number of useful maps and tables, and furnishes a large amount of useful information not easily accessible. The book is bound to continue to be indispensable as a diplomatic and consular handbook to politicians, journalists, merchants and travellers. Altogether a very useful work of reference.

In Remembrance.

By Mr. DHIREN. K. SEN, M. A

FROM THE BENGALEE OF RABINDRA NATH TAGORE.

You come through death's dark veil with grace divine,
And once more enter heart's sweet nuptial-shrine,
With silent steps. Life's stains and turmoil base,
Are gone in death's sooth stream; this lovely grace,
World's Queen in ruth immortal granted you,
Enchanted, mute and gay you stand in view,
Within my lovely heart. You left this sphere,
And through death's portals reached my cloister, dear,
No trumpet greets you now, no feastings gay,
No wreath of lamps; this glorious feast to-day,
Is voice-less, silent, deep—a feast of tears;
Your advent's news have reached no other ears.
Alone my heart now trims her lamp for you,
And love my muse now weaves her songs anew.

Topics of the Day.

Non-Co-operation Among Students.

OF the many injurious aspects of the non-co-operation movement, unquestionably the most harmful is that relating to the boycott of educational institutions. We can imagine nothing more calculated to paralyse our national life, to spread dark ignorance in the land, to perpetuate illiteracy than this most ill-advised item of the programme. The abortive efforts of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers to capture the Aligarh M. A.O. College and the almost complete failure of those efforts show clearly that the better mind of the community is entirely opposed to the movement. What we feel, and what we must give emphatic expression to is that the leaders of the movement are taking a most undue and unjustifiable advantage of the generous impulses and noble enthusiasm of youth Why should the students be offered as sacrifices on the altar of non-co-operation? There can be no more destructive policy than inducing students to give up their studies without providing in other ways and at other places for their education. Assuming that some young men give up their studies, what are they to do? How many national schools and colleges are there to which they can go? If any such institutions are to be opened what guarantee have we that they will impart a more satisfactory education than the existing ones? We have already seen in the press that the National College of Ahmedabad is teaching the Bombay University syllabus "with slight modifications", which, we suppose means that in place of Hamlet, Othello is taught, or Taussig in place of Marshall!! If, on the other hand, national schools are not opened, we shudder to imagine the fate of the young men and boys that are asked to give up their studies. The very fact that ignoring all other items of their programme, the non-co-operations are concentrating their whole attention on this item is a confession on their part that they have failed to [illegible] the better mind of the country with them. The Councils have not been boycotted to any appreciable extent; very few pleaders have retired from practice; no national arbitration courts have been established; a very small number of people have renounced their titles. All this conclusively proves that the movement has been an almost complete failure, that it deserves to fail, that the community realises that in effect it is a movement that will bring about mestic dissensions, social upheaval, paralysis of national life and all the other evils that follow in their train. It is a gospel of *hinsa*, hate. It is entirely destructive in its nature.

We are glad the hon. Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya has spoken out at last. The speech addressed by him to the students of the Benares Hindu University is a weighty pronouncement and we have no doubt that it will produce a very wholesome effect on the student population. Comparisons are odious, but we must say that the hon. Pandit deserves as much to be heard with respect as any other Indian. No one has made greater sacrifices for the country; no one has done more constructive and useful work whether in politics or in education. No one can gainsay either his strong commonsense or his burning patriotism. Every one will admit also that in matters where principles are involved, he is unyielding and uncompromising. When such a person, speaking with the full consciousness of his responsibility, condemns the movement, when almost all the Trustees of the Aligarh College are opposed to it, when men like Lala Lajpat Rai and Lala Hansraj openly declare their belief that the movement is most mischievous so far as students are concerned, when Mrs. Besant, speaking with all the weight that attaches to the words of the founder of the Central Hindu College and the National University, considers it as disastrous, when Principal Paranjpaye, whose great sacrifice in the cause of national education is well known, opposes it and when Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, a Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala for several years, a man whom no one would accuse either of being a moderate or an incompetent critic, expresses himself against it, we ask th[illegible]dents whether they should follow the advice of these tri[illegible]xperienced and wise leaders or the autocratic dictates [illegible]mpatient idealist who wants India to recede to the age [illegible]das.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I—*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and *I will hear.* (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Literature*)

MOTTO II—Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thoughts or points of view, but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

The Kayastha Pathshala.

THE Kayastha Pathshala of Allahabad is the national institution of the Kayastha community in all parts of the country. It is the outcome of the princely munificence of Munshi Kali Prashad one of the greatest educational benefactors that the country has ever known and stands for a liberal ideal in education. The College deputes every year some of its prominent members to visit different places and enlist the support of the Kayastha community in its proper maintenance and development. It would be a great calamity if such an institution were caught in the whirlpool of non-co-operation and swept away. We are pleased to note therefore, that the authorities of the College have taken time by the forelock and emphatically protested against the efforts for weaning away students from schools and colleges that are so much in evidence at present. The trustees recognise the necessity of changing and improving the present system of education, which cries aloud for being brought in line with the new requirements but they protest against the destructive tactics tried elsewhere. It is satisfactory that they have set about to take steps for arresting the growth of the non-co-operation movement among their students. It is to be hoped th[illegible]he authorities of other educational institutions will similarly [illegible] themselves and put forth vigorous efforts to scotch t[illegible]ance of the non-co-operation movement among stude[illegible] who in their ardent impetuosity and glowing enthusiasm [illegible]irits are so much liable to fall victims to it—*The Bengalee.*

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THE
Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C. M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."

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Japan's economic progress.

By Mr. K. K. KAWAKAMI.

Author of "Japan and world peace," Japan in world politics," etc.

It is a far cry from a hermit nation, slumbering in seclusion, to a great trading power, whose manufactures are carried into all parts of the world by a great merchant marine flying its own flag. Yet this is the transformation which has taken place in the archipelago of Nippon in a short period of fifty years.

Half a century ago Japan had no foreign trade to speak of. To-day her imports total 1,948,000,000 yen and her expart 1,822,000,000 yen. When Commodore Perry knocked at Japan's doors she had neither ships of war nor ocean-going vessels of commerce. To-day she has a merchant marine totaling almost two million tons.

Let us go into further details of Japan's shipping expansion, for it furnishes a good example of her rapid industrial progress. During the war Japanese steamship companies furnished foreign governments and shipping interests with a considerable number of ships. In 1918 there were about fifty ships chartered to foreign interests. In addition to this, Japan in April, 1918, concluded with the American Government an agreement in virtue of which she was to turn over to the American

Shipping Board sixty-six steamers aggregating 5,14,000 tons. The terms of this agreement were as follows:

First—Twenty-four ships, totaling 150,000 tons, to be chartered through the Japanese Government to the United States Shipping Board for a period of six months. Deliveries to be made in April and May, 1918. The difference between the inter-allied charter rates and the rates paid by America—about 18,000,000 yen ($9,000,000)—to be paid by the Japanese Government.

Second—The United States Shipping Board to buy, from May to December, 1918, fifteen ships, aggregating 130,000 tons, new or partially built, for which the United States will release one ton of steel for one ton of shipping.

Third—Twenty-seven ships of 284,000 tons, to be built in Japan for the United States Shipping Board between January and June, 1919. The United States to buy these ships, paying $175 per ton and releasing one ton of steel for two tons of shipping. The new vessels to average 8,000 tons.

As is shown in the above terms, Japan, immediately upon the signing of the agreement, handed over to the Shipping Board at Washington twenty-four ships totaling 150,000 tons. In this transaction the government at Tokyo had to pay Japanese shipowners $9,000,000, representing the difference between the inter-allied charter rates and the rates fixed by the American Shipping Board. The sum, modest as it is, was one of various contributions which Japan made unostentatiously towards the winning of the war.

In view of the gigantic scale on which America was building ships after her entrance into the war, the half million tons of merchant ships which Japan agreed to charter or sell to America seemed rather insignificant. But the real meaning of the deal lies in the fact that Japan, a shipless nation fifty years before, was in a position to spare even so modest a number of steamers for a foreign government. The wonder is not that the contribution was too small, but that it was not much smaller.

Along with the expansion of her merchant marine, the shipbuilding industry in Japan has made a signāl progress. Not only are her yards building ships for her own shipping concerns, but they are also turning out steamers for foreign countries. In the past two years, or since November, 1917, they have constructed ninety-three ships, with a gross tonnage of 306,164, for the following countries:

Buyers—	Number of Ships Sold	Gross Tonnage
Great Britain	2	3,857
America	50	220,448
Norway	6	14,591
Russia	1	178

Chile	1	5,919
France	10	23,552
Denmark	4	7,268
Spain	6	19,202
China	15	10,354
Total	93	306,164

In the calendar year of 1919 Japan turned out 134 ships of over 1,000 tons each in displacement. These steamers totaled 619,558 tons. As compared with the year 1918, the figures show a decrease of fifty-five in the number of ships built, but an increase of 40,750 tons in total tonnage, indicating that in 1919 comparatively larger ships were constructed. In the following table are shown the names of principal yards and the numbers and tonnage of ships built by them during 1919 :

Yards	Number of Ships Built.	Tonnage.
Kawasaki	34	196,537
Asano	12	74,270
Uraga	9	45,870
Mitsubishi	11	67,523
Harima	6	33,860
Osaka Iron Works	16	96,000
Ishikawajima	5	12,164
Toba	5	8,550
Nitta	4	6,173
Yokohama	4	15,080
Uchida	3	10,100
Aizawa	3	3,600
Naniwa	2	4,000
Mitsui	3	14,100
Yoshiura	2	3,800
Fujinaga	2	4,450
Toyo Industrial Co.	1	1,420
Ono Iron Works	1	2,250
Harada	1	1,300
Kizakawa	1	1,850
Osaka Ceramic Co.	1	2,200
Asahi	1	3,800
Horikawa	1	1,200
Sanyo Iron Works	1	1,192
Hashimoto	1	2,030
Matsuo Iron Works	2	4,230
Kyushu	1	1,250
Hakodate	1	1,600

While Japan's merchant marine and her shipbuilding industry have made phenomenal progress, her foreign trade advanced apace. Nor is this surprising. Japan, small in area and congested with population, must perforce become a trading and manufacturing nation. To opulent nations, such as Great Britain and America, occupying, possessing or controlling vast territories storing enormous resources, the expansion of foreign commerce is simply a means of enhancing their wealth, already great. To Japan it is a matter of life or death.

When Japan began to build factories and import filature plant and spinning and weaving machinery, Europe looked askance and even deplored that she should abandon the century-old handicrafts indigenous to her soil. The fact is that Japan simply had to abandon at least some of them and adopt in their stead a modern system of industry, if she was to withstand the political and economic pressure that had inevitably followed her entrance into the maelstrom of international rivalry. She had to recognize that the profits from the minor arts and crafts, for which she had justly been celebrated, fell far short of supplying her needs in the modern competitive world into which she had willy-nilly been introduced through the good offices of Western powers, and especially the American Government. Only by manufacturing staple commodities on a large scale could she hope to exist as an independent and thriving nation.

In her efforts to become an industrial and trading nation, Japan encounters a great obstacle in the dearth of the necessary raw material to feed her factories. The country is not only limited in area, but lacks materials essential to modern industry. Take, for instance, the cotton industry. The average annual production of raw cotton in Japan is only 17,000 piculs,* or about ·03 per cent of the average consumption of 6,838,000 piculs per annum. The deficiency has been supplied chiefly by India and the United States. Of late Japanese spinners have been endeavoring to produce finer counts of yarns. Perhaps, due to this fact, there are indications that they favour American cotton in preference to other growth. From September 1, 1918, to July 30, 1919, the amount of raw cotton imported into Japan from the United States amounted to 744,448 bales. It is estimated by experts that in the current year this amount will be equaled or even exceeded.

To enter into further details of statistics, imports from India during the period September 1, 1918, to July 20, 1919, amounted to 662,642 bales, and from China 486,718 bales. Cotton from Korea, Egypt and miscellaneous sources totaled 60,177 bales.

Comparing the period between September, 1918, and May, 1919, with that of September, 1917, to May, 1918, import figures show distinctly the tendency on the part of the Japanese to increase their supplies of American cotton, there being an increase of 117,602 bales, *i. e.*, from 525,197 to 642,799 bales. In the same period imports of Indian cotton decreased from 1,133.823 bales to 548,906. Imports of Korean cotton also decreased from 39,156 to 12,100 bales.

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*One picul equals 133⅓ pounds.

In the lack of iron, coking coal and petroleum within her own territory Japan finds even a greater handicap. True, Japan has a considerable output of coal. But the trouble is that she has practically no coal that is available for coking purposes. Without coke the steel industry is impossible. Of petroleum she produces only half the amount required for consumption at home. Again, take the matter of iron supply. Japan's output of ores, including that of Korea, amounts only to some 324,000 tons, equivalent to about 160,000 tons in pig iron. As against this small output, Japan consumed in 1917 about 1,300,000 tons of steel and pig iron. In the years to come Japan will undoubtedly make satisfactory arrangements with China, enabling her to utilize the vast mineral resources which are stored in the latter country. In the meantime she must rely largely upon America, England and Belgium for her supply of iron and steel.

If we glance at the following table of Japan's principal imports for 1919, we shall readily understand the extent to which she has to depend upon foreign countries for the essential materials of modern industry :

JAPAN'S PRINCIPAL IMPORTS IN 1919.

Imports—	Value in Yen
Raw cotton	667,050,000
Rice	160,325,000
Iron bars, rods, plates	156,757,000
Oil cakes	133,077,000
Machinery	88,970,000
Wool	61,688,000
Sugar	58,349,000
Iron slabs, ingots.	58,072,000
Beans	34,656,000
Rails	21,866,000
Petroleum	21,448,000
Paper	18,260,000
Coal	18,138,000
Crude rubber	17,363,000
Hemp and flax	16,870,000
Caustic soda and soda ash ...	14,414,000
Chilean saltpetre	14,809,000
Iron tubes and pipes	12,974,000

Lead	10,989,000
Coal tar dyes	10,714,000
Pulp	10,552,000
Nails	5,108,000

In 1919 Japan's imports from all countries amounted to 1,948,326,000 yen. In this import trade America has great interest.

It is a matter of common knowledge that, of all countries of Asia, Japan is the greatest customer of America. In 1914 she imported from America $54,000,000 worth of commodities, including figures for Korea and the leased territory of Kuantung. In 1918 this increased to $275,000,000 in round figures. In other words, our purchases from America increased more than five-fold in the short period of five years.

From a selfish point of view, we wish Japan's exports to America had increased with the same rapidity. While Japan's imports from this country multiplied more than five times in the years 1914 to 1918, her exports to this country increased a little less than three times.

If Japan, with a population of sixty millions, is capable of buying American goods to the extent of $275,000,000 in value, this country certainly has a splendid opportunity in China, when that country, with four hundred million people, emerges from the present unsatisfactory state of internal affairs and succeeds in establishing order throughout the entire territory and in providing modern means of transportation and communication.

While Japan's sixty million people purchase $275.000,000 worth of American goods, four hundred millions of China purchase only 43,000,000 worth of American merchandise. In other words, Japanese purchases of American goods were in the year 1918 $4·50 per capita, while Chinese purchases amounted to only 10 cents per capita.

China, buying $43,000,000 worth of American goods, sold to America $117,000,000 worth of commodities. In other words, Chinese purchases from America were much less than half of her sales to this country.

It is generally known that America is Japan's best customer. At the same time it is well to emphasize that Japan is also America's best customer in whole Asia. But for Japan American trade in the Orient would be insignificant.

Up to 1917 Japan's exports to America exceeded her imports from the latter country. But in the calendar year of 1918 this relationship was reversed, resulting in the excess of American exports to Japan over Japanese exports to America. According to the returns of the Japanese Department of Commerce, Japan, in 1918, purchased 626,025,530 yen worth of goods from America, while her sales to America in the same year amounted to 530,129,393 yen. From these figures it is estimated that in the above named period Japan's imports from the United States constituted 40 per cent of her total import trade, and that her exports to the United States represented 29 per cent of her total exports.

Turning to Japan's exports trade, we find that silk and manufactured cottons are the most important items, as the following table will show:

JAPAN'S PRINCIPAL EXPORTS IN 1919.

Exports—	Value in Yen.
Raw silk	623,519,000
Cotton tissues	280,254,000
Silk tissues	164,422,000
Cotton yarns	114,551,000
Knit goods	33,858,000
Coal	37,511,000
Matches	32,783,000
Beans	31,913,000
Timber	23,820,000
Refined sugar	21,332,000
Waste silk	19,903,000
Braids	19,899,000
Copper	19,617,000
Tea	18,363,000
Toys	12,838,000
Starch	12,701,000
Beer	7,134,000
Rice	4,319,000
Zinc	2,931,000

If we compare the above table of exports with the table of imports given in a preceding section, we can readily perceive that Japan occupies in international commerce a position akin to that of a "middleman." The best illustration is afforded in the bean, sugar and cotton trade.

In 1919 Japan imported beans from China to the value of 34,000,000 yen, and exported the same commodity to America and other countries to the extent of 31,000,000 yen. Of sugar she imported 58,000,000 yen worth, mostly in raw condition. This she refined and re-exported to various countries to the extent of 21,000,000 yen. How Japan imports raw cotton from America and India and converts it into yarns and tissues to be exported to China and other countries we have already seen.

Discussing Japan's success as a commercial "middleman" an American writer makes the following observations, which are perhaps pertinent:

"The factors which thus far have favored Japan as middleman are very diverse. The principal one has doubtless been proximity to the other countries of the Far East and an intimate knowledge of their products and markets. Her economic penetration of Manchuria has been the principal factor both ways in this important area. A great advantage in the China market has been the ease with which Japanese can learn the Chinese language. Another factor of some importance is the existence of combinations which include a number of consecutively related activities. The great Mitsui interests are a good illustration of this. They are engaged in mining, manufacturing, trade, banking and transportation, all of which activities are made to assist each other. As traders, for example, the Mitsuis are not solely dependent on regular steamship companies, and frequently they are quite familiar with a rival's business in their capacity as bankers or shippers. The Mitsuis are now about to establish regular steamship services to the United States carrying, smong other things, beans and bean oil from Manchuria on account of their own or other trading companies.

While Japan has endeavored to adjust her industrial structure to the quantity production, which she deemed inevitable in the modern economic system, she has not abandoned the arts and crafts which recommended themselves to the Western world when the country was opened to foreign intercourse. On the other hand, she has striven to improve them, applying to them as much as possible the scientific knowledge and system which the West has had to offer her.

Here a brief description seems not amiss of the war's effect upon the industrial progress of Japan. There is no doubt that the World War has proved a great impetus to the manufacturing industries of Japan. The war cut off the sources of supply of many of the articles which Japan had been accustomed to import from abroad. To meet the deficiency thus created, Japan was compelled to establish factories, and venture upon new industrial experiments, turning out goods which, though not up to the desired standard, had to be accepted as the only substitutes. As yet some of these new industries fall far short of perfection, but given reasonable time and experience, we are sure that they will become a great factor in the economic system of Japan.

One of the most noteworthy industries created in Japan as the result of the war is the chemical industry. At least twenty new chemical companies have been formed, with a combined capital of about 30,000,00 yen. These new companies operate twenty-eight factories. Among their chief products are sulphate of ammonia, potassium, chloride, caustic soda, bleaching powder, nitre, sulphate of potash, potassium carbonate, sodium sulyhide, sodium chloride, sodium peroxide, iodine, nitric acid, glycerine oils, dyes, fertilizers, disinfectants and phosphorus.

About eighty firms in Japan are engaged in the production of potassium chloride. Formalin also is now being produced in Japan, but the output is being devoted to home requirements. A company is producing soda by means of electricity and is said to be the first firm in Japan to use electric process in this connection. Another company is manufacturing indirect dyes for domestic needs exclusively, while direct dyes are to be produced for the export trade. This company is being assisted by the government. Another company claims the production of an ultramarine blue equal to that formerly imported from Germany.

Although the iron industry of Japan is still in its infancy, it gives promise of assuming considerable importance in the future. Before the war the annual production in Japan was about 260,000 tons of iron, this being about one-half of its consumption. Since the war started several new companies have been formed for the production of iron. Six companies, with a combined capital of 40,000,000 yen, have established new works.

Three new steel companies have commenced operations and four new works have been established. Their total combined capital is estimated at 5,000,000 yen. One company is producing steamship shafts, railway wheels and tires for export as well as supplying the home trade. It has received orders from China and India. It is stated the intention of this company is to devote all its energy to the export trade rather than to the domestic trade.

It is generally conceded that the future of the zinc industry of Japan is promising and that a large export trade will eventually be created of it. One company is already manufacturing zinc for exportation. Japanese zinc ore contains many other metals, such as gold, silver and copper, and the refining of these metals is carried on along with the treatment of the ore. Five new zinc companies are operating six works for the treatment of Japanese zinc ore and have a total combined capital of 7,600,000 yen.

In March, 1916, a company was formed with a capital of 1,000,000 yen, and in 1919 another with a capital of 3,000,000 yen, for the manufacture of aluminum. It is stated that the process to be used is different from that in vogue in Europe and the United States. The aluminum is obtained from a clay that is a product especially of Japan and is treated by an electrolytic process.

A company, which was first established in 1913 for the manufacture of galvanized iron sheets and galvanized iron sheets and galvanized iron wire, has increased its capital from 300,000 yen to 700,000 yen. Two companies, with a combined capital of 1,500,000 yen, have been formed to manufacture wire netting.

Three new companies, with a combined capital of 2,300,000 yen, have been established for the manufacture of machinery. In addition to munitions, rotary printing machines and gun metal are being made.

There have been formed also six companies, operating eleven factories, for the manufacture of electrical supplies and accessories, such as electrical motors, dynamos, switches, lamp bulbs, carbon electrodes and carbon brushes. The total combined capital is 4,530,000 yen. An improved process for the manufacture of vulcanite has enabled a Japanese company to turn out insulators for both the domestic and export trade.

Rapid progress has been made in the Japanese textile trade since the war. Many new companies have been organized and new works are under construction. They have a combined capital of 16,600,000 yen and operate fourteen factories. Some are operating general spinning mills for the manufacture of cotton and woollen textiles, One produces linen thread, one mixed silk and wool textiles, one is devoted to the finishing of silk textile goods for the export trade and one makes hemp ropes.

The factory making linen thread is experimenting with a plant growing wild in Saghalien, treating the fibres by a patent bleaching process. The spinning of mixed silk and wool at first presented many difficulties, but these have been overcome, and the company, in addition to supplying the home demand, hopes to handle export trade. A company has been established for the purpose of Ramic spinning.

For the manufacture of paints three new companies have been formed with a combined capital of 900,000 yen. Their chief products are zinc and house paints, paints for ship bottoms, antiseptic paints, rust preventing paints and paint substitutes. One company is successfully producing zinc powder, as there is a good local demand. Previous to the war paint for ships' bottoms was entirely imported from the United Kingdom.

Six companies have been established with a combined capital of 16,450,000 yen for the production and refining of mineral oils. A company has been formed for the manufacture of fish grease used in the manufacture of soap and glycerine.

There have been organized three coal mining companies with a combined capital of 1,550,000 yen. One company is also producing coke in large quantities. In December, 1916, a company was formed with a capital of 120,000 yen to exploit a sulphur mine. A special process is used in refining the raw material.

A company with a capital of 100,000 yen has been formed for the manufacture of rubber bicycle accessories and toy balloons. For the manufacture of bicycles a company with a capital of 500,000 yen has been established.

A company, with a capital of 500,000 yen, has been organized for the manufacture of boots and shoes. It will turn out eventually slippers, harness, knapsacks and other leather goods. A company with a total capital of 2,000,000 yen has been organized for the manufacture of imitation celluloid. It is claimed that the product can be used as a substitute for lacquer, artificial leather and rubber, besides serving the same purposes as celluloid. It may be also used as a water and heat resisting material in construction work. The material used is beancake, and as this is both cheap and plentiful, it will be possible to supply imitation celluloid at a lower price than the real article.

A company with a capital of 1,000,000 yen has been formed to produce plate glass, and another company will operate a glass factory. Two companies have been organized for the manufacture of bricks and concrete for reinforced concrete buildings and telegraph poles.

A company with a capital of 2,000,000 yen has been established for the manufacture of corks, and at present produces chiefly the crown variety. A company was formed in July, 1916, with a capital of 1,000,000 yen, to manufacture explosives, and will produce dynamite for industrial as well as military needs.

In spite of all the progress that Japan has made as an industrial nation, it must be still remembered that the country is, industrially speaking, in a period of transition, a period in which she is passing from the house-hold to the factory system of industries. We have seen numerous factories established throughout the country for the manufacture of staple articles, and yet the bulk of Japan's manufactured articles are still made in the homes. Side by side with the large factories, employing armies of workers after the Western system, we find hundreds thousand of toilers still working in their own homes, often making goods on their own account. How long these household industries, the remnant of the bygone age, can survive the formidable competition offered by the new factory system, time will tell.

The First Indian Chief Justice.

A LIFE-SKETCH of the HON'BLE Mr. JUSTICE SHADI LAL.

EARLY CAREER.

MR. Shadi Lal comes of a highly respectable and well-known family of Rewari, Gurgaon district. The name of the family was noted for its many charitable and philanthropic work in the district and it commanded a great deal of respect and influence on that account. Born at Rewari in 1874, Mr. Shadi Lal was admitted at an early age into the local High School. Diligent and devoted to his studies and with great natural parts, Mr. Shadi Lal was an easy first in his class, just as he came later on in his subsequent academic and professional career. His father was a gentleman of the old school, and young Shadi Lal was left solely to his own resources in matters of study.

He passed the Matriculation examination of the Punjab University in 1890 from the Rewari High School, winning the Government scholarship and the Gubblin's scholarship and joined the Forman Christian College, Lahore, whence he passed the Intermediate Examination in 1892, again winning the Government scholarships. He then joined the Government College, Lahore, and took English, Physics and Chemistry as his subjects for the B. A. Examination. In 1894, he headed the list in the B. A. Examination obtaining the Government scholarship of Rs. 25 and the Fuller Exhibition of Rs. 35 per month for standing first in the whole province in that examination. In 1895, (a year before the usual time for going in for the M. A. degree) he obtained the M. A. degree in Physics from the Government College and succeeded in winning the Government of India scholarship for the prosecution of further studies in England. He joined the University of Oxford and was admitted to the Balliol College there. His career at Oxford was equally distinguished. He obtained the much-coveted Boden scholarship of that University in 1896 and took honours both in the B. A. and the B. C. L. examinations a high and notable distinction.

Mr. Shadi Lal's career at the Inns was not less brilliant. He obtained the highly valued scholarship known as the Arden scholarship at Gray's Inn. He was also an Honoursman of the Council of Legal Education, special prizeman of the Council of Legal Education; as well as the special prizeman of Gray's Inn.

In 1899 he was called to the Bar as a member of the Hon'ble Society of Gray's Inn and returned to India in the same year and was duly enrolled as an Advocate of the then Punjab Chief Court. The Chief Court Bar in those days was led by such stalwarts as the late Mr. K. P. Roy, Mr. Madan Gopal, Mr. Arthur Grey, and Rai Bahadur Lal Chand, but surely and steadily Mr. Shadi Lal made his mark and was soon regarded as the coming man even in this galaxy of brilliant lawyers. He was also appointed a Lecturer in the Law College, Lahore, shortly after his arrival and for some time acted as its Principal. As a Professor, he was, as might be expected, immensely popular with the students, whom he loved and who loved him in return.

His lectures and lecture notes in the Law College were characterised by that lucidity of exposition, mastery of the subject-matter and the elimination of all padding and irrelevant matter—qualities which have distinguished his utterances, whether as an Advocate, Councillor or Judge. His lecture notes on International Law, which were published in a book form have always been regarded as the indispensable *vade mecum* of the candidates preparing for the Law Degree. Later on, he published his lecture notes in the form of commentaries on the Punjab Alienation of Land and the Punjab Pre-Emption Acts,—commentaries which are still regarded as the standard books on the subjects, revealing, as they did, his keen analytical intellect, unerring grasp of legal principles and his masterly criticism of the defects both in substance and draftmanship, which had crept into those legislative enactments. By this time, Mr. Shadi Lal's reputation as a jurist and advocate has been made, and his ever-growing stress of professional engagements compelled him to sever his connection with the Law College.

MR. SHADI LAL AND PUBLIC LIFE.

Modest and retiring by disposition, he never sought the honours of public life, and was averse by nature to working in the lime-light, quite content to move in the congenial spheres of the Chief Court and the University. Fate had, however, willed it otherwise, and early in 1907, Mr. Shadi Lal found himself drawn into the vortex of public activities. In February, 1907, the late Mr. Gokhale came to the Panjab on a propagandist tour in Northern India he had undertaken after the memorable session of the Congress of 1906. Mr. Shadi Lal presided at the meeting at which an address was presented to him by the Lahore students.

The succeeding years were years of strenuous communal controversies, due to the publication of the Morley-Minto scheme of reforms, but it is little use recalling them in the present spacious times of a unified national life. With the help and guidance of some older leaders like the late Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji and the late Rai Bahadur Lal Chand, Mr. Shadi Lal re-organised the Punjab Hindu Sabha, and became its General Secretary, in which capacity he continued until his elevation to the Bench in 1913.

It was only natural that his strenuous activities in connection with the Hindu Sabha movement should early mark him out for its future president and in 1912, shortly after the transfer of the seat of the Imperial Government to Delhi, he presided over the fourth session of the Hindu Comference held in that Imperial city. His presidential speech on that occasion is still regarded as a comprehensive survey of the problems of the day so far as they affected the Panjab particularly the Hindus.

His speech was admired at the time as being singularly free from the vice of special pleading and partisan bias and as being instinct with the spirit of sweet reasonableness—qualities which are pre-eminently Mr. Shadi Lal's own with reference to all public questions. The Conference at Delhi was a great success, due in no small measure, as a journalistic critic then put it, to the personality of the president himself. It is only necessary to mention that the "Punjabee" newspaper, of which the proprietary rights were acquired by a Board consisting of the late Rai Bahadur Lal Chand, the Hon'ble Rai Ram Saran Das, Mr. Shadi Lal, and Mr. Sundar Das became a powerful exponent of national interests, while keeping in view the special questions pertaining to the Hindu community in the Punjab.

AS A MEMBER OF THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Ever since his return from England, Mr. Shadi Lal had taken an active and unceasing interest in the concerns of the Punjab University. He was nominated a Fellow in 1902, a member of the Syndicate in 1904, and member of the various Faculties. He took a leading part in framing the Rules of the University after the passing of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, so much so that in fact, those Rules and Regulations are really his handiwork. Indeed with the exception of Sir William Rattigan and Sir P. C. Chatterji, no Fellow of the University had ever taken so prominent a part in its affairs or given it so much valuable time and attention as had Mr. Shadi Lal. In response to a widely expressed general desire, supported by the older leaders Mr. Shadi Lal was prevailed upon to stand for the University seat on the inauguration of Morley-Minto reforms—his rival candidate being no less a person than the Hon'ble Mian Mahomad Shafi. He was returned by an overwhelming majority of votes, and thus be continually represented the University in the Punjab Legislative Council till his permanent elevation to the Bench in 1914. Of his work as a Councillor, it is hardly necessary to write at length, as it is sufficiently well-known to students of contemporary events. His brilliant forensic abilities, his ready and quick grasp of all complicated points, above all, his tact, persuasive powers, and sweet reasonableness were invaluable to him as a debater, and if he often failed to carry his point on motions for a division, it was not due to any inherent strength in the official case, but to the solidarity of the official phalanx, supported by their non-official allies. It may be here mentioned that the credit of bringing the question of the elevation of the Chief Court to the status of a High Court to the fore is due in a large measure to Mr. Shadi Lal, who first mooted the question in his speech during the Budget discussion in April, 1910. In 1911 he moved a resoluttion in the Provincial Legislative Council for its elevation to the status of a High Court, and suggested that a lakh of rupees should be ear-marked for the purpose by withdrawing it from some other head.

It was, however, in the discussion on the Punjab Municipal Bill in 1911 that Mr. Shadi Lal had an occasion of showing his abilities as a debater. Alone and almost single-handed he fought the battle of local self-government and wrote his solitary note of dissent which by its weight of argument and clear ennunciation of principles shone out amid the mass of reactionary documents surrounding it. In vain did Mr. Shadi Lal protest—in the later stages he was joined by Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh—against the many illiberal and retrograde provisions of the new measure, provisions going directly and indirectly against the principle of local self-government as set out in Lord Ripon's well-known resolution on local self-government and the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, but to no avail. A reactionary officialdom headed by that arch-reactionary, Sir Michael Fenton, was determined not to listen, and therefore most of Mr. Shadi Lal's amendments fared the usual way of non-official amendments, Colonel Parsons, who was then Commissioner of the Lahore Division opposed them stating that it was simply wasting the time of the Council. The gallant Colonel, who was fond of comparing the Legislative Council with the *arkan-i-daulats* of old, had counted without his host, for Mr. Shadi Lal was quick with the following effective retort, which silenced the Colonel during the rest of the debate. He said :—

"I most strongly protest against the use of the words a "simply wasting the time of the Council" used by the Hon'ble Colonel Parsons. No Hon'ble member has a right to say so. We are doing our best to assist Government in discharging our duties according to our ideas; we, the non-official members have a duty to perform and we perform it according to our lights, just as the Hon'ble Colonel Parsons does."

In matters relating to legislation, Mr. Shadi Lal strenuously opposed the policy, current in this province, of ousting the jurisdiction of the civil courts in favour of that of revenue courts.

Similarly, in connection with the amendment of section 49 of the Punjab Land Revenue Act he moved a resolution, the principle of which has now been partially conceded in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. He moved the following amendment :—

"Provided that before granting sanction, the Local Government shall lay the proposals of re-assessment before the Legislative Council, the members of which may offer such suggestions for the consideration of the Local Government as they think fit."

The Local Government shall, when confirming an assessment under section (1) fix the period for which the assessment is to be in force. Such period shall not ordinarily be less than 30 years."

The amendment was indeed over-ruled, but the principle has since been vindicated in a remarkable way.

A PASSAGE-AT-ARMS WITH SIR MICHAEL FENTON.

On the occasion of the Court-Fees Amendment Act section 7 (5) (*b*) by which the court-fees in land suits were fixed on the value calculated at ten times the revenue payable instead of five as previously. Mr. Shadi Lal proposed an amendment suggesting that the value for the purpose of jurisdiction should *pari passu* be raised to sixty times the land-revenue, instead of thirty times. The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi supported the amendment, but it was opposed by Sir Michael Fenton, who said that the only effect of the amendment would be that it would mean a concession to the lawyers and to all who drew their living from the litigating propensities of the people. Mr. Shadi Lal came out immediately with the retort courteous and floored Sir Michael effectively. He said :—

"I am sorry to find that the Hon'ble Mr. Fenton has introduced a discussion about the lawyers, their fees and the concessions to them. That is the argument that is often used and I wish he had not repeated it here. His reference to it and the manner in which he has done it look like an argument "ad hominem." May I mention for the information of the Hon'ble member that those, who are responsible for this amendment are already over—whelmed with work and they do not want more cases. Their constant effort is to get rid of the cases, which are offered to them. In proposing this amendment, they are not grinding their own axe, but are putting forward before the Council suggestions which they consider proper in the interests of justice. Granting, for the sake of argument, that the lawyers have a purpose of their own to serve, what has the Hon'ble gentleman to say about the Judges of the Chief Court, who have so often and so strongly advocated the change ? Have they also some ulterior motive in making this proposal ?"

Sir Michael Fenton then made an "amende honorable" by saying that he did not mean any personal reflection.

Mr. Shadi Lal was a member of the Finance sub-committee and the advice and the assistance given by him in connection therewith were freely acknowledged by the official members. It is due to his efforts that the scope and the functions of the Finance sub-committee were considerably enlarged. In matters relating to the drafting of the various legislative enactments, Mr. Shadi Lal's keen legal acumen and strong analytical powers were of the greatest assistance. Even so staunch a bureaucrat as Sir Michael Fenton acknowledged the help rendered by him in correcting mistakes of drafting in the Punjab Excise Bill.

The help rendered by him in the framing of the present Punjab Pre-emption Act was even more important. In his speech in introducing the present measure, Mr. Tollinton, the member-in-charge of the Bill said:—

"The Hon'ble Mr. Shadi Lal had in 1905 published a commentary in which a great deal of most useful criticism appeared and in 1908 he recorded a note on the more urgent steps that were required to place the law relating to pre-emption on a satisfactory footing. Not only did Mr. Shadi Lal point out some 25 minor inaccuracies and ambiguities in the Act, but he showed in particular that the definition of agricultural land' was inaccurate, that it was anomalous to exempt temples and shops in towns and not in villages, that the action taken by Government under section 7 (2) of the Act excluding areas from pre-emption was probably illegal, that the proviso to section 11, which was meant to protect the statutory agriculturist was unnecessary as the statutory agriculturist had ceased to exist,"

And later on, Mr. Tollinton acknowledged the help rendered by him in the Select Committee. Mr. Shadi Lal pointed out several mistakes in drafting in the original Bill on the Punjab Courts Act, 1914, and the assistance rendered by him met with some well-merited complimentary references by Sir Louis Dane on more than one occasion.

There can be no doubt that by the wide range of his interpellations and resolutions on a variety of subjects, *viz.*, education—primary, secondary, collegiate and technical (sanitation, rural and urban—he moved a resolution recommending an allotment of five lakhs for improving rural sanitation) excise reform, stoppage of begar, and status of the public services, Mr. Shadi Lal raised the level of the proceedings to a dignity and eminence, which compared not unfavourably with that of the older provinces. Unfortunately, it was a case of Eclipse first, the rest nowhere.

The same qualities which had distinguished him as an Advocate, Syndic and Councillor have served him in good stead in his career on the Bench. His judicial pronouncements, adorning as they do the pages of the Law Reports are singularly free from the defects, sometimes to be met in judge-made law. There is no overloading the mind with needless facts and precedents, no citation of rulings on irrelevant matter or matter already settled by judicial decisions, no display of pedantry or aiming at fineness of expression. He has a remarkable gift of lucidity of expression and a strong common sense and fully does he utilise his powers in his judgments bearing in mind that his dicta are really good wine, and need no bush. The most complicated points of fact and law are set out in a clear and concise form, complete in all its logical sequence and legal precedents. He has an uncommonly quick perception of all the intricacies of a case, due no doubt to his large experience and eminent position at the

Bar, and counsel appearing before him often feel that he already knows all that is worth knowing in the case and has a better and a more comprehensive grasp of the points than has been had by the practitioners with hours of patient oil. For years he had been the commercial judge of the highest court of the province and his great contribution to the elucidation of this most important branch of law is freely acknowledged by all competent persons. It is an open secret that the comprehensive rules and forms framed by the Chief Court under section 248 of the Indian Companies Act, 1913, for the winding up of companies in liquidation, are all his compilation.

As a judge, he has all along been fortunate in winning the confidence and esteem of his colleagues in singular measure. Of him it can be truly said that he is as popular with his colleagues on the Bench as he is with the members of the Bar and the general public. His judgments have invariably commanded the respect of the profession both in and out of the province and as a commercial judge, it has been his privilege to adjudicate upon several complicated questions of company law and procedure. In so doing he freely borrowed from, as he states in the ruling reported in 54 P. R. 1915, the decision of the English courts in points where the Indian case law on the subject is meagre inasmuch as the "Indian Act is almost wholly in *pari material* with the English law on the subject." Some of his luminous ruling are looked upon as constituting the leading Indian case-law on the subject. It is, however, not fair to particularise, as his judgments on civil and criminal law inspire an equat measure of confidence and even his rulings on Mahomedan Law, have succeeded in commanding the respect of Mahomedan jurists.

Such is Mr. Shadi Lal as a Judge. When we remember that to an acute legal acumen, mastery of legal principles and a strong common sense are joined a charming suavity of temper and a genial temperament, we have a key to the marvellous esteem and popularly, which he joys among all sections of the people, Indians and Europeans alike, and in all parts of the country.

In the foregoing paragraphs an attempt has been made to give a sketch of Mr. Shadi Lal's brilliant career and many-sided activities. But when all this is said, still a good deal remains unsaid. His capacity for work is tremendous, and if he is an intellectual prodigy, it is in no mean measure due to his being a genius of labour, of method, punctuality and discipline. And yet with all this, he bears, in the words of the poet, lightly like a flower all the weight of his learning and exalted office, so marvellous is his geniality of temperament. May he be long spared to bring added lustre to his high office and his country is the prayer that will be uttered from every lip in India. (Adapted from the *Tribune.*)

The Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders.*—I.

TOWARDS the third week of March the public were presented with the "Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress." This Committee consisted of the Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, and Messrs. Gandhi, C. R. Das, Abbas S. Tayabji, M. R. Jayakar, K Santanam—all of them lawyers by profession and one of whom had been a Justice of the Supreme Court in a Native State. In their covering letter to the President of the Congress they say that their function had been "to examine, sift, collate and analyse the evidence already collected regarding the events of last April (1919) in the Punjab and to supplement such evidence where necessary and to present their conclusion thereon. . . . ."

"We examined the statements of over 1,700 witnesses and we have selected for publication about 650 statements, which will be found in the accompanying volumes of our report. The statements excluded were mostly statements proving the same class of acts.

"Every admitted statement was verified by one of us and was accepted only after we were satisfied as to the *bona fides* of the witness. This does not apply to a few statements from Manianwala and neighbourhood, which were mostly brought at our request by Mr. Labh Singh, M. A., Bar.-at-Law. Every such statement bears his name at the foot thereof. No statement was accepted without sufficient cross-examination of the witnesses."

"It will be observed that many witnesses are men of position and leaders in their own districts or villages."

"It will be further observed that some of the witnesses have made very serious allegations against officials. In each and every case the witnesses were warned by us of the consequences of making those allegations, and they were admitted only when the witnesses adhered to their statements, in spite of the knowledge of the risk they personally ran and the damage that may ensue to the cause by reason of exaggeration or untruth. We have moreover rejected those statements which could not be corroborated, although in some cases we were inclined to believe the witnesses. Such for instance were the statements regarding ill-treatment of women.

"We have freely availed ourselves of the evidence laid before the Disorders Inquiry Committee, in order to strengthen our conclusions. It may be mentioned that the vast majority of the statements appended were received by us before Lord Hunter's Committee began its sittings.

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* We have deliberately omitted most names, both of persons and places Young Men of India).

"We have also studied the records of the trials by Martial Law Commissioners or Summary Courts, in so far as they were available to us, and we have studied the judicial records of several cases that arose during the recruiting period and out of recruiting methods."

The first volume of the Report consists of 160 pages dealing with the following matters :—

1. A historical account of the situation up to the initial stage of the disorders in the Punjab, particularly with the methods employed during the war to recruit soldiers; with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's attitude towards the educated community in the Province; with the agitation against the passing of the Rowlatt Bill, and with Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha Movement

2. The actual disorders and the proclamation of Martial Law.

3. The manner in which Martial Law was administered.

4. Consideration as to the necessity of Martial Law.

5. Findings of the Commissioners.

The second volume consists of 946 pages of statements which in accordance with the rules quoted above by the Commissioners are recorded.

The Report as it stands is a powerful indictment of the Punjab Government and necessarily of British administration in India; and to everyone interested in India, especially those with the responsibility of race, it will afford deep questionings. Indian opinion regarding the doings of those days has been so stirred that the Government itself was compelled to hold an official enquiry, whose report has not yet been made public. It is unfortunate that the Congress leaders failed to bring the evidence they accumulated before the Hunter Committee* for examination. As matters stand, the public will need the two reports before it can come to a final conclusion. However, the evidence of both Enquiries is vitiated by the absence of public cross-examination, save in the case of the Hunter Committee, where some of the members undertook prolonged cross-examination of the witnesses. In spite of the obvious defects of an unofficial enquiry the Report definitely formulates charges of inhumanity, torture, terrorism and unjustified measures of repression brought against officials who are named by attested witnesses. No Government jealous of its good name and its future relations to its subjects, and in face of the whole civilized world, can ignore these charges. If they are untrue, then the defamers such as these ought to be brought to justice. If true, then it is the imperative duty of the Government to disassociate itself from the illegal acts of its agents. What then are the admitted facts? Early in the year of 1919 the Government announced its intention to pass certain laws, and with this gave notice that they would introduce into the All-India Legislature two Bills whose objects were the suppression of anarchical crime, framed on the recommendations made by a Committee which had reported in the previous year on such crime. The Chairman of this Committee had been Mr. Justice Rowlatt, a Judge of the King's Bench in London The war was coming to a close, and the special power with which the Government had been invested by law would automatically cease, and the Government simply asked for powers to deal with this special form of seditious crime. The Act, known officially as the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919,* was proceeded with in the Legislature, in spite of the unanimous opposition of the Indian members, who were invariably defeated in the voting lobby by the permanent official majority whose decision by the very tenure of their appointment was corporately given on behalf of Government. The Bill consisted of five parts; the first part dealt with the punishment of such specific crimes as "sedition," "rioting with deadly weapons," "promoting enmity between classes," "grevious hurt by dangerous weapons," "causing hurt to extort property or to constrain to an evil act," etc. The essence of the power conferred on the Executive was a speedy trial without commitment proceedings before a commission of three High Court Judges holding session *in camera*. The accused could ask for one adjournment for a period not exceeding fourteen days. Any sentence prescribed by the Penal Code, including death, could be pronounced; from a decision there was no appeal. The II and III parts do not deal with offences committed, but with such cases as are concerned with revolutionary movements whose activities if persisted in might lead to crime or endanger the public safety. The Government was authorized to bring the case of a suspect before a judicial officer and obtain an opinion, after which it would take action and demand security or restrict the movements of the accused, or order him to abstain from particular acts such as public speaking, or writing for publication, or order him to report periodically at a police-station. A revising authority was created who would from time to time, examine the case, the suspect appearing before them—the proceedings to be *in camera*. The opinion recorded by this revising authority need not necessarily be accepted by the Government. Part III is even more stringent, as it deals with such cases where the suspect's action may endanger the public safety; after the judicial officer records his opinion the Government may arrest the suspect and confine him under such restrictions and conditions as may appear necessary. The accused may be incarcerated for a maximum period of two years without a judicial trial.

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* The Official Committee of Enquiry.

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* Known commonly as the Rowlatt Act.

The Executive Government urged upon the Legislature the necessity of legislation, on the grounds that anarchical crime was dangerous to the progress of the country; that it was impossible to try criminals before the ordinary courts and by ordinary procedure, as evidence was rarely forthcoming; that witnesses were terrorized and refused to testify in the public courts. To prevent the misuse of such wide powers by local governments, they could only be brought into use by proclamation of the Governor-General-in-Council, and it was just this argument that the Indian members of the Legislature and the Indian public distrusted. Never had the *bona-fides* of the administration been so depreciated as during this crisis. The Act was, to them, a new instrument of oppression, Machiavellian in its intent, to deprive the country of freedom of expression and all political life on the eve of the promised constitutional reforms.

As a protest against the intentions of the Executive to pass the Bill, Mr. Gandhi launched his *Satyagraha* crusade. Into its merits or demerits we need not enter, save to state the fact. The concrete result in tracing the sequence of events is revealed in his Madras message of March 24th, 1919, a few days after the passage of the Bill:—

> "Satyagraha, as I have endeavoured to explain at several meetings, is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reforms or redress grievances by self-suffering. I therefore ventures to suggest that the second Sunday after the publication of the Viceregal assent to Bill No. II of 1919 (*i. e.*, 6th April) may be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer. As there must be an effective public demonstration in keeping with the character of the observance, I beg to advise as follows:—

"(i) A twenty-four hours' fast, counting from the last meal on the preceding night, should be observed by all adults, unless prevented from so doing by considerations of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded in any shape or form in the nature of a hunger-strike, or as designed to put any pressure upon the Government. It is to be regarded for the Satyagrahis as a necessary discipline to fit them for civil disobedience contemplated in their pledge, and for all others as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings."

"(ii) All work, except such as may be necessary in the public interest, should be suspended for the day. Markets and other business-places shouldbe closed. Employees who are required to work even on Sundays, may only suspend work after obtaining previous leave."

"I do not hesitate to recommend these two suggestions for adoption by public servants. For, though it is unquestionably the right thing for them not to take part in the political discussion and gatherings, in my opinion they have an undoubted right to express upon vital matters their feelings in the very limited manner herein suggested."

"(iii) Public meetings should be held on that day in all parts of India, not excluding villages, at which resolutions praying for the withdrawal of the two measures should be passed."

"If my advice is deemed worthy of acceptance, the responsibility will lie, in the first instance, on the various Satyagraha Associations for undertaking the necessary work of organization; but all other Associations will, I hope, join hands in making this demonstration a success.

The trouble began at Amritsar on April 10th. There had been two *hartals*,* when business was suspended, on the 29th March and 6th April, without any untoward occurrence The 9th was a Hindu festival, in which the Mohammedans took part; on the 10th, when ordinary business was resumed, two of the leaders were arrested and deported to an unknown destination. When the news spread to the city a crowd of unarmed people resolved to demonstrate outside the residence of the chief civil official. They were held up by a military picket—"the men demanded passage, and said they wanted to go to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow to make *faryad*—a prayer. They pushed forward, the picket fell back a little. They advanced, the military fired, killing and wounding some of them; whereon the crowd fell back. It was now no longer a peaceful crowd." The crowd re-formed, armed itself with sticks and advanced; it was held up again, whereupon some in the crowd threw stones; the military fired several times, killing 20 and wounding many. The crowd now lost control of itself, turned towards the city and began its career of destruction—two banks, a mission hall, the town hall and a post office were destroyed—that is, anything connected with the "foreigners"; but even more terrible was the brutal murder of five Europeans and a dastardly attack on an English missionary lady. This crowd, which had just previously passed these buildings and had allowed Europeans to pass through without hostility, was now looking for objects on which to wreck its vengeance for those who had been killed and wounded, but its fury was soon spent. The next day all was quiet again, the shops re-opened. On the 11th the military took charge and invested the city, pickets were stationed outside all entrances, the electric light and water supply were cut off. Here then was a beleaguered city, unarmed, waiting for its doom. The citizens had a public meeting on the 12th and another for the next day was announced. The 13th was the Baisakhi, or Spring festival, a most important day ordinarily in Amritsar; thousands of farmers and peasants come every year to the city for the agricultural markets, and these people find shelter where they can; but after the 10th no one was allowed to leave the city.

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* A common form of protest against a ruler's orders known as *Hartal*. It has been in India, from immemorial, under the ancient rulers the only effective means of expressing public opinion.

On the morning of the 13th General Dyer, the military Commander, issued a proclamation:—

"No procession of any kind is permitted to parade the city or outside of it at any time. Any such procession or gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms if necessary."

A proclamation party entered the city to make the proclamation known. "More than one-half and that the most populous part of the city was left untouched by the General," says the Congress report. "There is abundant evidence to show that few citizens knew anything about the proclamation." At 4 that afternoon a large crowd, estimated at 20,000, assembled in the Jallianwala Bagh—it was quite unarmed, and from evidence it did not even have sticks. The Bagh is an open space in the heart of the overbuilt city, in the form of a quadrilateral with houses round the four sides, the longest sides being about 200 yards and the shorter sides about 150 yards. One of the short ends is open in so far as it admits a narrow street; there are in addition a few other exits—"at 4 or 5 points it was possible to get out through narrow openings.

The ground at the entrance is an elevation, remarkably fit for posting soldiers and firing upon a crowd in front."

General Dyer received intimation at 4 p.m. that a meeting was being held; he set out immediately for the city with fifty Sikhs and Gurkhas armed with rifles, and 40 more Gurkhas with khukris, also two armoured cars. Without a warning, without waiting a moment to see whether the crowd would disperse, he opened fire on this mass of 20,000 people. How many were killed will never be fully known, but the estimate runs from 500—1,000. He then retired, without making any provision for the wounded and dying.

The following interrogatory gives General Dyer's evidence before the official enquiry :—

"Q.—When you got into the Bagh, what did you do?

"A.—I opened fire.

"Q.—At once?

"A.—Immediately. I had thought about the matter, and don't imagine it took me more than 30 seconds to make up my mind as to what my duty was.

"Q.—As regards the crowd, what was it doing?

"A.—Well, they were holding a meeting. There was a man in the centre of the place on something raised. His arms were moving about. He was evidently addressing. He was absolutely in the centre of the square, as far as I could judge—I should say some 50 or 60 yards from where my troops were drawn up."

"Q.—The General had admitted that there might have been a good many who had not heard of the proclamation. So Lord Hunter asked, 'On the assumption that there was that risk of people being in the crowd who were not aware of the proclamation, did it not occur to you that it was a proper measure to ask the crowd to disperse before you took that step of actually firing?

"A.—No, at the time I did not. I merely felt that my orders had not been obeyed, that Martial Law was flouted, and that it was my duty to fire immediately by rifle.

"Q.—Before you dispersed the crowd, had the crowd taken any action at all?

"A.—No, Sir. They had run away, a few of them.

"Q.—Did they start to run away?

"A.—Yes. When I began to fire, the big mob in the centre began to run almost towards the right.

"Q.—Martial Law had not been proclaimed. Before you took that step, which was a serious step, did you not consider as to the propriety of consulting the Deputy Commissioner, who was the civil authority responsible (for the order of the city?

"A.—Teher was no Deputy Commissioner to consult at the time. I did not think it wise to ask anybody further. I had to make up my mind immediately as to what my action should be. I considered it from the military point of view that I ought to fire immediately, that if I did not do so I should fail in my duty. . . . . .

"Q.—In firing, was it your object to disperse?

"A.—No, Sir. I was going to fire until they dispersed.

"Q.—Did the crowd at once start to disperse as soon as you fired?

"A.—Immediately.

"Q.—Did you continue firing?

"A.—Yes.

"Q.—After the crowd indicated that it was going to disperse, why did you not stop?

"A.—I thought it was my duty to go on until dispersed. If I fired a little, I should be wrong in firing at all.

"Then, in reply to a variety of questions, General Dyer said he continued to fire for about 10 minutes, and that he had no 'military experience to use similar methods of dispersing crowds'; 'he could have dispersed them, perhaps, even without firing.' But he fired, because 'they would all have come back and laughed at him and he would have made "a fool of himself." His reasons for firing he has given, in answer to another question, as follows:—

"I thought they were trying to assault me and my forces suddenly. All these pointed that this was a widespread movement which was not confined to Amritsar alone, and that the situation was a wide military situation which was not confined to Amritsar."

The General had fired 1,650 rounds of ammunition, he admitted also that if he could have taken the armoured cars into the Bagh, he would have done so and opened fire with them; that he stopped shooting, when he did, because the ammunition had run out, and that the crowd was very dense. He made no provision for aiding or removing the wounded. It was not then his duty to render aid; that was a medical question. As soon as the firing ceased he retired. From time to time he "checked his fire and directed it upon places where the crowd was thickest," and that he did, not because they were not going fast, but because he (the General) "had made up his mind to punish them for having assembled."

"We must now supply further details of the scene from the mouths of eye-witnesses. We have already adverted to Lala Girdhari Lal's statement. He happened to watch the scene from a house overlooking the Bagh. 'I saw hundreds of persons killed on the spot. The worst part of the whole thing was that firing was directed towards the gate through which the people were running out. There were small outlets, four or five in all, and bullets actually rained over the people at all these gates, and . . . many got trampled under the feet of rushing crowds and thus lost their lives. Blood was pouring in profusion. Even those who lay flat on the ground were shot. . . . No arrangements were made by the authorities to look after the dead or wounded. . . . I then gave water to the wounded and rendered such assistance as was possible. . . . I went round the whole place and saw almost everybody lying there. There were heaps of them at different places. . . . The dead bodies were of grown-up people and young boys also. Some had their heads cut open, others had eyes shot, and nose, chest, arms or legs shattered. . . . I think there must have been over 1,000 dead bodies in the garden then. . . I saw people were hurrying up, and many had to leave their dead and wounded because they were afraid of being fired upon again after 8 p. m."

"It may be mentioned here that the second part of the proclamation made on the 13th April, by the drum-beat, reads:—

"No person residing in the city is permitted to leave his house after eight Any person found in the street after eight is liable to be shot."

The witness further states, "Many amongst the wounded, who managed to run from the garden, succumbed to injuries on the way and lay dead in the streets. It was thus that the people of Amritsar held their Baisakhi fair."

"In the matter of the death-roll, it is interesting to note that, according to the Government's own showing, they did not commence investigating the figure before the 20th August, *i. e.*, four months after the tragedy. Mr. Thompson then announced that not more than 290 had died. Now they have practically accepted the Sewa Samiti's figures *viz.*, 500, which are based on actual tracing and represent the minimum. The exact figure, will never be known; but after careful investigation, we consider that Lala Girdhari Lal's computation of 1,000 is by no means an exaggerated calculation. They must have been indifferent shots if, after directing their fire in the thickest part in a concentrated area and among 20,000 people, the soldiers were not able to kill 1,000 men. Let it further be remembered, that the fire was directed even into and from the Hansli, the narrow lane to the right on the plan. We observed bullet-marks on a balcony opposite the lane; and evidence has been laid before us to show that soldiers were posted whilst they were effecting their escape through these approaches. There can be no doubt that General Dyer's plan was to kill the largest number, and if the number was 1,000 and not more the fault was not his. His ammunition was exhausted, and he could not take his armoured cars through the passage, it being too narrow."

The disorders in Lahore were very minor affairs, no property was destroyed nor lives of Europeans lost. The Commission hold that the whole situation was mishandled by the authorities, the police fired on small demonstrating crowds, the proclamation of Martial Law was unnecessary. Sympathetic *hartals* were held in the adjoining districts, and some outrages on public property, and in one case the loss of two European lives—two perfectly innocent soldiers travelling in the train were set upon at Kasur and clubbed to death.

In all, then, the Commission hold that the outrages were magnified by the measures taken to suppress the disorders, which were only spasmodic eruptions, between the 10th-15th April, involving the life of seven Europeans and some destruction of public property in six districts with a total population of five million people.

At Gujranwala, where the station church, post office, railway bridge and the court-house were burnt, no European lives were lost. The police fired on a mob apparently quite justifiable and inflicted several casualties. Long after everything was quiet aeroplanes arrived and proceeded to bomb and machine-gun the town.

"In our opinion," says the report, "all this firing from the aeroplanes was entirely unjustified. It was begun after the destruction of the mob was over and the crowds had dispersed. We believe, too, that the firing was thoughtless, if not vindictive and the officers in charge . . . . . on their own showing held the lives of the villagers cheap, and fired in order to terrorize the people. The casualties, according to the list supplied and embodied in the statement produced by us, amount to 12 killed and 24 wounded, and if the loss of life was not greater it was no fault of the officers concerned, the bombs would not explode." Amritsar was cowed by the night of the 13th of April; Lahore was safe within a few days, so also the rest of the affected areas, but Martial Law continued well into June.

With the establishment of Martial Law in the towns and districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Saharanpur, Gujrat and Lyallpur, began, according to the Congress report, a reign of terror. The specific charges against the authorities are contained in Vol. II in the form of 600 statements from all classes of people. We shall proceed to consider them in more detail.

Greater India beyond the seas.

(2) Colonies in Java.

By Mr. PHANINDRA NATH BOSE, M. A.

In my previous articles I essayed to demonstrate **that the** Indians in the earlier centuries founded prosperous colonies in the adjoining countries. Still the prevailing misconception about the Indian colonial activity in ancient days does not seem to have altogether died out, because we find a cultured man like Lord Sydenham making the following sweeping remark in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century And After*: "Nor has she (India) shown in the past, whether under Hindu or Mahomedan supremacy, any tendency to create subordinate states beyond **her** natural frontiers." Nothing however can be farther from the truth. It may, on the contrary, be asserted that while England was steeped in the utter darkness of ignorance, Indians showed a remarkable tendency of colonisation. If Lord Sydenham wants any concrete proof of Indian colonisation in the past, he should do well to pay a visit to the islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo and the main land of further India.

If any further proof he needed, I would ask Lord Sydenham and my readers to go over to Java and study the old Javanese language. They would be greatly surprised to find that the *Kawi i. e.*, the ancient Javanese language was as much nourished by Sanskrit as Bengali or Marathi. To give a few instances: In the *Kawi* we find that the Javanese borrowed from the Hindu colonisers even the days of the week. In Sanskrit, *Soma Bara* is the equivalent of Monday. In Kawi, it is almost the same, namely, Soma. The following table will make the comparison clear:—

English.	*Sanskrit.*	*Kawi of Java.*
Monday	Soma bara	Soma
Wednesday	Budhabara	Budha
Thursday	Brihaspatibara	'Raspati
Friday	Sukrabara	Sukra
Saturday	Sanibara	Sanischara

It would be evident even to a casual observer how deep an influence Sanskrit exercised over the Javanese language of old. Unless the Indians went over there and dwelt there for many decades they could not have produced such a great influence on the people of the island.

Every nation is said to have a peculiar way of their own of counting the numbers. But in *Kawi* all the numbers appear in their Sanskrit form. Whereas the Sanskrit equivalent of "one" is *eka*, so it is in Kawi, there is absolutely no difference. From one to ten all the numerals in Kawi are borrowed from Sanskrit. Take for instance :—

English	*Sanskrit.*	*Kawi of Java.*
One	Eka	Eka
Two	Dwi	Dwi
Three	Tri	Tri
Four	Chatur	Chatur
Five	Pancha	Pancha
Six	Shat	Sat
Seven	Sapta	Sapta
Eight	Ashṭa	Asta
Nine	Nava	Nava
Ten	Dasa	Dasa

Just mark the close similarity of the two languages; one of India and the other of Java. How would you explain away this coincidence?

Some may try to explain it away by the theory of chance. But there are other proofs forthcoming to establish our proposition. Every language has its peculiar name for four directions. But in Kawi there is no independent name except the borrowed Sanskrit name. If you ask a boy of Bengal the name of the eastern direction he would say "Purva." Exactly the same term you will find in the old Javanese language. Thus the names of the directions in Kawi have been borrowed from Sanskrit and are not of native growth. Compare the following list: —

English.	*Sanskrit.*	*Kawi of Java.*
East	Purva	Purwa
North	Uttara	Uttara
West	Paschima	Panchima
South	Dakshina	Dakshina

When even these ordinary terms of every day use were borrowed by the Javanese from the Sanskrit speaking colonists it is quite possible to discover further proof of Sanskrit influence on Kawi. As in Sanskrit, the synonyms for "Father" and

"Mother" in Kawi are *Pita* and *Mata*. It is interesting to note that in Java these Sanskrit terms in course of time underwent much change. From *Pita* in Kawi we have in modern Javanese *Bapak* which reminds one of the Bengali term *Baba*. In Bali however we have *Bapa* and not *Bapak* as in Java. Even in the case of Grand Father or Great-Grandfather there no change. It is the same Sanskrit term, namely, *Pitamaha*.

In some cases however the Javanese terms have undergone a little modification. The terms still bear undoubted impress of Sanskrit influence. Take for instance, "Fruit." Its Sanskrit equivalent is *Phala* but in Java it is *Pala*. The difference between the two is not fundamental and is due only to the peculiar pronunciation of the islanders. Take another case: "Blood" while in Sanskrit we have as its synonym "Rudhira," in Java has been changed into *Ludhira*. It is an accepted principle of Philology that in many cases *Ra* is transformed into *La*. Similarly it may clearly be seen that *'ela* meaning oil is only a corruption of our familiar term *Tela*. So also *Ana* meaning boiled rice is also a corruption of *Anna*. As also *Tandu* (Rice) may be derived from Sanskrit *Tandula*.

I conclude this article with another table of Sanskrit and Javanese words from which the readers will readily infer the influence exercised by Sanskrit on the ancient Javanese language.

English.	*Sanskrit.*	*Javanese language.*
Heaven	Sura loka	Sura loka
Hell	Papasana	Papasana
Sun	Bhaskara	Baskara
Moon	Sasi	Sasi
Wind	Bayu	Bayu
Water	Apa	Apa
Fire	Agni	Agni
Lion	Singa	Singa, Pasupati
Elephant	Kari	Kari

From a comparative study of these two languages it appears that the ancient Javanese language liberally borrowed its vocabulary from Sanskrit. Unless and until Indians went over there and settled for many decades, it could not have been possible for Sanskrit to produce such great influence on the language of Java. It is the Indians who sailed over to Java and settled there and it is not probable that the Javanese came over to India and picked up various Sanskrit phrases and catch words.

Clear Speech and Clean Spelling.

By PROFESSOR WALTER RIPPMANN.

(Chief Inspector of Schools for the University of London. Hon. Treasurer of the Simplified Spelling Society).

TO those interested in the movement for securing clear speech and clean spelling the wide-spread ignorance which tends to check progress on many sides is at once a source of amazement and a spur to further unremitting effort.

Is any civilised nation as ignorant as ours of the sounds employed in living speech? Has any other the same ill-founded reverence for chaotic spelling?

People who are otherwise quite educated find it a matter of the greatest difficulty to utter separately the sounds of which a word is composed; and this does not prevent them from laying down the law about the pronunciation of this or that word with great confidence. Indistinct utterance and unpleasant intonation are far more common than they should be.

Most teachers of English who try to correct tho pronunciation of their pupils, have to rely on imitation. They have not made a study of the speech of their pupils. They have a vague sense that their speech is right and their pupil's speech wrong; but to give any clear account of the difference between the two is altogether beyond them.

This neglect of the spoken language goes back to the first years of school life, when bad habits are formed which it becomes very difficult to eradicate.

The present spelling is taught with all its redundancies and inconsistencies; occasionally it is pointed out that the presence of a redundant letter gives some suggestion of kindred words. The *b* in *doubt* is connected with *dubious*, or the *gh* in *daughter* with the German *Tochter*. The idea is imparted that wherever the spelling is irregular there is some etymological justification for it.

Now, in the first place this is not true. A great deal of our bad spelling is simply due to faulty attempts that were made to represent sounds with an inadequate alphabet, or to the misguided efforts of the half-learned to make English words more like Latin words. In the second place, there is a confusion here as to the purpose of the written language.

We write in order to communicate our thoughts. We speak for the same purpose; writing is a substitute for speech—and a substitute not altogether adequate. If we hear a poem well read we derive more pleasure from it than when we read it, because the spoken language has a wealth of meaning in the intonation which the written language does not represent. When we read, the signs on the paper suggest the spoken language, and from this point of view they are the more satisfactory the better they represent the spoken language, *i. e.*, the more regularly the signs used correspond to the sounds uttered. The perfect instrument is one that contains no superfluous parts, and that is as simple as is consistent with efficiency.

Language spoken or written, is an instrument which we use constantly. It also can be made a subject of study. We use a sewing machine; We can also take it to pieces to see "how the wheels go round." We use a horse for riding or for the drawing of carts ; we can also study its anatomy, or trace its development from a more primitive type. The use of language as an instrument is quite a different thing from the study of its history. Millions use it as an instrument who have not the time or the inclination or the requisite knowledge of other languages to study its history.

Now as an instrument the written form of the language is very bad. The redundancies are, to the man in the street, more obvious than the inconsistencies; both are trying to the learner, and entail a great expenditure of educationally worthless effort. Instead of simply learning the sounds and the equivalent signs, the child has to memorize the groups of signs that represent whole words; it has to remember *head* beside *bed*, *speak* beside *speech*, *word* beside *heard* and *absurd*. *Inflexion* beside *detection*, *know* beside *no*, and hundreds upon hundreds of similar difficulties. The result is that there is no clear connection in the child's mind between sounds and signs; the confusion being rendered still worse by the misleading names of many letters.

The spelling is not more satisfactory for purposes of study. It gives a picture of the pronunciation not of the present day, but of the sixteenth century—if of any period at all.

A century from now teachers will be warning their pupils not to be mislead by the spelling of the early twentieth century into believing that, for instance, the people who wrote *k* and *gh* in *knight* actually pronounced those signs. The spelling of early English was relatively good—it enables the student to ascertain the pronunciation of the language. It was not burdened like ours, by useless letters; it did not represent the same vowel sound or diphthong in a dozen different ways, and it did not suggest wrong derivations like our spelling of *sovereign* (unconnected with *reign*) or *rhyme* (not derived from the Greek) or obscure the derivation like our spelling of *sprightly* (connected with *sprite*).

If our spelling is manifestly defective, why are we so attached to it? It is entirely a matter of habit. We see common words in writing and especially in print, more often than any objects of our daily life. In consequence, we have grown very much accustomed to them, so they have become intimately associated with the idea they represent. The rose by any other name would smell as sweet; but to our eye "rose" is more attractive than *roez*. Some words have a pleasing look, and others repel, simply because they are associated with pleasant or unpleasant ideas. To change the look of a word is to break these associations; and therefore a truly simplified spelling which entails numerous changes is not attractive to the present generation. Habits—even bad habits-are dear to us.

But the coming generation would not feel as we do. Taught the rational spelling from childhood, their eyes would grow accustomed to the new forms of the words, and these would become closely connected with the ideas they represent, and would be invested with the same value that we give to the words in the present spelling. In this respect there would be no loss; and in other respects there would be great gain.

The teaching of reading would be bound up with the teaching of the spoken language. The training of the ear and the vocal organs would precede the training of the eye and hand. The use of the written language as an instrument would be acquired in a natural way, and far more quickly and surely than at present. The time saved could be devoted to other subjects that call for further attention in the short school life of the vast majority of these who learn English as their mother tongue. In our schools this would mean greater efficiency—and we cannot afford to neglect any means of keeping abreast of other nations in the advance towards a higher degree of civilisation.

This is where the gain would be greatest; but the advantages of a simplified spelling would extend beyond our shores. It would render the task of learning English far easier and more attractive to the millions of our fellow-subjects in Canada, in India, in South Africa. A sound knowledge of English is the strongest bond of union in an Empire of such vast extent as ours. Our gain would be even more far-reaching; nothing but the spelling prevents English from becoming the recognised language of intercourse between nations. As such it would be of great practical value; and it would easily outstrip any artificial language—for those who had learnt it for practical ends would at the same time find in it the key to a rich literature, to which no artificial language can offer anything even remotely comparable. Our writers would appeal to a far greater number of readers; the speaker of English would command an audience in any part of the civilised world.

Clear Speech and Clean Spelling; try to realise what it means; do not be ashamed to reconsider your opinion on the subject of Spelling Reform. Say—if you like—"I am too old to make this change," but do not account this to yourself for virtue. You may be excused for not surrendering a deeply ingrained habit; but you cannot be excused for shirking a problem of such vast importance, or for depriving the coming generations of the opportunity to acquire, in a rational way, an instrument well fitted for the purpose of communicating thought.

Such an instrument is offered to your consideration by the Simplified Spelling Society in the scheme which it has prepared. It is not put forward a something perfect and final. In some details it can undoubtedly be improved; but this much can be claimed for it: it acquires no new characters or diacritics, it is very simple to learn, and its adoption would mean an enormous advance. You may have full particulars concerning the scheme on application to the Secretary, at 44 Great Russell Street, W. C.

Some Current Educational Problems* I.

By Mr. C. R. REDDY, M. A.

I THANK you most warmly for the honour you have done me in electing me to the presidentship of this Conference. Through your suffrages I have been chosen to the Captainship, however temporary, of the Army of Enlightenment in Southern India and I feel proud of the position. This is the second time that you have drawn on the resources of Indian States which, believe me, though I say it, are not so slender as some imagine, for help and guidance in your Councils. The spirit of Indian States' administration has yet to play its rightful part in the public life of the country and supplement, as it well might do, the grand spirit of British administration.

NEW UNIVERSITIES PROJECTED.

We are meeting this year under conditions of more than usual importance and in an atmosphere charged with academic enterprises. A large number of Indian States, following the noble lead set by Mysore, are endeavouring to organize Universities of their own and I have no doubt that if they proceed with due care and circumspection and after taking a full measure of modern academic requirements and their capacity to meet the charges that they entail, the results would be a great advance in educational content and organization, of which the country will be justly proud. We should not be blind to the great cost these institutions involve. If you want the reality and not the name you must provide for a unitary University containing all the important faculties—humanistic scientific and technological including Agriculture—and carry on also extension work on a large scale as pleaded for by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer in his Convocation Address at Madras. Modern Universities are in most cases non-residential; they are not modelled on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge; but adequate hostel accommodation should be provided.

THE REFARMS ACT AND PARTY POLITICS IN EDUCATION.

The two greatest educational events of recent times are the Reforms Act of Mr. Montagu and the Report of Dr. Sadler's Commission. The educational bearings of the Reforms Act are manifold. It introduces, on a scale unprecedented in the annals of India, democracy and Responsible Government, though to a partial, limited extent, which in their turn, as has been pointed out in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, necessitate, in order to endow them with reality and success, the rapid expansion of education. By making education a transferred subject it gives Indian Statesmanship at last a chance of proving its mettle. Education is the key of all progress and that has been wisely handed over to us. We cannot be too grateful to the British Government for the grant of *Swaraj* in Education. It remains to be seen what use we shall make of this potent opportunity, though personally I have the fullest confidence that we shall meet our obligations in full. But there is a risk which we had better recognize at once and prepare to face manfully. The shadow of party politics is likely to stretch across the field of Education. In a recent manifesto by a famous nationalist leader there is a call on the people to press forward with projects of freedom, on which there is practical unanimity, and to postpone the consideration of what are termed the projects of power, such as Education, regarding which there are likely to be deep differences of opinion. Let me not be understood as accepting the rationality of this classification or the soundness of the strategy and tactics foreshadowed, for I have nothing to do with politics. I mention it as showing a recognition on the part of one of the influential leaders that education is sure to be a field of contentious opinion. There is nothing surprising in this admission seeing how closely Education and Politics are related. But take note of the warning that education is likely to be the subject matter of party controversy.

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* Presidential Address by the Inspector-General of Education, Mysore, at the Madras Provincial Educational Conference, held at Salem, on the 12th May, 1920.

Aristotle, that great master of political philosophy, treats Education as a part of politics and indeed all the Greek Philosophers did so. It is manifest that Education should be correlated to our political and social ideals, and that in their turn Education and enlightenment exert a powerful influence on political and social evolution. Marquis Ito, the maker of Modern Japan, denied that such a thing as Education in the abstract which prepared you for nothing in particular existed, and insisted that education should be a preparation for citizenship in the largest sense of the term. In Hindu history the narrowness and exclusiveness of our social polity found their reflection in the educational facilities provided or denied to the different communities. Whether you view it on historical grounds or on theoretical, you cannot effect a complete separation between the two. If it is true, as Hoffding contends, that moral ideals should be socially realisable, it still further strengthens the bond between social and political ends on the one side and education on the other, since education or enlightenment is one of the basic elements of moral life. I am afraid that in our country at present there are wide cleavages of opinion as regards the future policy to be pursued in the matter of social reconstruction and redistribution of political power and influence, which are likely to make themselves felt in educational discussions. The revivalist and the reformer, the conservative and the liberal are not likely to agree in substance; and though they may utter the same blessed formulas at times to keep up an appearance of unity, they attach different meanings and address different deities. I trust that there will be a manly recognition of the truth here hinted at and that all liberals will unite to produce a better correlation between education, both in content and organization, and the ideal of a united Indian nationality. It is because of the chance that has been given to us to put our house in order that I have placed the great Reforms Act of Mr. Montagu in the forefront of the formative influences which are shaping our destiny in all directions.

DR. SADLER'S COMMISSIONS REPORT

The other great factor is Dr. Sadler's Report, and from a purely educational point of view there has not been a greater in the history of Indian Education. If the principles therein advocated are adopted, they would result in a drastic, organic reconstruction of our educational system.

But we are told that Dr. Sadler's Commission sat for the exclusive benefit of Bengal and that it would not be therefore polite and proper on our part to benefit by their criticisms and recommendations; that Bengal is not Madras; and that the Report has little or no application to our conditions and system. My revered friend, Mr. Macphail, is one of the leading spokesmen of this view and I notice that he has been repeating it on several occasions. I fancy that the only way in which such a view could gain currency is by mechanical repetition, though I doubt if even thus it will gain currency in well-informed quarters. I am not here to deny the good that has been achieved by or under the existing system. Much progress has been achieved doubtless, but let us remember that the merit of a system consists in its irresistible tendency to develop beyond itself and it is therefore no use going about like so many Leibnitzes, declaring that, educationally speaking, Madras is the best of all possible worlds and that there is no room for further improvement. According to these inveterate apologists of the order of things as it is here, Dr. Sadler's Commission's Report must be treated as a huge piece of irrelevancy so far as Madras is concerned. Let me examine this position and by a few quotations see how far it can be sustained.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

On the question of the medium of instruction up to the intermediate grade, the Commission has made the following pronouncement :—

"Unlike some of our correspondents we regard a severe training in the use of the mother-tongue, not as a dangerous rival to training in English, but as the necessary preliminary to such training. It may be that by postponing the use of the English medium, the supply of ready-made English phrases will come a little later; but when it comes, it will come to boys better able to understand and use them."

"It is clear that we must begin with the mother-tongue as the medium in all, or nearly all, subjects; and we think that English should be used as the medium in the University for all subjects except such languages as Sanskrit, Pali and the Vernacular itself."

"We are convinced that the use of the English medium is at present excessive in the Secondary Schools, to the detriment both of the pupils' education and of the rational use of both media and that a substantial change should be made; and we think it would probably be desirable as a rule to use the Vernacular as the medium throughout the Secondary Schools for all subjects other than English and Mathematics."

Well, if the use of the English medium is at present excessive in the Secondary Schools, is this so only in Bengal? Does not the remark apply with greater force to South India ?

FALLACY OF PARALLEL EDUCATION.

One of your own resolutions, to which I shall refer later, passed last year seems to advocate, though I am not quite certain about it, what may be called parallel education—one set of Secondary Schools with Vernacular as the medium and another set with English. In a report which I submitted to the Government of Mysore I have said that the idea of parallel education under conditions in which both the lines cannot be of equal length or value must be pronounced to be a mixture of cloud and moonshine. The Commission have dealt with this fallacy of parallel education in the following passage:—

"A number of witnesses, Hindu, Muslim and European, have urged the establishment of parallel institutions, or of parallel classes in the some institution, the one set using English, the other the Vernacular as the principal medium. But we do not think a case for such an organization has been made out. If as public opinion demands, English is to be a compulsory second language throughout higher secondary education about the level of the middle school, there would be little room for the new set of institutions side by side with the ordinary high schools in our scheme." Once you produce unification on a bilingual basis, there would be no need for parallel education at all, "since the only difference between the two would consist in the employment of English for teaching Mathematics in the one set, and of the Vernacular for teaching Mathematics in the other. Mr. Pramathanath Chatterjee, of whose elaborate plan of parallel institutions we have quoted details in Chapter XVIII, belongs to the small minority who would have English, not as a compulsory, but as an optional second language, but he tells us, at the same time, that there is a growing demand for English and that even if it is optional, a large majority of pupils, if not all, will learn English as a second language, and will be able to employ it for all ordinary purposes."

Unification on a Bilingual Basis.

What is it they propose? They propose a reconstruction on a bilingual basis which is one of the first reforms that will have to be attempted. I shall deal with this later when I come to the constructive programme of reforms, but meanwhile let us note that the kind of integration which would be brought about in our educational system by adopting the bilingual principle does not exist at present, and that the vast majority of our schools are schools which do not open up the prospect of continuous progress in education to the pupils. The vast majority of our schools are alleys, short and blind, and they cannot be regarded as being parts of a system, since they have hardly any organic relationship to the higher courses of education and do not form an introduction to them and do not prepare the children for the higher things that count.

Technology in Secondary Education.

Dr. Sadler's Commission's Report is not particularly strong, as I shall submit later, on the subject of technical and vocational instruction or rather their correlation to general education. However, here is what they say on this subject too:—

"A better secondary education would give to the workshops and factories of the future, the responsible leaders which they will require. An experienced Indian witness tells us that one of the things, which would relieve the situation is a breakdown of the prejudice against working with the hands. Such a change would be promoted by a good modern course of secondary education in which the training of the hand, and the study of Science have an important place without detriment to the training given through language, literature and history."

I leave it to you to consider whether our secondary education is of this type and if not whether in case we accept the recommendation it would not result in important modifications.

Remodelling of Women's Education.

In respect of women's education also they have laid down far-reaching principles of reconstruction :—

"In the same way, so long as the standards of attainment are maintained at an equal level with those exacted from men, we can see no reason against, and every reason in favour of, an adaptation of the degree course in Arts and Science which would include some subjects of special value for women, and perhaps omit others of which they do not stand so much in need. Many of our correspondents urge the desirability of a specially designed curriculum for women students, or at least of the inclusion of alternative subjects adapted to the needs of women."

"But when they go on to assert that in regard to professions equally open to men and women . . . . the standard of work and the curriculum should be the same" while we agree in regard to the standard of work we cannot but feel that it might well be advisable that the woman teacher, and even the woman doctor, while following the main lines of the necessary curriculum, should be encouraged to give special emphasis to particular branches of their subjects which need not be so important for men."

"On the face of it, it would appear that a problem so difficult as that of the higher education of women cannot be solved merely by applying to them a system designed for men and far from satisfactory even for them."

And yet have we attempted any other solution.

REFORM OF THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION.

Even a cursory glance at the official summary of conclusions will show how dissatisfied the Commissioners are with the existing arrangements whether in regard to the content of education or the administrative organization. Taking the content first, the following quotations are likely to be of interest :—

The Matriculation Examination "gives no encouragement to many lines of study necessary for the welfare of the pupils and for the prosperity of the country."

Secondary Education largely fails of its purpose because "many subjects and lines of study, especially those which have a vocational bearing are almost wholly disregarded."

"Courses of the Intermediate College should afford preparation for the Medical, Engineering, and Teaching professions and for careers in Agriculture, Commerce and Industry."

With reference to University Education they say :—

"The courses of instruction are too predominantly literary in character and too little varied to suit various needs; nor is there adequate provision for training in technical subjects."

"The University should be prepared to provide courses of instruction in Banking! Accountancy, Insurance, Actuarial Science, Industrial History, etc., designed especially for students who are already engaged in business and at hours convenient for their attendance. Admission to these courses should not be limited to persons who have passed the Entrance Examination of the University."

"Education should be included as a subject (*a*) in one of the courses of study in Intermediate Colleges and (*b*) in some of the groups approved for the Pass B. A. Degree."

REFORM IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

And in regard to administration, the following points may be noted :—

"Owing to the existing division authority between the University and the Department, no coherent system of Secondary Education yet exists."

They advocate a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education composed of a majority of non-official members and require that there should be Minister of Education with the Director as Secretary to Government.

They advocate a Senate of a new type and the entrusting of the educational functions of a University to bodies composed chiefly of educationists, like those which have been instituted in almost all the modern Universities of England and the West.

In regard to the University of Dacca they say that it should be established as a Unitary Teaching University, no collegiate organization being interposed between the University authorities and the students. A feature of its organization should be an Academic Council including the principal teachers of the University and having large independent powers in all purely academic question affecting courses of study, examinations and degrees.

"The University should be a residential University, not in the sense that all students should be required to live in halls or hostels which are under University control, but in the sense that the majority of the students will need to have such residence provided for them, that the provision and conduct of these residences will be systematically organized under the direction of the University, and that the residential units will be utilised for the development of social life."

Financial Consequences.

Speaking as one who is not an optimist by design, I would say that the Report is the most convincing condemnation of the present system both in its educational and administrative aspects and the most powerful plea for reform on lines well tested and found to be sound in all progressive countries. The Madras and Bengal systems are the children of the self-same parentage. They grew up in similar circumstances and I for one fail to perceive any such generic distinction as the defenders of the *status quo* in Madras have discovered or invented. The financial consequences of the reforms recommended by the Commission are of a formidable character, but good education cannot be had for nothing. It will have to be paid for and paid for handsomely. But as one who has had many opportunities of moving with the people and especially the rural classes, I may say that I am confident that there will be no want of response and that when a popular, democratic educational policy is formulated the moneys required will be forthcoming.

Radical Defects of our Primary Education and how they affect the interests of the Masses and rural Classes

It is not my intention to deal with all the problems that are likely to rise in the entire course of our educational evolution even were I able to foresee them. I do not believe in encyclopædic surveys but would like to restrict myself to a few matters which either demand immediate attention or are more or less ripe for solution. First and foremost are the principles of expansion and integration of education. The problem of expansion needs no advocacy in these democratic days, but expansion without proper co-ordination and integration will only result in even graver confusion than what unfortunately holds at present. It is not enough if more schools are opened, but all schools should be of a type that would lead to the middle and the higher grades. In a recent speech Mr. J. N. Roy lamented that so far Indian politicians had not looked at question from the point of view of the rural classes and that rural interests had been sadly ignored. I know not what substance there may be in this charge, but undoubtedly very little thought and effort have been devoted to the provision either of adequate or of the proper type of educational facilities in the country side. The so-called primary education given in the villages is given entirely in the Vernacular while the higher courses are not merely bilingual but employ English as the medium of instruction. The village boy then has very little chance of going up to the higher grades and primary education becomes almost meaningless since it has hardly any relationship to the Secondary. It is perhaps this that has been noticed in the following passage of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms by Lord Chelmsford and Mr Montagu :—

"The main defect of the system is probably the want of co-ordination between primary and higher education............"

But the most telling criticism is that penned by Sir Sankaran Nair in one of his famous Minutes of Dissent.

As this is the first reform on which in my judgment the forces of educational liberalism should be concentrated, I offer no apology for dealing with it at some length. The Educational Commissioner thus describes the dualism of Middle Education that now exists :—

"Middle Education is of two kinds—Middle Vernacular which is often classed as Primary and Middle English or Anglo-Vernacular which properly forms a section of Secondary Education."

If this is so, of what does Middle Vernacular Education form a section? And if it forms a section of nothing and leads up to nothing, why on earth call it middle? It ought more properly to be called muddle. The Government of India give the following description :—

"Middle education is really two-fold and comprises both middle vernacular and anglo-vernacular. The first is associated with primary education mainly by the fact that it also is conducted in the vernacular and managed by local bodies. It is far more highly organised, is mostly concentrated in towns or villages of some size, and is in the hands of better trained teachers: it attracts more promising boys and it does train their intelligence and give them a fair equipment of knowledge for the careers before them (teaching, vernacular clerkships, posts as Karindas and the like). The best boys go to English Schools."

The language of this passage is mystic to a degree. I do not understand what is meant by saying that Vernacular Education is "more highly organised" and that it attracts "more promising boys," while English schools attract the "best boys." The economic value of that education such as Vernacular Clerkships, posts as Karindas and the like is more likely to bring tears to your eyes than water to your mouths. I quote again from the Government of India :—

"Middle Vernacular Education marks the final stage of instruction for certain classes of the people while the Anglo-Vernacular School is merely the first stage of higher or English Education."

If middle Vernacular Education has such deadly finality about it, why, again I ask, is it called middle? It ought to be called muddle. And again, who are the classes of people, I pray, for whom it marks the finishing or rather finishing off touch of culture. Obviously, the masses and the rural classes. They who pay most to the State get the least from it. The course of this dualism in our education should go and should go without further delay.

Sir Sankaran Nair had an easy case and he expounded it in the following passages :—

"Efforts were then made by the Government to confine higher education and secondary education leading to higher education to boys in affluent circumstances. This again was done, not in the interests of sound education but for political reasons"........."This is the real explanation of the very unsatisfactory character of the nature and progress of secondary education"......"English Education, according to this policy is to be confined to the well-to-do classes"......"For this purpose the old system of education under which a pupil could prosecute his studies from the lowest to the highest class was altered"......

"For the masses, a new course of elementary or primary education solely in the vernacular extending to about 7 years was devised. It was hoped that this would keep them in their present condition confined to their lowly ancestral pursuits. Schools confined to vernaculars were opened and encouraged to draw away boys from English studies. It was intended, and rules were framed to carry out that intention that if possible those who commenced their education in these schools were not to be encouraged to proceed to what are called the secondary schools instituted for English education. The masses, the poorer classes of people, were thus deliberately denied all access to any real or English education. The result is that on account of their being prevented from following their English studies, they do not care to continue their studies in the vernacular schools and they cast off the little smattering of knowledge they acquire and lapse into illiteracy again. They are thus denied all means of material improvement, self-development and culture."

INTEGRATION THE MOST ESSENTIAL REFORM.

We should not confuse the problem of the medium of instruction with that of integration. It does not matter what medium we adopt ; but the lower grades should be so organized as to give every one a chance of going up to the higher. There should be no break. Otherwise the village lad is put at a disadvantage as compared to his brother in the city ; and as between rural and urban areas between classes and masses, there can be no equality of opportunity though it is the rural parts that contribute most to the revenues of the State.

THE METHOD OF INTEGRATION PROPOSED.

The best solution, taking the two problems together, *i.e.*, the medium and integration, is that suggested by Dr. Sadler's Commission, *viz.*, a bilingual education in all schools after a certain stage is reached or from about the middle grade with the vernacular as the medium of instruction and English as a compulsory second language ; and the opening of a large number of such schools throughout the country, so that chances of going up to High Schools might be within easy reach of all children, rural and urban, alike. There can be no denying the fact that a new and insistent demand for English education, which is at present the variety that leads to the higher chances of life, has sprung up in the runal parts. This inexorable sociological factor has been thus noticed by Dr. Sadler's Commission.

"The most striking feature of the situation is the eager demand for Secondary and College Education in which English is the medium of instruction. Bengal has always shown a strong pre-disposition towards Western leaning. The volume and intensity of the present demand are however beyond precedent."

I am sure Madras is not behindhand of Bengal.

"It is clear that a powerful movement finds expression in this demand for Secondary and College education. Four causes have produced it. The first is the economic pressure which is straitening, in some cases to the point of penury, the already narrow means of many families belonging to the respectable classes in Bengal."

"To the members of the respectable classes, English High Schools are a social necessity."

"The second cause which has led to the increased demand for Secondary and higher education is the awakening of new ambitions in ranks of society which formerly lay outside its range. The social recognition to which a graduate is entitled is naturally prized by many whose rising prosperity enables them to look higher than their earlier circumstances allowed. Agriculturists, in thinking of their sons' future, look beyond the horizon of village life. The difficulty of finding remunerative employment on the land for all the young men of a large family makes their fathers wish to put them into other callings, access to which is through the English Secondary Schools."

"The third cause which has stimulated the desire for Secondary education in Bengal is hardly less powerful. It is the feeling, however inarticulate and undefined, that economic and social changes are near at hand."

"A fourth cause has furthered the growth of Secondary and College education during recent years. Thoughtful Indian opinion frets under the stigma of illiteracy which, in spite of the high attainments of a relatively small minority, the country has still to bear. Every advance which India makes towards a place of direct influence in the affairs of the Empire throws into sharper relief the ignorance under which the masses of her people labour. The educated classes are sensitive to this blot upon the good name of their country and feel that it lowers the prestige of India in the eyes of the world."

I have only one remark to make on this account of the new social and economic forces which are bound to reshape our educational organization on the lines here suggested and that is, it is guilty of a serious sin of omission. It does not mention the new political awakening of the lower classes and their desire that the distribution of political power and influence in this country shall be such as to ensure fairness to all interests concerned. I think the proper distribution of political power and influence, without which no democratic experiment can succeed, necessitates even more than the other factors a new advance in education on broader and more popular lines such as are here sketched.

The demand for a better correlation between Primary and Secondary education by which the transition from the former to the latter could be made more easy and natural is one which cannot be ignored and which should not be ignored in the interest of a real, sane and conservative democracy. When they realize their political responsibility, the rural parts will act as a moderating and steadying influence; they will provide the counter-weight by which the extremism which is sometimes seen in the cities could be brought to a proper balance. I leave it to you to consider whether it is not desirable to tap this vast reserve of conservatism in the interests of the all-round and orderly progress of the country and whether in point of fact our statesmanship has had sympathetic imagination enough to rouse these forces into self-consciousness and self-expression.

BENGAL AND UNIFICATION OF MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

The Government of Bengal in a recent circular have tried to bring about this correlation with what thoroughness or success I cannot tell. Let me quote:—

"The question of the simplification and unification of the different curricula for Primary Schools which are now in force in West and in East Bengal, has for some time past been under the consideration of the Director of Public Instruction. The matter was considered by a Conference of Educational

Officers, and by a subsequent Conference of Inspectors of Schools, after which detailed syllabuses of study, covering the whole of the Primary School course, were drawn up. The Director of Public Instruction has now submitted these syllabuses to Government, with a recommendation for the adoption of a simpler and uniform curriculum for the whole Presidency. The whole course, which extends over 5 years, has been so arranged that pupils who desire to proceed to Middle and High Schools can do so without inconvenience at the close of Class IV. The work of Class V will be of a vocational nature, and is intended to suit the requirements of those boys whose studies would ordinarily not extend beyond the Primary stage."

MYSORE AND UNIFICATION OF MIDDLE SCHOOL TYPES.

But the most thorough-going attempt is that which (pardon me for mentioning) the Government of Mysore has announced in its Memorandum on Educational policy. According to this there will be a primary grade in which all education will be in the Vernacular and then a middle grade of 5 years in which the education will be bilingual with Vernacular as the medium of instruction and English as a compulsory second language, and enough middle schools of this type will be started so as to satisfy the demands of the rural as well as the urban parts. No one, whether in city or village, could enter on the middle grade without passing through the Vernacular Primary grade, and no one who enters on the middle grade will have anything except a bilingual education with vocational courses as electives in the higher middle grade classes, which will form a real introduction to the High Schools. The dualism between the Vernacular and the Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools will be abolished and all middle grade education will be steps in the ladder leading up to the University.

THE VERNACULAR MEDIUM AND ITS OPPONENTS.

It is because the advocates of the Vernacular medium sometimes fail to emphasise that English also should be included as a compulsory subject, and do not make it clear that what they are thinking of is bilingualism and not merely the Vernacular, that opposition is sometimes roused. One of your old resolutions runs thus:—

"That the Vernaculars should be the media of instruction in all non-language subjects in the High School classes," an unexceptionable recommendation which would not meet with much criticism if there is a proper insistence on English also. Further it is because bilingual education is the true solution that your recommendation for the establishment of Vernacular Secondary schools in rural parts, passed last year, is not likely to meet with ready acceptance, I know that this experiment of parallel education has been tried in some places and found to be thoroughly wanting.

I have always been an advocate of bilingual education with Vernacular as the medium up to the College grades, and the grounds, general and educational, on which I base this reform have been explained by me at considerable length in a speech which I delivered at Madras under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Seshagiri Aiyar. I believe that this reform will give a better chance for the people at large than the employment of a foreign tongue and will sooner result in an awakening of the masses; that it will help social reform and reconstruction as is evidenced by the progress of provinces like Bengal and the Andhra Desa in which Vernacular Literature of modern type has become a living and growing influence. But I am afraid that this question, which goes to the root of educational reconstruction and expansion, is in danger of being submerged, though not for long as I hope and trust, under a deluge of sociopolitical prejudices.

The advocacy of this reform by those who are known for their conservative and reactionary views on social reform has not helped its popularity with the general public. We must not shut our eyes to the strong currents and cross-currents that are now agitating our society. So far as I can judge, revivalistic Hinduism, by which I mean attempts at reviving in the name of our religion and strengthening the hierarchical organization of our society, has lost all charm in the eyes of the masses no less than the reformers. It is dreaded as a snare by the vast majority of our people. In a recent issue. "The Indian Social Reformer" stigmatizes the adoption of this policy by Mr. Tilak as a sinister endeavour at what it calls 'undermining English Education' and the liberalism it has propagated in the country, and declares that there can be no return to the Peshwas, a sentiment which the country as a whole will certainly endorse. But I do not believe that English and liberalism are causally related to each other; that where there is English there is liberalism, which you know is not true; and that wherever there is liberalism there is always English, which too is not a universal fact. But however there it is, this faith in English as the principle of liberty and social emancipation, and prejudice against the Vernacular as an agent of orthodoxy and all that it implies. The views of the school of thought represented by the "Indian Social Reformer" are full of fallacies, but there is no denying that a large number of people look upon this reform with a certain amount of suspicion as a card up the sleeve of social reactionaries. It is up to us to prove that we have no revivalistic *arriere penses* in advocating either the Vernacular medium or religious education and that we are honestly bent on making education a preparation for, what I may call, futurist nationalism.

Report of the Committee on Local Government in England.

By Mr. R. C. PRADHAN, B. A., LL. B., M. R. A. S.

Last year the Government of India appointed a Committee to study the system of local government in England. The Committee consisted of nine members only one of whom, the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea, was an Indian. The report of the Committee as well as a separate report submitted to the Government of Bengal by the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea has been recently published as an Appendix to the Gazette of India, Part VI, of March 6th. One of the terms of reference to the Committee was that each member should advise his own local government as to the desirability of adopting any feature of the English system in provincial legislation, and it is in accordance with this, that the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea has, besides signing the collective report, submitted a separate one to the Bengal Government. We do not know whether the other members of the Committee have also complied with this term of reference and made separate reports to their respective local governments. It would seem they have not; otherwise, the inference would be that the Government of India have, for some reason, withheld their reports from publication, while publishing that of the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee. We trust that some member of the Indian Legislative Council will elicit information on the point, and further urge that all these reports should be published, not merely as an Appendix to the Gazette of India, but as a Bluebook available to the general public at a moderate price.

Both the reports of the Committee and of the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea are, we regret to say, brief and perfunctory. The Committee ought to have made a thorough and comparative study of the English and Indian systems of local government and produced a report which would have won the reputation of being more or less a standard work on the subject. They have lost this golden opportunity and brought out a report which is, on the whole, a poor performance. They do not seem even to have studied the working of *all* local bodies in England. They mention the several local bodies they visited, but the list of these bodies does not include a parish meeting or a parish council. All or almost all local governments are now engaged in the task of extending local self-government to villages and organizing Village Panchayats. In view of this, they ought to have studied the working of parish meetings and councils, particularly with reference to their powers and duties, but this particular branch of local government in England has altogether escaped their attention. Even as regards the few questions they have dealt with, the report does not convey the impression that they have gone into them thoroughly and examined all aspects which they presented. Not only that, but the report is vitiated by a certain bias, which is shared by many Anglo-Indian officials, against the Indian demands for relaxation of official control over municipalities and local boards, and for much larger grants to them by Government. The Hon. Mr. Bannerjea's separate report is of course free from this defect; but so far as the collective report is concerned, its underlying note seems to be one of justification of the present policy of the Government in the matter of control over, and financial grants to local bodies. And starting with this pre-conceived view, the report fails to discriminate between the true nature of the control exercised over local bodies in England, and that exercised over those in this country, and to realize that, as a matter of fact the financial policy of the Central Government in England with regard to local bodies is marked by greater liberalism than here. All these defects detract very much from the value of the report.

The first question the committee has considered in its report is that of the constitution of a Local Government Board in each province in India. The Committee points out that the appellation 'Local Government Board' as applied to the controlling authority in England is entirely mis-leading. It says " There was nominally in the past a board including several ministers of State, but this has never in the course of its existence met or transacted any business as a Board. In practice, the Local Government Board has been a department of Government working under a single minister who exercised all its powers." After pointing out that the affairs relating to Local Government are administered by a single minister and not by a Board as the name Local Government Board would suggest, the Committee observes " To set up a Board or Committee with powers of control or as an intermediary between the local bodies and a Government Department would, in no sense, be in accordance with English practice. It would lead to friction, both with the Government Department and with the local bodies and to delays; and no advantage can be gained by merely copying an appellation which has never borne any real relation to the facts and has now been abandoned in England. It may be found useful for the minister in charge to consult on occasions, as he thinks fit, committees appointed with reference to particular questions; but effective control must be in the hands of the minister himself, and we are opposed to the establishment of anything in the nature of a standing Committee with a right to be consulted collectively on all questions or even on all questions of a particular class."

The question of the constitution of a Local Government Board in each province has a history of its own which may be briefly stated. Indian public opinion has always favoured the constitution of such a board. It has demanded that there should be a Central Body consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials and presided over by a member of the Executive Council for carrying on all affairs relating to local government. In his famous Reform Despatch of 1908, Lord Morley after suggesting that an effectual advance should be made in the direction of local self-government, remarked that "The encouragement of local self-government being an object of this high importance in the better organization of our Indian system, it remains to be considered how far in each province it would be desirable to create a department for dealing exclusively with these local bodies, guiding and instructing them and correcting abuses, in a form analogous to the operations of the Local Government in this Country." The late Mr. R. C. Dutt, the only Indian member of the Decentralization Committee heartily approved of the proposal to create such a Board. In 1914, a Resolution was moved in the Imperial Legislative Council recommending the creation of a Local Government Board, but the Government did not accept it. The influence of public opinion, however, had had its way and in their Resolution on Local Government, dated the 16th May, 1918, the Government of India seriously proposed for the consideration of the Provincial Governments the constitution of a Central Body which should co-ordinate the experience of the Local Bodies and provide improved control and guidance by entertaining further inspecting establishments if necessary. They said "Such a central body should be in direct touch with the Government and might fitly be presided over by a member of the Executive Council. It should further be considered whether in place of a formal board there might not be a Standing Committee for local and municipal affairs in direct contact with the Government to be largely drawn from elected members of the Legislative Council." Thus the Government of India have, in their resolution of 1918, made two alternative proposals for the consideration of Local Governments viz: (1) the constitution of a Local Government Board or (2) the appointment of a Standing Committee.

It will be seen that both these proposals are rejected by the Committee.

The Hon. Mr. Bannerjea's views on the subject are not quite clear and would seem to be somewhat inconsistent. He suggests the creation of a Local Government Board, supports his suggestion by the views of the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, Lord Morley and of the Government of India and at the same time maintains that "there should be the undivided responsibility of the minister and no institution should be created calculated in any way to minimize or reduce it." If his conception of a Local Government Board is the same as that of the Government of India as stated in their resolution of 16th May, 1918, it is difficult to reconcile it with his view that the responsibility of the minister should be undivided. If on the other hand he means by a Local Government Board merely a Local Government Department to be administered by a minister it is quite consistent with what view, but in that case, his suggestion is not the same as that of the Government of India.

The fact is both the Committee and the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea have failed to take into consideration the fact that the proposal for the creation of a Local Government Board assumes a different complexion as viewed in the light of the reforms to be introduced next year. Of course, there is no question that a distinct department to be called the Local Government Department should be formed: on that point, as far as we can see, there are no two opinions at all. Even the Committee is in favour of the organisation of such a Department. But the point is not whether such a Department should be established or not, but whether the Department should be administered on its sole responsibility by a Central Body. Under the new Reforms Act, local self-government will be a transferred subject in charge of an Indian Minister responsible to the Legislative Council. With the principle of responsibility established in the domain of local self-government it would be inconsistent with that principle for the minister to share his responsibility with any body, either within or without the Legislative Council. But the case would have been different if the Reforms Act had not been passed and local self-government had not been included among transferred subjects. The demand that the affairs relating to local self-government should be administered by a Central Body presided over by a member, and since the appointment of Indians to Legislative Councils, by the Indian member, of the local Executive Council, was really a demand for the liberalisation of local self-government at the top. It had two objects *viz.*, first, that with the leavening of the Central Government with the popular element, that Government would not only cease to be hostile or indifferent to the advance of Local Government but be able to give better guidance and greater stimulus to local bodies, and secondly that the responsibility for deciding all those questions relating to Local Government that came up before the Central Government should be shared by that government with some chosen representatives of the people. Both these objects can be secured under the new constitution without a Central Body and hence it is not at all necessary now to establish such a body. When once the department of local self-government is transferred to popular control and administered by a minister responsible to the people, it is obvious that the minister's responsibility for it should be undivided and not shared by a body such as was proposed when that department equally with others was administered by an irresponsible bureaucratic government.

Both the Committee and the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea are therefore right in their view that there should be no local Government Board in the sense of a central body administering the local Government Department. But the question is whether the minister in charge of the Department should have a standing advisory Committee for the purpose of reference and consultation. On this question the Committee and the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea differ. The former are opposed to the appointment of such a Committee, though not to the appointment of special committees to advise the minister on particular questions. On the other hand, the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea recommends the formation of such a committee and further suggests that it should consist of five or six members, three or four of them being selected by the minister from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Council and the remaining two representing the municipalities and the District Boards respectively. "After a time" says Mr. Bannerjea "such an advisory committee may not be needed, but it seems to me to be a desirable safeguard at the start."

The proposal for the appointment of standing committees attached to departments of Government is favoured by the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill. In paragraph 10 of their report they say,—"The Committee think that it may often greatly assist the political education of India if standing Committees of the Legislative bodies are attached to certain departments of Government; but they only express this opinion on the understanding that the appointment of such committee their composition and the regulations which govern their procedure shall be matters wholly and exclusively within the discretion of the Governor-General or of the Governor as the case may be." It will be seen from this that in the opinion of the Joint Committee the power of appointing Standing Committees should vest solely in the Governor. But we have no doubt that if he decides to appoint a Standing Committee in connection with the local Government Department his choice of the *personnel* of the Committee will be mainly determined by the wishes of the minister in charge of the Department. The Joint Committee's suggestion is not the same as that of Mr Bannerjea, but it shows that at any rate the Committee approve of the principle of the appointment of Standing Committees. Our own view is that Standing Committees should be attached only to reserved departments and not to those which are transferred. In the present case, therefore, we agree with the Committee and not with the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea. It would better conduce to the development of those qualities which are essential to the proper discharge of ministerial duties, if the minister were required to decide important issues on his own responsibility with the aid of his permanent staff and to face criticism, if any, on his decisions in the Legislative Council.

The next point dealt with by the Committee in their report is that of control over local bodies. The Committee observe that the control exercised over local bodies in England by the Central authority is very much more strict than it would appear to be the intention of the Government of India (as shown in the Resolution of the 16th May 1918) to retain in India. Mr. Bannerjea does not go so far; he only says that the Central Government in England is vested with large powers of control and supervision. It must, however, be borne in mind that whatever control is exercised over local bodies in England is *outside* control, not control from within the bodies themselves. Lord Morley was perfectly right in what he said in his Reform Despatch of 1908 viz: that. "If local self-government has so far been no marked success as a training ground, it is mainly for the reason that the constitution of the local bodies departed from what was affirmed in the Resolution of 1882 to be the true principle 'that the control should be exercised from without rather than from within, the Government should revise and check the acts of local bodies, but not dictate them.' No doubt considerable improvement has taken place in this respect so far as the Municipalities are concerned, since Lord Morley wrote the despatch; the municipalities are not now subject to so much control from within as they were some ten years ago. But the case is quite different with local Bodies which are still more or less official bodies over which great control is exercised from within and not from without. The analogy of the English System therefore fails almost wholly with regard to local boards and to some extent with regard to Municipalities in India. Of course, it is one of the soundest canons of local self-government that no excessive control, whether internal or external, should be exercised over local bodies; local self-government will be such in mere name and not in reality if the operations of local bodies are subjected to minute and rigorous supervision by the Central Government It is the electorate and not the Central Government that can exercise such supervision with profit to the whole community. But while a fair measure of control, if exercised from without, would stimulate local bodies and be calculated to promote their efficiency, the same measure of control if exercised from within would kill all initiative weaken public spirit and fetter the free and progressive development of self-government. It would be a mistake to leave local bodies absolutely free from any control whatever, but it would be better to give them such freedom than that they should be subjected to excessive control or that the control should be exercised from within and not from without. Unless a people are hopelessly unfit for self-government even in such small matters as concern the collective life of a village or a town, such absolute freedom from control would be a lesser evil than internal or external control, which goes beyond proper limits.

One of the most important questions in connection with local government is what should be the duties and powers of local bodies with regard to education. This question as it has been solved in England, has been most perfunctorily treated by the Committee; it has been disposed of in a short paragraph. The Committee says that in educational matters the control of the Central Government is even more close and complete than over the other activities of local bodies. This is only a partial and misleading statement of the truth. The system of National education in England is so organised that local bodies have very wide powers of providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education. They can provide not only for primary education but for higher education also. They can have their own teaching staffs, establish their own training colleges, fix the salaries of their teachers and also frame their own curricula of studies. As compared with these, the powers of local bodies in India are a mere bagatelle. This is one among many differences that exist between local bodies in England and those in India, and so long as those differences exist it is absurd to point to the control exercised in England by the Central Government over local bodies in education or other spheres of local activity and to urge that the same measure of control should be exercised over local bodies in India also. But apart from this, if we examine the nature of the control exercised in England over local bodies in education we shall find that it is not so much authoritative control as moral pressure brought to bear upon them in order to ensure the fullest exercise of their very wide powers. And in order that the exercise of those powers may not be prevented or hindered by lack of funds, the Central Government is always ready to make very large grants to local bodies. As the Committee itself says. "A very large proportion of the expense of elementary education is paid from the Exchequer" and in view of this it is but right that the Government should possess such powers of control and supervision as will enable them to see to it that their educational policy is fully and loyally carried out by local bodies. In India local bodies have very little control over education though they bear half the expenditure of primary education. With us therefore the question is not of the extension of the control of the Central Government over local bodies in the sphere of education, but of endowing the bodies themselves with a control over education. We are therefore glad to see that the Hon. Mr. Baunerjea has suggested in his separate report that local bodies in India should be given substantial and real control over education. He says "They (*i. e.*, primary schools) are managed by school committees controlled by the Government Department. This is in violation of the elementary principle that where there is financial contribution, it **must** be **accompanied** by **administrative** control. But what is more important from the practical point of view is that the control of the local bodies conversant with local conditions and inspired by local patriotism would add to the efficiency of these schools and in the end promote the general interests of education...Next to religion education is our most sacred concern and nothing would afford more powerful impetus to the development of local spirit than this new sphere of public duty; and the awakened public life of the locality would react upon the entire range of local concerns and exercise a bracing influence upon them all. Increased expenditure would be cheerfully acquiesced in and local resources would gladly respond to the new local demands. Increased power would foster responsibility and stimulate the spirit of sacrifice to meet it. I recommend the adoption of the English system, subject to variations dependent upon differences in local conditions". And Mr. Bannerjea makes the specific proposal that at all events the school classes below the High Schools should be made over to local bodies. There is not the least objection to this moderate proposal being carried out. Mr. Bannerjea's view reveals a deeper and truer insight into the problem of local bodies in relation to education than that of the Committee.

The Committee points out that in England all new works of permanent utility are paid for by loans and recommends that the same policy may be adopted here. The accepted principle is that more should not be raised from the rates from year to year than is necessary to maintain the services and to pay the instalment of the loan incurred for works of permanent utility. We agree that this is a sound principle which may well be acted on in India. We also approve of the Committee's suggestion that the plans and estimates of permanent works should be sanctioned only after a careful scrutiny by an outside authority. This authority should in our opinion be the permanent inspecting staff of the local Government Department.

The greater efficiency and success of local government in England is due to several causes, not the least of which is the invigorating and inspiring influence of a national Central Government conscious of worldwide power and prestige and actuated by the highest ideals of national progress and efficiency. However, it is quite true that one cause is to be found in the existence of an enlightened and powerful public opinion which feels keenly interested in all that concerns, the every-day life of the people. It is beyond question that the civic sense and the passion for progress have in England developed much more than in India. The local bodies respond most readily to the stimulus that they receive from the Central Government; indeed in some cases the process is reversed and it is the Central Government that is roused to action by the example of local bodies. The remarks of the Committee on the point are quite true and should be pondered by the Indian people. The Committee says

"Public opinion is enough in most cases to keep local authorities upto the mark, and it is in this respect that we find the conditions in England to differ most widely from those in India. Both directly and through organizations such as Rate-Payers' Associations, it exercises a continuous pressure on any authority with a tendency to transgress, and checks both collective councils and individual members; and any extravagance or neglect on the part of a local body immediately raises criticism which may lead to complaints to the Central or some intermediate authority and ensures that no individual who disregards the wishes or interests of his constituents shall retain his position. Over the greater part of India public opinion is not an active force in local politics." To remedy this state of things the committee suggests that at least in municipalities, the existing limitations on the powers of the councils to vary their rates should as far as possible be removed; and that they should be given the power to settle the rates every year. It says "in both (*i. e.*, in urban and rural areas in India) there is lacking the powerful stimulus to the evolution of public opinion which is afforded in England by the settling of the rates by each local authority every year. The assessment is entirely on real property; the rates range from 5*s* to 15*s* in the £. There is, theoretically, no limit to what may be levied by these authorities for the purpose of the services they are bound to carry out. The rate-payer is concerned not only in seeing that the rates are not excessive but also that the public receives proper value for the money it pays; and until the connection between taxes and services can be thoroughly brought home to him it is not probable that the Indian rate-payer will take the same interest in the personality and proceedings of his local council as is shown every day in England." There is considerable force in all this and we think that the local Municipal Acts should be amended accordingly.

It is a truism to say that the efficiency of local government, as indeed of any government, depends to a large extent on its financial resources. Local bodies in India are not able to achieve as much as they ought to owing *inter alia* to lack of funds. Of course the present times are abnormal and the conditions of war have enormously increased the expenditure on establishment charges and so forth, with the result that it has become well nigh impossible to carry out schemes of reform for want of money. In the Bombay Presidency, for instance, most municipalities have not been able to introduce compulsory primary education for lack of funds and, in consequence, the Hon. Mr. Patel's Education Act has practically remained a dead letter. Inadequacy of resources is a standing obstacle to the efficiency of local bodies. It can be removed only in two ways *viz*; increased taxation and large grants from Government. One of the chief tasks of local bodies would be to apply themselves to the progressive development of their financial resources. For that purpose the local bodies must be armed, as is suggested by the Committee, with the power to vary their rates from year to year. But this alone will not enable them to meet their growing expenditure. The Government also must come to their aid and make large grants. The Hon. Mr. Bannerjea has done well to emphasize this aspect of the question. He points out that in England, substantial grants are made by the state to local authorities for what are called semi-national services and urges that water-works, drainage, primary education, anti-malarial, anti-plague and anti-cholera measures and so forth should be regarded as semi-national services and large grants made for them from the Provincial Exchequer. This is a recommendation which the Government would do well to accept.

We have thus reviewed the collective report of the Committee and the separate report of the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea. We shall conclude with a few general observations on the development of Local Government in the light of the Reforms that will come into operation under the new Government of India Act.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms lays down the principle that "There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." This principle is accepted on all hands and local government in every province must be reconstructed in accordance with that principle. The various measures that are being introduced in local councils with a view to developing local government do not we regret to say, give effect to this principle, though they constitute an advance in the present state of things. Take, for instance, the Village-Panchayet Bill before the Bombay Legislative Council. It is a very timid measure and requires to be largely improved. It leaves even the constitution of village Panchayets in the hands either of the Collector or the semi-official District Board. What it should have provided for is that a Village Panchayat shall be constituted in every village with a certain minimum population. The Bill is full of many other defects, great and small. What is wanted is that the principle laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford report should be honestly and courageously carried out. Unless public opinion is vigilant and insists on this, the danger is that the principle will be followed more in the breach than in the observance just as was the case with Lord Ripon's historic resolution on local self-government.

The first reform that must be introduced is that local bodies should be made wholly or almost wholly elective. If the principle of nomination is to be at all retained it should be entirely with a view to securing the representation of backward and depressed classes. For ourselves we would prefer the principle of the reservation of seats for those classes, to nomination, for election even under such conditions has an educative value which nomination can, in no circumstances, possess. However, we would not object to nomination provided it was designed solely to safeguard the interests of the backward and depressed classes. The present system of nomination which is intended not so much to secure the interests of minorities or of backward and depressed classes as, partly, to reward toadies and flunkeys for their services to District Officers, and, partly, to provide for an agency that may be employed to carry out the views of these officers in cases of difference between them and the people, must be abolished and replaced by another whose sole justification would be that it honestly sought to safeguard the interests of those classes which would otherwise suffer for want of proper and adequate representation. In cases where the local bodies are not wholly elective, it should be laid down as a rule that only an elected member would be eligible to the office of the President. The present system of nomination has this additional defect that it sometimes leads to the election of a nominated member as President. Now a nominated member who is elected as President will never enjoy the confidence of the general body of rate-payers, though differences among elected members may enable him to be elected as such by a narrow majority, with the support of the nominated members and perhaps of a few ignorant or mis-guided elected members. There is also the danger that owing, as he does, his seat to the favour of the Collector he will not be able to maintain as much independence as he ought in his relations with officers. For all these reasons, the choice of a nominated member as President is undesirable and should be provided against by statute. It is but fair that the presiding officer of a local body should be chosen from among these who are the representatives of the people.

In this connection we are inclined to make an alternative suggestion at least in the case of municipalities *viz*, that their Presidents should be elected by the whole body of electors and not by the members of the Municipalities. Such a system, we think, will have great educative value as it will arouse great interest in local Government. We would suggest that it should be tried at least in the case of city Municipalities as an experimental measure.

It is now high time that the sex bar should be removed and women permitted to stand as candidates for election. The status of Indian women has gone on steadily rising, and India can now boast of many daughters distinguished not only by learning but by a high standard of public spirit. Hundreds of women now take part in public activities and movements and would be very valuable members of local bodies. Their services particularly in the cause of education and sanitation would be invaluable. The Bombay District Municipal Act provides for their being co-opted as members of committees and we daresay other provincial Acts also contain provisions to the same effect. It is a matter for regret that even these provisions are not acted on by most municipalities. Much feminine intelligence, judgment and civil spirit which could be utilized with sure advantage to local Government are thus utterly wasted. But women are entitled to serve local Government and help in promoting its ends as a matter of right and not at the mere sweetwill of the male members of local bodies. The amendment of Municipal and Local Boards Acts so as to provide for the election of women as members is desirable and should no longer be delayed.

Local Government has made more progress in cities and towns than in villages. Village local Government is at present a mere misnomer. The District and Taluka local Boards are practically official bodies organized in the main to carry on local affairs in accordance with the official views and under strict official control and supervision. The Presidents of the Boards were until recently officials, and though a number of them have now non-official Presidents they are appointed by Government and not elected by members. This requires a radical change and all the Local Boards should be given the right of electing their own Presidents.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of local Government, its intimate connection with the daily lives of the masses of people, its value as nurseries of freedom, patriotism and public spirit. And the problem before us is how to make it real and living. No doubt in the final analysis, it is character that makes for the efficiency of local, provincial or national self-Government. Institutions alone, however well-organised, will never succeed in raising human happiness and progress to the highest level. But on the other hand, character is not something which has a law of its own absolutely independent of environment or institutions. Institutions influence and mould character for good or evil according as they are good or bad. Indian national character may not be yet finely attuned to the greatest demands and the highest responsibilities of local or national self-Government; but that is no reason for perpetuating the present system of local or national Government but for liberalizing them both. Such liberlization will react on Indian character and in the fulness of time it will be found that the people of India have developed as much civic spirit and are as much equal to the duties and responsibilities of Government local or national, as the people of England or of any other civilized and progressive nation. Local Government can be made real and living only by making it truly popular.

Wireless Telegraphy.

By Mr. G. GREENWOOD.

THE past century has witnessed the discovery and development of many (as they may be called) fairy tales of science, but none of them—wonderful as they on their first inception seemed—strike the imagination with such a sense of the wonder-worker at play as the marvel of Wireless Telegraphy than which no previous invention has made more rapid progress in so short a time.

Electric telegraphy itself was in the days of its early trials and successes regarded as something almost necromantic, and when pioneers in science began to speculate about it and to forecast its application to ocean telegraphy, they were looked upon as moonstruck dreamers and phantasiasts of the castle-in-the-air variety. But ocean telegraphy came, and then, before the century, of whose mid-decades it was a triumph, had reached its end, it was followed by the realisation of another dream, and in the wonder-book of the nineteenth century was written another fairy tale of man's victory over matter and over space, in the achievement of electric telegraphy without wires by means of the method successfully developed by Signor Marconi.

It is only fair to admit that the possibilities of aerial telegraphy were recognised nearly a hundred years ago by men of science who were even then making experiments by which it was hoped that messages could be transmitted from place to place without the aid of wires, but in spite of all the efforts of the many brilliant men whose work in this unexplored field has yet to be fully appreciated, it was not until the young Italian succeeded under favouring circumstances in harnessing the ether waves, that wireless telegraphy over distances exceeding one thousand miles became an accomplished fact.

Prior to Marconi's entrance into the arena there were two methods which seemed to point the way in which the desired result might be attained. One of them was known as induction, by which is signified the property an electric impulse has of transferring itself from one locality to another. The other was termed 'conduction,' by which the conductive properties of earth and water are turned to account for conveying electric forces.

The existence of electro-magnetic waves has only been known since 1888, and the story of their discovery certainly forms one of the most fascinating romances of science

The explanation of the wonderful manner in which messages may be sent from point to point is simple enough. By throwing electric sparks into the air at a fairly high altitude, electro-magnetic oscillations are set up in the ether which fills all space, and upon these oscillations or waves, signals may be transmitted and received by instruments properly adapted to that end.

In the brief period which has elapsed since the scientific world was first stirred by this remarkable discovery, Wireless Telegraphy has grown to world-wide importance, and has become a prominent factor in civilisation, and in due course may be the universal medium of communication over all distances; but whether it will yet supersede the ocean cables is entirely another question, as at the present time signalling without connecting wires is rather slow, the limit of manual dexterity being from fifteen to twenty-five words a minute, while on the Atlantic cables a far higher rate of speed is maintained. Still, having regard to what has already been done, who shall set bounds to the possibilities of this marvellous invention?

Apart from the probability of Wireless Telegraphy superseding the cable in the future, it has many other spheres of usefulness. To day, the mighty warships of nearly all nations speak with each other across the trackless seas, putting an invisible girdle round the globe. The vast liners are now fitted with the necessary apparatus, and voyagers are no longer isolated from the world. As an example of the extent to which this system is used by private passengers it may be mentioned that some two thousand messages are frequently despatched from a ship during a single journey, while it may be safely reckoned that nearly an equal number are received.

On some of these palatial vessels a daily newspaper containing leaders, illustrations, a summary of all home and foreign news, and smoke room gossip, is published, and the business man is enabled to keep in touch with his affairs, to buy and sell, or influence the market of the throbbing city to which he is speeding across the ocean waste.

To shipping, the wireless telegram is an invaluable boon, for by its aid ships in distress can report their exact position to other ships, or to those on shore, with a few light finger-taps and call the rescuers to their assistance. When all vessels are so fitted and all land stations are similarly equipped many maritime disasters will doubtless be averted, while in naval operations its strategical value is obvious, for it is now possible to flash instant instructions from the Admiralty to a Commander who may be two or three thousand miles out at sea.

Then again, the direct results of obtaining messages from across the sea with such rapidity will undoubtedly be a greater degree of accuracy in weather forecasts issued each day for the ensuing twenty-four hours, and the issue of regular forecasts for a few days in advance, which has hitherto been quite impossible.

In the exploration of unknown regions, too, the explorer will be able to establish wireless telegraphic stations at certain points, whence news of his movements can be transmitted with daily regularity.

These are but a few of the remarkable feats which can be accomplished by Wireless Telegraphy ; there are many more to follow. Some day it may be possible for the little instrument to tick out with the electric flash; messages which will be received on the other side of the world, and that in those times it will be the general medium of communication and consequently facilitate and cheapen the intercourse of the human races. Indeed, it is impossible to define the possibilities of this mysterious force which is controlled by the ticking of a key, and the emission of a lightning spark. Surely, it is no exaggeration to say that Wireless Telegraphy is the most astounding miracle of modern science.

Mr. Dalal's Currency Report.

By Mr. S. A. PANDE.

TO make the whole review complete it is proposed to review in brief the minority report signed by Mr. D. M. Dalal. Though one may differ from some of the conclusions of the majority report, it must be conceded, that it is arranged very logically and answers in an order suggested by the terms of reference all the various points raised in the same. Paragraph 13 of Mr. Dalal's report puts forth the terms of reference, yet it is difficult to find the logical chain in which Mr. Dalal has answered the same tested by rigorous rules of logic, the report of Mr. Dalal would perhaps be full of incoherence, repetition and incompletion. For example paragraph 10 of the report deals with effects of the proposed change on Indian conditions while paras. 64 to 67 again treat of the same.

Again in paragraph 46, it is remembered that the Committee were to make recommendations as to the policy that should be pursued with a view to meeting the requirements of trade and to maintaining a satisfactory monetary circulation ; but while this para. asserts that trade-convenience cannot be looked to, no attempt is made to solve the second problem referred to above para. 47, abruptly taking up the question of stability of exchange though this seems to be dealt with in paras. 1—45 generally, though at random ; various such defects may be observed by the keen eye of a logical critic, but that is not the purpose of this note.

Again various statements are made without any attempt to prove them by reference to facts or figures.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall examine in brief the position taken up by Mr. Dalal on such points as he has thought fit to deal with.

Mr. Dalal says this great war brought in its train much prosperity to India because of her huge exports at very high prices ; but this benefit is now being much tempered because of the bad currency management of the authorities who have raised the exchange-rate, the rise in the value of silver having made the coinage of rupees unprofitable at the old rate of 1s. 4*d*. per rupee. This high exchange is bound to affect us adversely, says Mr. Dalal in paras. 10 and 64 to 67 of his report.

He says the rise in exchange took place after the war especially when the embargo on the export of gold was removed by the United States and South Africa; under such circumstances, instead of raising the exchange-rate, the Government would have been better advised to stop the sale of Council Bills and to prevent the coinage of dear rupees at a loss to meet encashment of Council Bills for meeting the requirements of trade, and it should have allowed the heavy balance of India's trade to be settled in the normal way that is by the influx of gold into the country. But instead of doing this the Government, as if bent on giving rupees only to India for her goods, continued to sell councils and mint rupees and give less of the same to Indian exporters for their produce because the rupees were now dear. It is indeed difficult to say as to why Government of India or the Secretary of State did not resort to this expedient, and keep the old ratio of sterling to rupee by refusing to mint rupees in enormous quantities to meet the unprecedented demand for councils. Mr. Dalal is much in favour of maintaining the relation between the gold and silver coins of the realm at a stable value and he strongly urges that neither trade nor other considerations should weigh with the authorities to lightly change the old ratio at a pen's stroke. Indeed there is no divergence of opinion on this point and the Secretary of State should have considered twice before he adopted the new ratio. To maintain the stability of relations between sterling and the rupee Mr. Dalal puts forward, besides the influx of gold referred to above, various other suggestions also some of which deserve careful attention.

People would think Mr. Dalal's idea of floating foreign British loans in India as impracticable in such times of general excitement and in security.

Nobody would think of granting loans to foreigners in such scaring times; but there is no reason why his proposal to coin a new 213 rupee coin with less silver, should not appeal to many; one would think, such coin the people would have preferred to the paper chits of 1 and 2½ rupees so much liable to loss and damage and discount in exchange; nor would it have driven the better coin of a rupee out of circulation, as Gresham's law applies perhaps, better to coins of the same denominations than to those of different values.

Again Mr. Dalal's suggestion of the removal of the embargo on the Indian exports of silver would not have perhaps worked well enough for nobody would have parted with the silver hard money when he would have got no better money in exchange in these panic times; but further it is very doubtful as to how far this also would have eased the stringency of silver-supply; but there was no objection to his other experience of levying an export duty on Indian exports to recoup the loss on silver coinage being adopted. It would have checked the undesirable event of our exports going out in enormous quantities at lower prices in view of the high exchange and this would have helped our industries and stomachs. Indeed the Indian sentiment on this whole question is rightly expressed by Mr. Dalal when he says that the authorities are affording all facilities to European importers to exploit Indian exports and yet not to pay for the same in the metal that the educated India long since demands ; this position has kept up the suspicion long extant in Indian minds that the whole currency system is so arranged as to put India to loss by giving her the metal which is not prized in Europe and America. The recommendations of the majority to open a gold mint in Bombay and issue gold coins from the same would in future perhaps much heal this sore position.

About the effects of this new arrangement on India's welfare Mr. Dalal is not far from truth ; high exchange will no doubt mitigate high prices, but it should be remembered that India's high prices will not be lowered permanently unless the world-prices go down ; and if world-prices are to go down, India must be allowed to have some of the Europe's yellow metal, and huge paper money of the world must be cancelled to a great extent; if this latter is not done, it will be India's loss to ask her alone to have low prices. Mr. Dalal's recommendation of having a good backing of 80 per cent for our note issue is a good warning if notes are to be favored by the public and if no false inflation without accounts to be caused in the total volume of currency which then unnecessarily raises prices.

Again his recommendations that councils should not be sold for trade purposes and rupees should not therefore be coined for some time till the silver gets down were certainly better than the committee's arrangement under which we are forced to accept a once cheap metal of dearer rates and thus sustain a loss of crores of rupees. Mr. Dalal's suggestion of not forcing one rupee notes into circulation is good as these notes as well as 2½ rupees notes are much liable to loss by the villagers nor are they a good means of storing their little savings.

These and other recommendations of Mr. Dalal are no doubt worth attention and it is a pity that they were so lightly brushed aside by the Secretary of State.

Perhaps a little more logic and a little less excitement in Mr. Dalal's treatment would have secured him a better hearing ; but it must be said that, save in a few places, his opinion is shared by all in India.

THE
Hindustan Review.
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically, or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever be enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

Indian "Pantheism" and its Western Critics—I.

By Prof. TARAKNATH SANYAL.

INDIAN *adwaitism*, or spiritual monism, reproachfully called "Pantheism" by hostile critics,[1] is the oldest philosophical doctrine of the world,[2] and being very pronounced in its character, has always been the *bête noire*[3] of British and American theistical philosophers of the traditional orthodox type, like Prof. Flint[4] and the Christian Missionaries[5] generally who seem to think that this doctrine cuts at the very root of all religion and morality and thus threatens to plunge the world in inextricable confusion and ruin. Hence they have assailed it with all the vehemence of their logic and ridicule. The pantheism of Greek philosophy, which is allied to Indian pantheism in all essential points, as Prof. Macdonell has shown in his *History of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 42 f., does not seem to have attracted much notice in Mr. Urquhart's book on *Pantheism*, perhaps, because it is already dead and overlaid with the dust of time, but its filtration through the layers of Neo-

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[1] See the *Ency. Brit.* (11th ed.), art. Pantheism.

[2] See A. A. Macdonell, *A Hist. of Sans. Lit.*, p. 220; J. Royce, *The World and the Individual* (1st Series), p. 156; Paul Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishad* (Eng. trans.), 1908, p. 398 and compare E. Underhill, *Ruysbroeck*, p. 59.

[3] See Sir John Woodroffe, *Is India Civilized* (2nd ed.), Foreword, p. 17.

[4] See A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of God*, pp. 299 ff., 409 ff.

[5] See A. E. Taylor, *The Problem of Conduct* p. 463 f.

Platonism, of medieval scholasticism and the mysticism of Eckhart, Ruysbroeck, Suso, Tauler, and the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, of Jacob Böhme and William Law, the philosophy of Giordano Bruno and Spinoza, down to the 18th-19th century, when it revived in the speculations of German mystical philosophers, such as the younger Schlegel, who "was the first to recognise the full value of the treasures laid open by Sir William Jones [1]", Novalis, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, of English poets like Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Tennyson, Browning, Walt Whitman, Francis Thompson and Edward Carpenter, the exponents of science, who seek to reduce the multiplicity of matter and force to a knowable or unknowable primary source, and idealistic philosophers like Berkeley, T. H. Green, [2] Sir Henry Jones, and Dr. F. H. Bradley,—has become so menacing as to have fluttered the dovecotes of orthodox philosophers like Dr. W. S. Urquhart and the Christian Missionaries to whose cause he seems to have dedicated his life. The subject must have been suggested by the missionaries to the writer of the book when he was in search of a thesis for his doctor's degree, as it would kill two birds with one stone. The present is also the most suitable time for the publication of such a book (though its facile optimism [3] is very inopportune at this time when the whole world is groaning under untold miseries), because Vedantism threatens to be the creed of the future. The most highly intelligent men and women of Europe and America, dissatisfied with the formal and effete Christianity of to-day, which has been driven from its historical position by the Higher Criticism of Germany and battered by the hammer strokes of modern scientists and philosophers, [4] are all ending in this direction, as the recent publication by Macmillan of a course of lectures on Vedantism, delivered in Norway by Sri Anand Acharya, shows. What Max Müller, though he had a distinct leaning towards Vedantism, contemplated with alarm twenty-one years ago has now actually come to pass.[5]

There was, before the War, a veritable craze for psychism and mysticism of every form in England, as Mr. G. R. S. Mead's paper on

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[1] C. E. Vaughan, *The Romantic Revolt*, p. 294.

[2] See James Seth, *English Philosophers and Schools of Philosophy*, pp. 346-7.

[3] See J. Ward, *The Realm of Ends*, pp. 321 f., 349; R. Eucken, *The Life of the Spirit*, (Eng. trans.), Pref. p. 6, and pp. 87, 161 f., 176, 331 and 389; J. Royce, *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, Lec XIII.

[4] See Dean Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, pp. 329-30; Dr. Plumptre's Introduction to *Ecclesiastes* (Camb. Bible for Schools and Colleges), p. 44; J. H. Hyslop, *Life after Death*, pp. 90 f., 101, 315; A. W. Rimington, *The Conscience of Europe*, p 107; espec. J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religios Belief*, pp. 181-95.

[5] See Max Muller *Ram Krishna*. 1916, Preface, p. 6 and pp 10, 11, and compare Sir John Woodroffe, *Is India Civilized?* p. 58 f. and R. Eucken, *The Life of the Spirit*, pp. 134, 159.

The Rising Psychic Tide, as also pp. 201-2 and 246-7 in his *Quests Old and New* and Dean Inge's Introduction, p. 58, to *Light, Life and Love*, conclusively shown. Moreover, the public press is sedulously ministering to this passion for the occult by producing every year a number of books on spiritism and mysticism by English and American writers. Even Oxford and Cambridge are vying with each other in disseminating its literature. The public taste for such literature is still growing, as several recent publications show. Thus far about the genesis of Mr. Urquhart's book on *Pantheism*.

Let us now turn to the book itself and examine some of the main positions which the author has taken up. I may state at the outset that the entire argument of the book has been vitiated by the author's not knowing the most fundamental difference between the treatment of philosophy by Indian Rishis and Western philosophers and theologians.[1] It is well known to Indians and impartial Europeans who have had the advantage of studying or rather practising philosophy under divine teachers that the former approach the subject from the standpoint of those who have received illumination from Brahma himself and who have arrived at their conclusions by spiritual insight and intuition (*Brahma gyan*).[2] Their dicta are called *apt vachan*, utterances of those who have attained Brahma, *i.e.* infallible utterances, like the *ipse dixerunt*[3] of Phythagorean and the *ipse dixi*[4] of Platonic philosophy, while the latter have recourse to common sense, discursive understanding,[5] ratiocination, dialectic and logic. Rishi (*rish*, to go) means one who has gone into, penetrated Brahma, or entered Cosmic Consciousness. He *sees*[6] everything with the *gyan chakshu* (I follow no recognized transliteration), the divine eye, the eye of the soul, which can penetrate every secret and every mystery and to which nothing can remain unknown.[7] There are numerous passages in the *Shastras* (Hindu Scriptures) which confirm this view and it is known to every Indian by immemorial tradition. Some of the most characteristic passages are as follows :—*Rigveda* 1-22-20 :—*Tad Vishnoh paramam padam sadā pushyanti surayah diviva chaksharātatang*, that is the highest plane (of the contemplation) of Vishnu which sages (lit. heroes) constantly *see* as an extended eye of ákásh (chidakásh, that is, Brahma). Compare with this what Traherne says :

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[1] cf. A. E Taylor, *The Problem of Conduct*, p. 438 and F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality* (sixth impression), p. 5.

[2] cf. Principal Caird, *Spinoza*, pp. 191—219; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 89, 94, 98, 101, 104—7, 113, 125—30; H. H. Joachim, *A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza*, p. 124; A. C. Pigou, *The Problem of Theism*, p. 108; E. Holmes, *The Creed of Buddha*, pp. 28, 36, 80, 239; J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, pp. 154 ff., 293—9, 101—8, 141; N. M. Butler, *Philosophy*, pp. 4—6; S. Radhakrishnan, *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, pp. 37 and 43 ff.; R. Eucken, *The Life of the Spirit*, pp. 45—9, E. Underhill, *Ruysbroeck*, pp. 64, 92—3, 112—13, 18, 140—1; J. Royce, *The World and the Individual* (1st Ger.) p. 160.

[3] See Philostratus's *Apollonius of Tyana* (Oxford trans.), vol. I, p. 105.

[4] See *Lucian* (Ancient Classics for Eng. Readers), p. 125, footnote.

[5] See James Seth, *English Philosophers and Schools of Philosophy*, p. 347.

[6] cf. Wordsworth's *Excursion, The Wanderer* (Turner's ed), 232; E. Holmes, *The Creed of Christ*, p. 122; Caird's *Spinoza*, pp. 58, 214—16.

[7] See Edmond Holmes, *The Creed of Buddha*, pp. 38—40.

« I was an inward sphere of Light,

Or an interminable Orb of Sight"—'Poems of Felicity' (Clarendon Press ed.), p. 13. Miss C. F. E. Spurgeon (*Mysticism in Eng. Lit.*, p. 15) writes, "The Hindu calls the soul the "seer" or the "knower," and thinks of it as a great eye in the centre of his being, which, if he concentrates his attention upon it, is able to look outwards and to gaze upon Reality." See also *Rigveda*, 10·177·1; *Yajurveda* 31·19 with Satyavrata Samashrami's Bengali translation; *Manu* 2·8, and 11·244[1]; *Mahābhārat*, Sabha Parva, chap 5th ; *Gita* 11·7,8;13·34; 15·10; *Atmabodh*, 65. This spiritual eye is commonly met with in the utterances of the latter-day saints of India. Govind Sahib of Oudh sings thus :—

Sakhiyá hó dekhá darbár, Arbar ráh saketi galiá dwāre tarh rahe kartar. Dur darwesh jugut bhai bhari unch unch arbar rup pahar, Sakhiya Gobindá hiyá ankhiyā ughar gai dasó disa jagmag unjiyár.

O *sakhi* (female companion, here the soul), I saw the darbár (of God). The path (leading to it) was uneven and narrow the lane (cf. Matthew 7·14 and Luke 13·24) and the Lord was standing at the door (at the other end). There was a large assemblage of *darveshes* and sages and there were lofty, uneven mountains. O sakhi, the eye of Gobind's heart was opened and he saw dazzling light on all sides.

Paltu Das, Gobind Sahib's famous disciple, sings—

Najar máe hai sabke pai dekhat kóû náhin, Dekhat kóu náhin sis par sabke chhájat, Puran Brahma akhand sakal ghat áp birájat, Deo se phire bhúlán rahai tirgun me máte, Dèkh dèkh wai chhor pandit se púchhan játe, Bhoola sab sansár bhèd na jánai wako, Dèkhat hai ek sant gyánki drishti jáko, Paltu khàli kahín nahin puran sab ghat mäe, Najar māe hai sabke par dèkhat kóú nàhi.

It (Brahma) is in the view of all, but nobody sees it. Nobody sees it though it broods over the heads of all. The fulness of Brahma indivisible is itself present in all bodies. Deluded by the worship of inferior gods people remain steeped in the three *gunas*. Seeing it they do not see (cf. Jeremiah 5·21 and Matt. 13·13) and go to a pandit to enquire about it. All the world is deluded and nobody knows its mystery. It is the saint with the vision of divine knowledge that alone sees it. Paltu, there is no empty space; Brahma is in all its fulness in every body. It is within the ken of all, but nobody sees it.

See E. Holmes, *The Creed of Buddha*, p. 40 f.

The symbolical representation of this divine eye is found in the *Shaligram Shila Chakra* (that is, the black oval stone with a hole in it and a gold ring round it) which orthodox Hindus daily worship, and the eye-like spots on the feathers of a peacock, which are worn as crests in their turbans by *sadhus* and kings and of which *chanwars* (a kind of flapper to drive away flies) and fans are made. Bishop Heber describes the bird as—

> And he, the bird of hundred eyes,
> Whose plumes the dames of Ava prize.

This inner vision was not and could not be a monopoly of Indians. Traces of it are found in every country and every race. The Hebrew prophets had their 'vision' and so had Christ, and the "single eye" of Matthew 6-22 and the "Simple Eye" of Ruysbroeck (see E. Underhill, *Ruysbroeck*, pp. 1) will be perceived by every one who knows anything of *yoga* to be the same as the *Kūtasth* (cf. Gita 6-8) of the *Sadhus* of India, which fills one with light. It has been wrongly explained by Christian writers on mysticism[1] simply because they have no personal experience of it.[2] The light which Moses saw in the wilderness and the bush (cf. Newman's 'Lead kindly Light'), the light which shone round Christ and the light which Socrates, the mystic, always saw before him, refer to the same eye. Plotinus's "Circle whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere[3]" which became famous in scholastic Theology[4] and was imported thence into modern English literature,[5] the 'ring of light' of H. Vaughan,[6] the 'phosphene' of modern psychology,[7] "the eye of our mind" and "the heavenly eye" of Traherne,[8] the Imagination of Blake and Wordsworth,[9] the Holy Grail [10] of Tennyson, Dr. R. M. Bucke and Edward Carpenter's Cosmic Consciousness, the Sufi's *chashmi*, or *didai dil* (the eye of the heart) and the Christian mystic's "eye of the heart, or the soul,[11]" the clairvoyance of hypnotism, the trance of the medium in Spiritualism, the vision of Swedenborg, the 'third eye' of the child in the fairy story of 'Three Eyes,[1]' the third eye of *Shiva*, who is also called *ekákhshi* (single-eyed), the faculty of divination among the natives of Natal,[2] the Second Sight of the Scotch,[3] the Wisdom of Solomon which "Knoweth the things of old, and divineth the things to come; she understandeth subtilties of speeches and interpretations of dark sayings; she foreseeth signs and wonders, and the issues of seasons and times,[4]" the "celestial eye of the Budhist,[5]" and "the eye of certainty" of Moulana Rumi [6]—are all indications of the same faculty. The wide-spread influence which the Oracles of Delphi and Dodona [7] exercised on the ancient world for centuries and which the Oracle of Tārakeshwar in Bengal does in our own day, and the prophetic powers of Calchas, Helenus and Cassandra (Iliad) and Teresias (Odyssey) were and are all due to the same divine faculty in man.

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[1] See W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, vol. II, p. 231; Evelyn Underhill, *The Mystic Way*, p. 112; R. M. Jones, *The Inner Life*, p. 12.

[2] cf. Sir John Woodroffe, *Is India Civilized?* Foreword, p. XXVIII.

[3] See *Select Works* of Plotinus (Taylor's trans. edited by G. R. S. Mead), pp. 314-22.

[4] See W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 28; *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, p. 123; E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 286.

[5] See Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, 33-1 with Mr. Percival's note; Emerson, *Essay on Circles*, Stevenson, *Virginibus Puerisque* (fine paper ed.), p. 67.

[6] See *The Oxford Book of Eng. Mystic Verse*, p. 59.

[7] See Croom Robertson's *Psychology*, p. 141.

[8] See his *Centuries of Praise*, pp. 66,179.

[9] See the *Oxford Bk. of Eng. Mystic Verse*.

[10] See J. L. Weston, *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, pp. 3, 122, 139; J. Royce, *The World and the Individual*, (First Series), 1916, p. 177.

[11] See R. A. Nicholson, *Selected Poems from the Divani Shamsi Tabriz*, p. 229; H. Sidgwick, *Hist. of Ethics*, 1910, p. 149.

Now by sedulously cultivating this faculty for successive lives the Rishis in ancient India and modern *Sadhus* attained and still attain all the attributes of Godhead, namely, omniscience and the rest. This is not blasphemy but a fact which has been witnessed by Indians and some Europeans, who have had the good fortune to come across such *Sadhus*. There are numerous passages in Sanscrit sacred literature which corroborate it. The most notable passage is in the Prasna Upanishad 4-10-11, which is thus translated by Dr. E. Roer (*Twelve Upanishads*, published by Tookaram Tatya, Bombay, 1891): "The supreme, indestructible (being) is obtained. Whoever, O beloved one, knows this (being) which is without shadow, without body, without colour, which is shining, indestructible,—becomes omniscient, all. Here applies this Sloka:—"Whoever, O beloved one, knows this indestructible (soul), on which (the being) whose nature is knowledge, and together with all the Gods, the vital airs and the elements are founded, gets omniscient, penetrates all." The *Bhagavadgita*, which is the Bible of the Sadhus of India, says in Sloka 19 of Book 15: "He who realizes me as Purushottama in rapt contemplation and beholds me in whatever he see, is omniscient."

The most wonderful testimony of this power of omniscience of the Rishis comes from a famous Greek of the first century of the Christian era, one who was contemporary with Christ and who was set up as his rival by the Roman emperors, who paid him divine honours. Philostratus in his life of, (Apollonius of Tyana), as translated by J. S. Phillimore (Oxford Eng. Translations), Vol. I. p. 109 says, "When he [Iarchas, the chief of the Brahman sages] saw Apollonius, he welcomed him in the Greek language and asked for the Indian King's letters. Apollonius wondered at such prescience, whereupon Iarchas told him further that there was a letter wanting on the epistle (namely a delta) because of an oversight in the writer. And so it proved to be......" "To this the Indian replied : 'others ask strangers what countrymen they are and what is their errand ; with us, it serves as a first indication of science that we need no information about a visitor. This shall be your first criterion." Again on p. 111 runs the passage: "And when he had made him sit down, he said, 'Now ask what you will, for you are amongst the omniscient.'" This description of the sages of India given by a Greek, who regarded all other people as barbarians, may be considered trustworthy, though rationalistic critics like Prof. Phillimore may reject it as mythical and taunt M. Jacolliot and Mr. Mead with being superstitious. But there are thousands of Indians who from their experience of Sadhus can say with certainty that critics who spin theories of their own are utterly ignorant of such transcendal experiences[1] and therefore their criticism carries no weight and deserves no hearing from those who know positively. For similar experiences among Western mystics I refer the reader to Dean Inge's *Christian Mysticism*, p. 190. Buddha[2] had this omniscience, as also Krishna. Sanjai, who describes the war of the Mahabharat to the blind Dhritarashtra allegorically implies omniscience. The great modern saints, such as Kabir, Nanak, Jagjiwan Das, Govind Sahib, Paltu Das, Ravi Das (Rai Das), Dadu Sahib, Banarsi Das, and above all and far and away beyond any other Sadhu that I have heard of or seen, my own divine Guru, whose name according to his own injunctions must not be disclosed to the public, were all omniscient. Mahomedan mystics or Sufis claim it.[3] Wstern mystics like Jacob Böhme and Plotinus had a good measure of it and Christ had it in full measure[4]. The greater Christian mystics and saints had it in their moods of exaltation and inspiration. But it is the Indian *yogi*, who *always* dwells in Brahma and has his permanent abode there, who has it in the fullest measure, so that the disciple of such a Guru still uses the same expression which was used by Peter of Christ in the

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[1] See *The Fairy Book* (Golden Treasury Series).

[2] E. Carpenter, *A Visit to a Gyani*, pp. 32-33, footnote.

[3] See R. W. Taylor's note on Scott's *Lady of the Lake* I. 23 (Rivington's Eng. School Classics); E. Holmes, *The Creed of Christ*, p. 87.

[4] See Dean Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, p. 32.

[5] See G. R. S. Mead, *Quests Old and New*, p. 117; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Budhist Psychology*, pp. 105, 130.

[6] See E. H. Whinfield's trans. of *The Masnavi Ma'navi*, p. 166 and compare his Introduction, p. 28, with *Quests Old and New*, pp. 197-8.

[7] See Rev. T. Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle*, Chap. II; J. H. Hyslop, *Life After Death*, p. 45.

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[1] See Evelyn Underhill, *Ruysbroeck* (Bell), p. 88.

[2] See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 157, 206 ; G. R. S. Mead, *Quests Old and New*, p. 78; Dr. Ram Das Sen, *Buddhadeva*, pp. 159-60.

[3] See R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 138-9.

[4] See E. Holmes, *The Creed of Christ*, pp. 87f., 117, 119f., 122.

Epilogue to the Fourth Gospel,—'Lord, thou knowest all things." But I must warn the reader against supposing that all Indian Sadhus are on the same level of contemplation. Indeed, there are various grades of contemplatives. Those who have attained the highest stage are alone called *aptas*, that is, who have attained (*prapta*, specially attained) Godhead, and their utterances are infallible, as Narada says in the *Pancharatra* :—

Prathak prathak cha pratyakang pratyakshang sarvaji vishu.
Santatang sunti ya devah santo jananti nishchitang,

All creatures who are seen living individually are He, and the everlasting gods are also He—this yogis or saints know with *certainty*. Hence it is a commonplace of mysticism that the mystics of all ages and countries say the same thing,[2] because they all possess the same spiritual eye, they all go to the same spiritual region and have the same spiritual experiences. Kabir says—

Sab santan ki ékai báni,
Kahain Kabir koi birlá jáni.

All the saints say the same thing, but this is known to few, that is, to those few who have attained true knowledge. The well known Hindi popular saying—sabai syane ekai mata (all wise men are of one opinion) is to the same effect.[3] The utterances of all other people are mere speculation, the cobwebs of the brain, opinion, guesses at truth. "Knowledge has three degrees," says Plotinus, "opinion, science, illumination. It [the last] is absolute knowledge founded on the identity of the mind knowing with the object known[4]" Mr. Mead in his *Quests Old and New*, p. 201, says, "The ground idea of gnosis is transmutation into spiritual being and this is fundamentally an oriental religious idea, the antipodes of philosophy in its general modern meaning of the fabrication of an intellectual system." Every philosopher has his say. No two agree. Professor Eucken says, "The old charge against philosophy that there are as many philosophies as there are philosophers, whereas there is only one science one scientific attitude and spirit, is more than mere ignorant malice[5]." Hence the untrustworthiness and uselessness, except as a mental discipline, or

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[1] cf. E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, pp. 433-43 ; *Ruysbrocck*, pp. 54, 122; C. F. E. Spurgeon, *Mysticism in Eng. Liter.* p. 147; A. C. Pigou, *The Problem of Theism*, p. 60; E. Holmes, *The Creed. of Buddha*, pp. 33, 36, 38 ; J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, pp. 163, 169, 171 ff.; J. Royce, *The World and the Individual* (1st series), p. 173f.

[2] cf. W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 419f.; Miss Spurgeon, *Mysticism in Eng. Liter.* pp. 1-6, 151 ; J. Royce, *The World and the Individual* (1st series), pp. 175-81.

[3] See J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, pp. 260, 304.

[4] Edward Carpenter, *The Art of Creation*, p. 66.

[5] B. Gibson, *Philosophy of Life*, p. 14; cf. also Eucken's *The Life of the Spirit* (Eng. trans.), p. 3ff.

intellectual gymnastics,[1] of Western speculative philosophy. G. H. Lewes, long ago, made the well-known confession quoted in *Philosophic Hinduism*,[2] and another German saying is quoted on p. 64 of the same book. J. S. Mill also made the same confession though a "qualified one.[3] Sir Leslie Stephen in his *Samuel Johnson* (E. M. L.), p. 183, characterises Western philosophy as " 'a milking of the bull'—a fruitless rather a pernicious waste of intellect," and in his essay on 'The Vanity of Philosophising' in *Social Rights and Duties*, vol. II, p. 202 writes, "Philosophers must admit that on such terms we get only "brain cobwebs;" ingenious feats of intellectual legerdemain, where the operator shows his skill by dexterously hiding away his assumptions, and bringing them out at the end as triumphantly demonstrated conclusions." Mr. Edmond Holmes writes, "The Philosophy that is based on reason hangs in mid-air instead of resting on the solid earth.[4]" So says Prof. A. S. Pringle-Pattison, "Mr. Bradley's discussion seems to me to prove afresh that the attempt metaphysically scientifically, or literally to determine the Absolute as such is necessarily barren[5].' Mr. Hector Macpherson writes, "An indiscriminate study of Philosophy is well calculated to produce a feeling of uncertainty, if not of scepticism[6]." The Rev. J. O. Bevan writes—"The history of human progress and endeavour forms a record infinitely sad. Hence it is not to be expected that the path taken by human thought and speculation could present anything but a series of wrecked trenches and abandoned defences.[7]" Miss Evelyn Underhill writes,—"For my psychology, however, I make a higher claim; for the principles upon which this is based originate, not in the guessing games of the professors but in the experience of the saints. In this department the statements that are made—though sometimes expressed in the picturesque dialect of the laboratory—can yet be substantiated from the first-hand declarations of those great lovers of the Absolute, the specialists of the spiritual life[8]." After naming the great European philosophers of the last half of the 19th century Mr. Benjamin Kidd says, "*All this system of knowledge is passing to the rubbish heap of time as the science of civilization.*[9]" Dr. James H. Hyslop, himself a distinguished philosopher and an acute but candid thinker, says, " What we require is indubitable facts from which conclusions can be drawn, not speculation and metaphysical theories which, whatever their importance, are often nothing more than conceivabilities, which too often people use as facts.[1]" The Rev. Robert Mackintosh in his article on Theism in the Ency. Brit., vol. 26, p. 747, writes, "As long as the battle of the philosophers indures, theism can hardly be unified. Its history is not so much that of a single evolving doctrine, but rather the history of many and diverse theistic schemes." Prof. Henry Jones's confession is no less sad. In the Introduction to the English translation of the *History of the Problems of Philosophy by* Janet and Seailles (pp. 13-14), he writes—"It might be concluded from this fact that this newer method differs from the old in making still more distressingly clear the necessary failure of philosophic systems." See also his *Idealism as a Practical Creed*, p. 7f. Prof. J. Royce, in like manner, in the introductory pages of his great and original book *The World and the Individual* regrets the inadequacy of human reason and its product, the speculative philosophy based on it, yet hopes, like Prof. Jones, that though the frontiersman "may wander, yet he *must* some day win what shall belong to the united empire of human truth." I can assure him—'never.' The history of *human* thought, past and present, proves it to be a delusion.[2] There is, in spite of what Prof. A. E. Taylor says in his *Problem of Conduct*, p. 467, only one way of arriving at truth and that is through Yoga (self-introspection—cf. Gita 6-46)—*nānya panthā vidyae, ayanāyah,* (there is no other way of liberation but this) says the Yajurveda 31·18 and this is what our experience confirms. There is, has always been and will always be a "private road to the Diety." (*Appearance and Reality*, p. 7), as the mystics of all ages and countries have persistently held, otherwise every one would be a Christ or a Krishna, a Buddha or a Kabir. That path is the path of *Suriumna* (the chief spiritual force in the *Shat Chakra*) which wiseacres ridicule[3] because they do not know it. The part of *advocatus diaboli* which Prof. Mackenzie plays in his *Outlines of Metaphysics*, pp. 155-60, is more genuine than that of a defender of speculative philosophy. The defence is only a make-believe. It can carry conviction to no one except a professed and professional philosopher. Nobody likes to dwell in a half-way house, or to run a race without a goal. There is no outlet to the labyrinth of philosophical controversy. It is a quick-sand always shifting its ground. It is "a battle ground for rival schools of thought," as Prof. Mackenzie himself admits on p. 167. Contradictory doctrines jostle one another and hustle each other out. No Christian, who stakes

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[1] cf. Windelband. Hist. of Philos (2nd ed.). p. 639; A. R. Rogers, *Modern Philos.*, p. 353; O. B. Upton, *Bases of Religious Belief*, p. 300.

[2] The Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, 1890, p. 58.

[3] See Dr. Inge, *The Philos. of Plotinus*, vol. II., p. 180, footnote.

[4] *The Creed of Buddha*, p. 234.

[5] *Two Lectures on Theism*, p. 59.

[6] *Books to Read and How to Read Them*, p. 35.

[7] *Hand-book of the History and Development of Philosophy*, pp. 125, 188.

[8] *The Mystic Way*, Preface, p. 10.

[9] *The Science of Power*, pp. 116-7.

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1. *Life After Death*, 1919, p. 259.

2. See Benjamin Kidd, *The Science of Power*, pp. 124-5, and, especially, J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, pp. 288-90; Dr. McTaggart, *Some Dogmas of Religion*, p. 296.

3. J. C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, pp. 180-1.)

everything on a single life, I believe, will venture to embark on such an adventurous voyage without rudder or compass. Man longs for certainty, which Western philosophy cannot, in the nature of things, vouchsafe. The Indian aspirant rests secure in his haven of peace. There is no doubt or vacillation in the teachings of Krishna, the Rishis and the Saints. Moreover, the Indian sees in his *Guru* a living embodiment of God. He practises yoga and finds a demonstration and confirmation of his Guru's teachings and his divine powers in his daily unfolding spiritual experiences. His spiritual insight is its own proof. The logic of facts is more convincing than the windy arguments of philosophers.[1]

The survey by Prof. A. K. Rogers (whom Mr. Urquhart follows rather too closely) of the problems of life and mind in his nice little book, *A Brief Introduction to Modern Philosophy* leads him at length into scepticism, which Dr. A. Hodder, in his *Adversaries of the Sceptic*, rightly calls "a leper among systems of philosophy," and lands him in a Serbonian bog from which he cannot extricate himself. Finding certainty unattainable in speculative philosophy, he, like the fox in the fable who called the grapes sour because he could not reach them, turns against certainty itself, pooh-poohs the ideal state of perfect knowledge and asks the astounding question—"What, after all, there is so enticing in the ideal of certainty, that we should hesitate to give it up? Might not a life of certainty, indeed, be rather a stupid life?"—(p. 349). If professed philosophers take shelter in such sophistry, how can laymen be blamed for pronouncing such philosophy as barren and futile. Is not Matthew Arnold, whom Prof. Rogers condemns in his Introduction (p. 7) for preferring art and conduct to the results of such philosophy, quite justified? In like manner, are not the working men of England, dissatisfied with the dogmatic theology of the churches justified, as one of their representatives says in Matthew Arnold's Preface to *Literature and Dogma*, in "sliding off towards, not the late Mr. Maurice, nor yet Professor Huxley, but towards Mr. Bradlaugh[2]?" When such great men of England and America confess their helplessness what should we think of "the smaller fry", as Prof. Mackenzie calls other philosophers in comparison with Mr. Bradley in his Preface to the *Outlines of Metaphysics*, who come out to India and write shallow criticisms[3] on Vedantism, which even the most highly educated Indians nurtured on the Vedantic tradition find it hard to grasp thoroughly and which cultured Englishmen have often admitted they cannot understand[4].

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[1] cf. E. Holmes, *The Creed of Christ*, pp. 116, 124f. and Prof. W. Wallace's Kant (Blackwood), pp. 188-9.

[2] cf. J. H. Hyslop, *Life After Death*, p. 333 f.

[3] See A. E. Taylor, *The Problem of Conduct*, p. 431; Prof. H. Jones's Introduction to Janet and Seaille's *Hist. of the Problems of Philos.* p. XV and Prof. A. Seth, *Two Lectures on Theism*, p. 6.

[4] See O. E. Vaughan, *The Romantic Revolt*, p. 294 and J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, p. 55.

Mr. H. H. Joachim, to whom Prof. Mackenzie refers in a footnote to p. 159 of his *Outlines of Metaphysics*, frankly admits, as others have done before him, that "nothing short of infinite or absolute knowledge could completely apprehend the infinite or whole reality". But this is what Plato's ideal philosopher must possess and this is also our ideal. We sit at the feet of such philosophers to learn or rather practise philosophy. He also lays much stress on the fact, as others have done before him (*e. g.* Mr. A. J. Balfour in his *Foundations of Belief*) that the philosophy must be consistent. But consistency only lends plausibility to a system, not certainty, which science demands, because we know that there is much inconsistency and illusion in ordinary life, yet nobody, except a true philosopher, doubts it. I know of cases which were dismissed by judges on account of their logical inconsistency, though the facts were true.

As regards Dr. Bradley to whom also Prof. Mackenzie refers, we have no quarrel with him, since he has rendered a great service to Vedantism by proving everything to be appearance or illusion (maya) and establishing the existence of God almost on the same lines as the Vedantist would do, so much so that some philosophers[1] find no difference between his philosophy and "Brahmanic pantheism," the bug-bear [2] of British philosophers. Moreover, his object in instituting a searching enquiry into the foundations of our knowledge of Nature, man and God, even if it lead to scepticism, is to explode the pretensions of orthodox theology and materialistic sophistry. Metaphysics is inevitable [3], because there is an insatiable curiosity in man to know something about his origin and destiny, until it is satisfied by a vision of the Reality within himself. He will be eternally groping in the dark until the divine light flashes upon him and illumines the darkest recesses of his soul. Among the fortunate aspirants to true knowledge the place assigned to the *Jignyasu* (enquirer), in the *Bhagvadgita* 7-16, is the third in the reverse order. He is ultimately initiated by a *gyani* or *tatwadarshi* (cf. Gita 4-34), that is, a sage, and then his doubts are removed and he finds rest. Maulana Rumi likewise calls upon the pilgrims to Mecca to come to him, so that he might tell them where the true God dwells:—

Ai qaum ba hay raftah kujaed kujaed, **Ma'shuq** hami ja'st biyaed biyaed,

Anha ki talabgari khudaed khudaed, Berun zi shuma nest shumaed shumaed.

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[1] See Prof. A. Seth, *Two Lectures on Theism*, p. 53.

[2] Percy H. Osmond, *The Mystical Poets of the English Church*, 1919, p. 281.

[3] J. T. Merz, *A Hist. of Europ. Thought in the 19th Century*, vol. III, p. 434; A. E. Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, 5th, ed. p. 415.

O nation gone to hay, where are ye, where are ye? Your Beloved is here, come hither, come hither. O ye who seek God, God,—He is not outside you, ye are yourself the abode of that God!

Tennyson wrote long ago in In Memoriam :—

> Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day and cease to be;
> They are but broken lights of Thee;
> And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

Matthew Arnold in his Essay on 'Spinoza and the Bible' wrote:—

"But schools of philosophy arise and fall; their bands of adherents inevitably dwindle; no master can persuade a large body of disciples that they give to themselves just the same account of the world as he does; it is only the very young and the very enthusiastic who can think themselves very sure that they possess the whole mind of Plato, or Spinoza, or Hegel, at all."

Mr. Edmond Holmes in his *Creed of Christ*, p. 117, writes :—

"Great ideas, such as those which ruled Christ's mind, are in the nature of things imperishable. Systems come and go. Theories change and pass. But a living idea is for ever."

I know that the same charge of inconsistency has been brought against the various systems of Hindu philosophy in the *sloka* :—

Veda bibhinnah smritayo bibhinnah nasou munir yasya mat angna bhinnang, Dharmasya tatwan nihitan guhayan mahajano ya na gatah sa pantha.

The purport of the above, as interpreted by the Mahajans or Mahatmas themselves, is as follows:—(To ordinary men) the Vedas, the Smritis and the utterances of Munis are different, and the real truth of Dharma is concealed in the cave (the mystic path to Brahma, described in Govind Sahib's song above). Under such circumstances the path trodden by Mahatmas is the right path, because they being omniscient like the Rishis who set forth those philosophical systems will be able to reconcile what appears to be inconsistent to educated laymen. As a matter of fact we, the disciples of a great Mahatma, do possess a complete esoteric exposition of all the systems of Hindu philosophy and the *Dharma Shastras* in entire harmony with one another, but it is not open to the public. It is said in the Mahabharat that Narada could reconcile all the Shastras, and so Krishna says in the Bhagavadgita 5-4 that only ignorant people find an inconsistency in the teachings of Sankhya and Yoga (cf. also Swetaswatara Upanishad 6-13). Bhavabhuti says.

> Loukikanang hi sadhunamarthang vaganusarati,
> Rishinang punaradyanang vachamarthahaundhavati.

Laymen merely follow the words of the utterances of Sadhus (perfect men—cf. *Vishnu Puran* 3-11), whereas Rishis (those who are omniscient) and *siddhas* or yogis follow their sense or spirit (cf. *Chhundogya Upanishad* 7-1-3). St. Paul (II Corinthians, 3-6) says,

> 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.

Maulana Rumi says :—

> Man za quorā'n maghz ra bar dashtam.
> Ustakhwan peshi sagan andakhtam,

I picked the meat from the Quran and threw the bones to the dogs.

The Gyansankalini Tantra says:

> Manthitwa chaturo vedan sarvashastrani chaivahi,
> Sarantu yoginah pitastakrang pivanti panditah.

Having churned the ocean of the four Vedas and all the Shastras yogis have eaten the butter or the essence and left the whey to pandits, that is, educated laymen or pedants.

Thus the illuminate of many races are unanimous in declaring that laymen, however intelligent or clever they may be, are utterly incapable of understanding the esoteric meaning of true religion. Take an extreme case. Who can explain the *ultas* (paradoxical sayings, which Mr. Mead calls 'gryphus' on p, 100 of his *Quests Old and New*) of Kabir, Sunder Das and other Sadhus? The illuminate alone are competent to unravel the mysteries of religion.[*] This principle is so well understood in India that there is a popular proverb about it—Khag janai khag hi ka bhakha, *i.e.* a bird alone understands the language of a bird. Dr. R. M. Bucke, in his famous book *Cosmic Consciouness*, p. 85, writes—"If, now, Jesus had cosmic consciousness, he must have referred to it over and over again in his teaching, just as all other such men have done. If he did so, it should be easy for any one who knows about the cosmic sense to detect the references, while for those who do not know there is such a thing these would necessarily be otherwise interpreted."

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.[†]

A Chapter of Indian Economic History.

By Prof. H. R. BATHEJA.

THE need of a scientific and accurate work tracing the economic history of India has been felt for a long time. Apart from its great value as a record of an important aspect of national activity, it has in India a practical interest which perhaps does not exist in countries where political conditions are widely different. Ever since the great famine of the 19th century an acute political controversy has been raging whether India has benefited or suffered economically from the introduction of British rule. There are those who believe in a golden age of Indian prosperity which only disappeared with the advent of British Rule and point with special pride to the wealth and happiness of the people under Akbar and his successors, while there are others chiefly British administrators who are equally convinced that India was steeped in an economic darkness which has only been relieved by British measures of material amelioration. Hitherto the controversy has been carried on with considerable passion and as is usual with such controversies the arguments employed on both sides are coloured more by vague assertions, unproved opinions, and unverified assumptions than by any close and systematic reasoning. This is extremely unfortunate as it makes the difficult task of constructing a scientific history of India still more difficult. The result is that no book which attempts to describe the prosperity or poverty of India in quantitative terms rather than in empty generalisation has yet appeared.

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[*] See E. Holmes, *The Creed of Buddha*, pp. 151-7.

[†] *India at the death of Akbar* by Moreland (Macmillan & Co.)

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There are some who believe that such a task is rendered impossible not only by the lack of adequate historical material but also by the fact that in the East, the people do not change. It is suggested that the "simple annals of the poor," however moving and pathetic are indescribably trite and monotonous* and Vincent Smith lays down the dictum that the Indian commonalty has no history that can be told. Those who have seen the wonderful process by which the Ancient History of India has been slowly constructed from imperfect materials from a time when even the name of Buddha was not known, will not be disposed to agree with such sweeping statements. It is an ignorant and irrational supposition to think that the world has stood still because no written records have been left for the convenience of historians. The decline of great industries, like shipping, cotton and silk manufactures and the changes in the standards of life are important facts in the life of any people and a commonalty which has suffered these changes cannot be said to have stood still. At any rate the book under review is a standing refutation of this theory. It describes the economic condition of India at the death of Akbar and comperes it with its condition at the present day. To the ordinary reader the wealth of material which the author has utilised for his purpose as described in Appendix E, will appear to be astonishing but it will hardly surprise those who know anything about the matter. Indeed, as the author himself admits, the list of authorities is by no means complete. Economic history deals with an aspect of history which is essentially popular and for such a purpose the light thrown by the great vernacular literatures of India is simply invaluable. What great results may be expected from a discriminating use of his evidence is best seen in the historical work of Mr. Kishnaswami Ayanger who has successfully drawn upon Dravidian literatures for illuminating many obscure points of south Indian history. Our author's ignorance of these vernacular literatures has prevented him from using these materials. We do not say this in disparagement of the author's capacity for no single individual European or Indian can for a long time to come possess such a varied equipment but we only wish to point out that the results of such a study cannot be accepted as final. The provisional nature of these conclusions is still further emphasised by the fact that the author has not consulted the records of Portuguese administration and all the Persian authorities available on the subject. It would have been better if instead of Elliot's translated extracts the original Persian authorities had been consulted for in addition to giving a far better idea of the technical force of certain expressions, it would have given access to some passages of economic importance which may have been deemed to have had insufficient political interest to be included in Elliot's history. Excessive reliance on the writings and opinions of European travellers, ignorant of all but the superficial conditions of the country will at best give imperfect results. Subject to these observations we may say that the author has shown remarkable skill and industry in utilising his materials as was to be expected from an official of Mr. Moreland's standing and reputation. But Mr. Moreland's position as an ex-revenue official of the U. P. Government would also to some extent prepare us for that bias which colours the views of most officials about the economic condition of India before the advent of British rule. His main thesis is that the economic life of India at the end of the reign of Akbar was characterised essentially by inadequate production and faulty distribution and that the whole tendency of the economic environment was still further to discourage production so that a period of increasing impoverishment was to be expected. This was only brought to a close by the introduction of European trade and western methods of administration. Those who are familar with the evidence submitted before Parliamentary committees in 1813, 1833, 1840 and 1853 on the subject of the effects of English commercial policy on the decline of industries in India will hardly be disposed to agree with this conclusion. But Mr. Moreland proceeds to prove his thesis by a quantitative method which tries to "arrive at numerical estimates of the various factors which composed the stream of Indian economic life of the 16th century." In adopting this method, Mr. Moreland breaks new ground for which he deserves unqualified praise. By such a method alone, can the mists of controversy which have gathered round so many Indian problems be dissolved. Whether in this particular case the method has been successfully used or has given convincing results will be a matter on which a difference of opinion will always exist. As the author himself admits, the dangers of the method are everywhere great and they are doubly so in India where quantitative evidence is remarkably deficient. To the untutored mind precise numerical estimates of the wealth and population of a country at a particular period are always mere attractive than vague generalisation and appear therefore more convincing. This is a danger which cannot be too much guarded against for the so-called precision is really misleading. The correctness of a figure in many cases depends upon many postulates and assumptions which are themselves open to question so that uncertainty about a particular fact is not completely removed but is pushed only one stage further. It will be best to illustrate this defect by examining one or two arguments in the book under review.

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*Lane Poola Medieval India.

By a deeply interesting method the author arrives at a minimum of 30 millions as the population of India south of the Godavery and Mahanadi at the death of Akbar. He estimates that the non-Moghul kingdom of the south could actually put into the field about a million men and assuring that South India could like Germany and France mobilise one man out of a population of 30, which is extremely unlikely, he arrives at 30 millions as the minimum population of non-Moghul India. In the first place considering the imperfect development of communications and military science in those days, the large figure of a million of fighting men is extremely improbable. It is certain that such large numbers were not engaged in Aurangzeb's operations against the Mahrattas when the whole might of the Empire was directed against a nation in arms. In the great battle of Panipat the troops engaged were infinitely smaller. Again a pacific nation like the British was able to put in the recent war one man out of every eight in the field (5 millions out of 40 millions excluding Ireland where compulsory service was not introduced). These considerations would lead us to think that the population of South India 300 years ago was very much less than 30 millions and this is supported by the fact that the present population of the same area is twice the figure which Mr. Moreland has estimated for the 16th century. If Mr. Moreland's figure were correct, it would give us, specially in view of the orderly government which the area has enjoyed since the last 150 years an insufficient rate of increase. The population of England has in the same period increased 20 times. Again it would not be possible to accept Mr. Moreland's estimate of the population of Northern India from Multan to Monghyr as 30 millions as it is based on the assumption that the main lines of the Indian system of agriculture have persisted during the last three centuries and that consequently the area placed under crops is a rough index to the numbers of the rural population. This presupposes that the Indian population has not been ruralised since the advent of British rule. Various officials in the past have given evidence that after the decline of Indian manufactures agriculture became practically the only occupation of the Indian people and this is supported by the conclusion arrived at by Prof. Slater of the Madras University that more persons are trying to live on land than it can support and that there is what the economist term a chronic under employment which would not exist if there were a greater variety of industry.* This would imply a greater density of population in rural areas to-day than in the past and the population of India from Multan to Monghyr must have therefore been less than what Mr. Moreland is inclined to suppose. His figure of 100 millions for the population of India minus Burma, Assam and large uncultivated tracts in Bihar and U. P. will have this to be largely reduced. This is very important as much of the subsequent reasoning in the book is based on the assumed correctness of these figures and becomes valueless if they are not accepted. Given a particular national income, the smaller the population the larger would be the share of each individual in the total income. Thus the peasant of the 16th century would not be so desperately poor as Mr. Moreland would have his readers believe.

It would be obviously impossible in this brief review to examine similar arguments of Mr. Moreland in detail. It would be sufficient to indicate them after expressing our general opinion that Mr. Moreland, perhaps led away by that official bias to which we have already referred, takes many things for granted without sufficient proof and draws an economic picture of India which is unjustifiably dark. He reviews the productive activities of all classes, agricultural and non-agricultural, and comes to the conclusion that whatever was produced and he does not think it was much, was produced under a discouraging political environment and that much of it was taken away by the lazy drones who formed the expensive Imperial administration. Imperfect production, faulty distribution inevitable collapse and no hope for the future except in European trade—these words sum up his main teaching. None but a bigoted golden age theory doctrinaire would contend that the political and economic condition of India in the days of Akbar as compared to the present was free from defects or that its productive processes and administrative action were as highly organised as those of the present day. But this would not solve the question of the progress or decline of India, to determine this as evidently the author indirectly attempts to do. It would be as useless to compare India of the 16th century with India of the 20th century as to compare the England of Elizabeth with the England of Queen Victoria. For the prosperity or decline of a country is never measured absolutely but in relation to the economic condition of other parts of the world. At no time has India ceased to manufacture iron and it is possible to admit that Tata's works are manufacturing more iron than what the whole of India in the 16th century used to do but the proper question which has to be asked is whether India in relation to other countries is manufacturing as much iron as it used to do before. Judged by this test India should be pronounced to have declined for in the 16th century, India used to meet all its requirements in this line as in many others. Leaving aside this high standard it would be possible to hold that in certain branches of production the position of the worker has absolutely deteriorated. Mr. Vincent Smith by a series of elaborate calculations has proved in his book "Akbar the Great Moghul" that while prices since Akbar's time have risen by 500 to 600 per cent urban wages have risen only by 250 to 300 per cent*. He comes to the reluctant conclusion that the wage earner had more to eat in ordinary years than he has now. And this is not surprising in view of the glowing testimony of European travellers to the great demand for Indian technical skill and the wealth and prosperity of India. It must be remembered that India used to clothe all the adjacent countries and carry on its extensive commerce in ships built in it own limits. It had no need for foreign product except gold, silver, metals and articles of luxury. In view of these facts, it would require more proof than Mr. Moreland is prepared to give to destroy the ancient universal belief in the wealth and prosperity of India. In the sphere of agricultural production, Mr. Moreland is inclined to think that the state deprived the peasant of a larger share of his gross produce than the government or the zamindar do at the present day. Those who know the practices of the rack renting zamindar or planter of the modern days will not think so and it is freely asserted by Dutt and other revenue officials of standing that the government demand in ryotwari areas though theoretically limited to 50 % of the economic rent exceeds it very much in practices. It would be perhaps possible to admit that after the phenomenal rise in the prices of agricultural product which has taken place in the war, this objection is not well founded but Mr. Moreland's basis of comparision is the period before the war and high prices have benefited the middleman more than the cultivator. It is however certain that the peasant in the days of Akbar enjoyed more communal benefits in the shape of free wood and free grass. Butter and milk were common articles of his diet now they are luxuries even for the rich. In view of the official report on the inquiry into the causes of high prices by Mr. K. L. Datta it cannot be maintained that the fertility of the soil has not decreased and that the average yield per acre has not lessened. This is not surprising in view of the fact that in the absence of fire wood, cow-dung is burnt and no longer used as manure and that a large amount of potential manure is lost in the shape of the refuse of oil seeds, cotton and food grains now exported to foreign countries. One writer has characterised this as an export of Indian fertility. The law of diminishing returns is also operating as more unfertile lands are brought under cultivation. Again the Moghul revenue demand though high as compared to ancient standard was not so scientific and therefore not so rigid and there were fewer chances of terrible mistakes or corruption in assessment as much of the revenue was paid in kind. Whatever may have been his past condition it is certain that the peasants' present condition is worse than that of his Persian neighbour though his land is less fertile and is often devastated by the Mongols and Turks and he has never enjoyed the blessing of irrigation and an orderly administration. Terry gives a glowing description of the prosperity of Panjab under Akbar and there is no evidence to show that any part of Persia enjoying a similar if not worse form of administration was more prosperous than it in the 16th century. And yet Sir Percy Sykes writing in his History of Persia and quoting from a report on the agriculture of Khorasan which he wrote at the instance of the Indian Government says that inspite of the oppression that prevails in Persia the Persian peasant is better clad and better fed and is better off from many points of view than the Panjab cultivator.

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* Slater: Some South Indian villages.

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* This disparity has been still further emphasised by the war.

Mr. Moreland tries to prove by figures that the Moghul administration was unduly expensive, swallowed a very large portion of the surplus produce of the nation and rendered no proportionate service in return. He reckons the salary of a 5,000 commander as a lac per month in modern money by deducting from his official salary the expenses of the military contingent he was required to keep. This is undoubtedly large but Mr. Moreland forgets that the salary was paid in land grants or jagirs and he omits to deduct from the Salary the expenses of managing the Jagir and collecting the revenue which must have been considerable. There is reason to believe that it was this comparative cheapness of the Jagir system which induced Akbar to continue it as a system of payment. When we further remember the fact that the Mansabdars were expected to give large presents and that all their savings were confiscated by the Emperor, we see that the prospects of Akbar's Imperial Service were not so splendid as they seem. It is doubtful if many members of the present civil service would care to accept office under such conditions. It is well known that the Moghul grandees were always in debt.

These are some of the criticisms, which might be urged against the book. We are anxious not to exaggerate them because we are conscious of its many merits. The descriptive portions of the book where a wealth of information about many obscure points in the past history of India is given in a clear and polished style are really fine. His chapter on the commerce of India based as it is on convincing authorities and free as it from unprofitable controversies is admirable and is indeed the best part of the book. His account of slavery in India is extremely interesting. These things make us regret that the author could not refrain from the temptation of making doubtful comparisons which must be necessarily unconvincing because the materials for them are so unreliable and scanty. It would have been better if he had confined himself to a faithful description of the main facts in Indian Economic life of the 16th century without drawing any doubtful inferences. Even as it is the book is one of the most fascinating and stimulating we have ever read on the history of India. It follows a line of inquiry which is of perennial interest to all lovers of India and lays down a method of historical investigation which will have to be followed by subsequent research if the reproach of a lack of an accurate economic history of India is really is to be removed.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Recent Historical Literature.

A Political and Social History of Modern Europe. Two volumes. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. (The Macmillan Company), 1919.

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History of Modern France (1815-1913). Two volumes. By Emile Bourgeois (University Press, Cambridge), 1919.

A Social History of England. By Frederick Bradshaw, M. A., D. Sc., (University Tutorial Press, Ltd., London), 1919.

Russia's Story. By J. A. Shearwood, B. A., New and Revised Edition. (Jarrolds, Limited, London), 1919.

A Source Book of Australian History. Compiled by Gwendolen H. Swinburne, M. A., (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London), 1919.

Bohemia—An Historical Sketch. By Count Lutzow. (J. M. Dent & Sons, London) 1920.

PROFESSOR Haye's *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* is perhaps the best text-book on the subject it deals with. Comprehensive, lucid, accurate, and interesting—it is all that a work of information should be. The first volume deals with the period from the beginning of the sixteenth century till 1815; the second and concluding volume is devoted to a survey of the one hundred years till the outbreak of the war of Nations in August 1914. It does not claim to possess any title to original research and should not, therefore, be scanned from a critical standpoint. It is frankly a popular treatise and judged from this point of view, it is a highly meritorious work—an almost ideal one of its class and kind. We know of no other work in English which covering the same ground is equally informative, instructive and withal interesting. A large number of well-designed and clearly-executed maps illustrating the developments of the various European States and well-selected bibliographies to enable the student to follow up with advantage his study of the work under consideration add materially to its value and utility. We have great pleasure in commending this very useful compendium of modern European history to the attention of our college students and their teachers.

The "Cambridge Historical Series" has been enriched by the addition to it of an excellent English translation of M. Emile Bourgeois' *Modern France*, containing a historical sketch of the hundred years since the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Professor G. W. Prothero—the editor of the series—contributes an introductory appreciation of the author and his work, in which he rightly points out that the chief merit of M. Bourgeois' book is the skilful survey of that remarkable political evolution through which France has been able to realize the principles and to establish institutions of democracy, in spite of various drawbacks and handicaps. To Indian political reformers who are struggling to establish similar institutions in this country, the work of the distinguished French historian—now available in English—should be particularly instructive. But apart from that it is perhaps the best historical sketch of the period in English and deserves serious attention of students of the subject.

Mr. F. Bradshaw's *Social History of England*, though intended as a text-book for students, will be of interest to a larger reading public. It offers a compendious sketch of social and economic aspects such as are generally not to be found in the ordinary histories, which as a rule deal solely with political and constitutional subjects. Special attention has been paid to the expansion of Great Britain as the new British Commonwealth. Village and town life, economic conditions, State control, mercantile system, the industrial revolution and the development of the colonies and dependencies are all brought under survey. To those who for want of leisure cannot profit by a study of Traill's *Social England*, Mr. Bradshaw's capital, little sketch would be invaluable, since it is accurate, lucid and interesting.

Mr. J. A. Shearwood's *Russia's Story* is a short, popular historical sketch of that at present unfortunate country, from the earliest times till the present period of revolution. The book is admittedly a compilation and it should not be judged as claiming any pretensions to original research. It is intended to be a popular sketch and as such it fulfils a useful purpose. It may safely be said that it is not only accurate but makes interesting reading. Genealogical and chronological tables are a useful feature of the book.

Messrs. Bell's "Source-books" have come to be widely appreciated in the educational world. The volumes dealing with English history now number eighteen, with Scottish history two (others are in preparation) and one each (at present) with Indian, Canadian and Australian history. The last—*A Source Book of Australian History*—is compiled by Gwendolen H. Swinburne, M. A. and is an excellent example of putting together useful works of this class. The passages are judiciously chosen and the information is commendably systematized.

The late Count Lutzow's *Bohemia: An Historical Sketch* is the standard work in English on the subject. First published in 1896, it passed through a second edition in 1910 (when a chapter was added bringing the sketch up-to-date) and we welcome the present reprint in Messrs. Dent's world-known "Everyman's Library," with its value enhanced by an Introduction from the pen of the first President of the Czecho—Slovak Republic, which includes Bohemia as a predominant partner.

Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

PANDIT Pearay Mohan, Vakil High Court, Lahore, has rendered a public service by the publication of his highly useful work—*An Imaginary Rebellion and How It was Suppressed* (Khosla Bros. Railway Road, Lahore). It is a bulky volume of about a thousand pages, and our only regret is that it is not better got-up and bound. For the rest it is a valuable work alike for study and reference. It is divided into three chapters, the first dealing with the causes which brought about the disorders, last year in the Punjab the second with the nature and extent of the disturbances and the third with the almost inhuman methods adopted to quell the imaginary rebellion. The book has seven informative appendices. The first contains the Regulation of 1804, the Ordinances and Martial Law Regulations, the Martial Law orders issued at Lahore and several other orders and notifications connected with Martial Law. In the second are printed 68 important judgments by the Martial Law Commission, while the third gives proceedings in the Privy Council in the Amritsar National Bank murder case, the Lahore Leaders' case and one other. In appendix IV are reprinted the views of eminent legal authorities on the applicability of Martial Law, of Regulation X of 1804, Appendix V deals with the Indemnity Act. Appendix VI contains a more or less complete reprint of the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council on the Hon'ble

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry and on the Indemnity Bill. The last appendix is entitled "Miscellaneous" and contain extracts from the presidential addresses delivered at the All-India Moderates' Conference and the Indian National Congress and some other important pronouncements. Mr. Lajpat Rai contributes an illuminating foreword. The book should find a place in the library of every Indian patriot and publicist.

Advertising being the order of the day the number of the books being published on it is legion. The latest English work on the subject is Mr. George Trench's *How to Advertise* (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1 Amen Corner, London, E.-C.) and the latest American Mr. E. Sampson's *Advertise* (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 2 & 3 Portsmouth Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2). Both these books deal with the "ten commandments" of advertising:—"be human, be interesting, be intelligible, be readable, be unusual, be humourous, be unexpected, be tempting, be subtle and be positive." Both the books lucidly expound the mysteries of the craft and should have a large circulation in India where there is a large market but very little scientific advertising.

Mr. Bhagwan Das of Benares is one of the most enlightened and cultured of Indian leaders. His various works—*The Science of the Emotions*, *The Science of Peace*, *The Science of Social Organization*, *The Science of Religion* and others—have long since established his reputation as a thinker of no mean power. But while the works enumerated are for the scholar rather than for the layman, his *Social Reconstruction* (Gyan Mandal Office, Bhelupura, Benares) is intended for the man in the street. It is an enlarged substance of his presidential address delivered at the Provincial Social Conference last year. The survey is comprehensive and marked by a rich and rare insight into the realities of the Indian problem. It is a valuable and thought provoking contribution to reform literature.

The Oxford University Press (Bombay and London) have added to their excellent editions of prose classics Lockhart's *History of Napoleon Buonaparte*, which appeared in 1829. Dr. J. Holland Rose—well-known as the author of *The Life of Napoleon I*—contributes an informing introduction, in which he corrects the inaccuracies of Lockhart. But Lockhart's book—unlike Dr. Rose's work—is not intended to be scientifically accurate. Its chief value is—as the editor himself points out—"to readers who desire to read more about the man and the picturesque incidents of his career than his influence on his age." It is a capital work for this purpose and the edition under notice deserves commendation.

By the publication of his *New India: A Simple Explanation of the Reforms* (Oxford University Press, Bombay and London) Sir Narayan

Chandavarkar has rendered a public service. So far, except in speeches and newspaper articles, the salient features of the Reform Scheme have not been lucidly placed before the public. This has now been done by Sir Narayan in his excellent, little sketch which deserves careful attention at the hands of all interested in making the Reforms a success. The booklet may be particularly commended to young Indians and students to enable them to correctly appraise the Reforms.

Though inconveniently large in size, the *Buddhist Annual of Ceylon* (No. I) edited by Mr. S. W. Wijayatilake (W. E. Bastian & Co., Colombo, Ceylon) is a wonderfully good collection of miscellaneous essays, sketches, stories and notes dealing with matters concerning the Sinhalese, Buddhists and will appeal to those interested in them in particular and Buddhism in general. It is beautifully illustrated and the contents are alike instructive and informing. But future editions should be published in handier format.

The "World Classics" of the Oxford University Press, (Bombay and London) have long since earned high reputation as one of the very best series of reprints of the classics, in most convenient size. The latest additions to it are Sir Walter Scott's *Lives of the Novelists* and Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Bronte*—both standard works in biographical literature. Each has got a useful introduction. The series deserves to be better known in India and to have a wider circulation.

Of the many press directories. *Willing's Press Guide* (125 Strand London, W. C. Z.) is about the cheapest, handiest and best available, Its edition for the current year is fully abreast of the changes brought about by the war in the press of the United Kingdom, and the information it offers is both comprehensive and accurate. The short list of the press of India is not quite up-to-date and requires careful revision by some expert. We hope to see this section improved next year.

Messrs. W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd. of Cambridge have published an anthology of prose and poetry called *The Unclouded Visions*, compiled by Margaret Jenkinson. The subjects of the extracts are "thought on the pure in heart." The authors requisitioned for the purpose are ancient and modern, British, American and Continental. This catholicity in the selection enhances the utility of the booklet, which makes highly instructive reading.

Mr. A. K. Trivedi of the Baroda College has just added *Ethics* to his useful series of students' manuals—*Deductive Logic, Inductive Logic* and *Psychology*—which we have noticed in terms of appreciation. His treatise under consideration keeps up the high reputation of the series. Like its predecessors it is both lucid and comprehensive and it presents within a short compass an excellent analysis of ethical data which will be useful to students.

Some time back Mr. Philip Webb published *Translations from Heine and Goethe.* These were excellent renderings from the two great German poets and we, therefore, welcome his *More Translations from Heine* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. I.) These renderings also are highly felicitous and will enable English-knowing readers to acquire better acquaintance with Heine.

Mr. J. O. Coop's *Short Guide to the Battlefields* ("Daily Post" Printers, Wood Street, Liverpool) is just the thing for visitors to Europe. The information though brief is accurate—being mostly based on personal knowledge—and the value of the letter-press is materially enhanced by the book being embellished with thirteen useful maps and eight excellent photographs. Altogether a capital, little guide.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I—*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and *I will hear*. (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Literature*)

MOTTO II—Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thoughts or points of view, but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*.)

The Late Doctor M. N. Ohdedar, Rai Bahadur: A tribute from one who knew him.

THE death of Dr. M. N. Ohdedar, Rai Bahadur, has inflicted an irreparable loss on Lucknow, in particular, and the United Provinces, in general. He was not merely a professional man, with a skin like a lobster's, insensitive to all influences except those immediately pertaining to his own needs; his sympathies were scattered broadcast and clung to every movement aiming at the uplift of the Indian nation I knew him ever since he came to Lucknow after his retirement from Government service, in which he rose to become the first Indian Civil Surgeon in these provinces. And how shall I record my impression of him? There was something ineffable about his personality which affected me deeply, too deeply for words. Courtesy, refined and polished in a superfine style, was the pervading charm of his speech and manner He was never known to be discourteous even to those who positively offended him.

Sick folk are proverbial for their un-reasonableness, and physicians with an extensive practice are equally notorious for their haughty, dictatorial manner of prescribing drugs and diet; but Dr. Ohdedar had not even a touch of haughtiness, or even authoritativeness, in his attitude towards his most unreasonable patients, whom he treated as gently, as coaxingly as though they were his own children. The effect of this courteous treatment was more powerful than medical treatment, his patients felt half recovered at his mere words.

Punctuality was another noticeable point about his professional activities. He commanded the largest practice in Lucknow, and yet, not only found time to visit all his cases, but to visit them punctually to the very minute. He was preparing to go out on his calls when a stroke of paralysis laid him low suddenly. As for his professional skill, let his professional brothers bear testimony, as, I am sure, they will most cheerfully do. His professional brothers regarded him as a brother indeed, without the slightest tinge of even that feeling of rivalry which is hardly ever totally absent from a professional circle. At the news of his illness a crowd of doctors hastened to his bedside; but he shook his head with a smile, hinting in that in articulate manner that his malady was beyond human aid and that he was cheerfully preparing for fresher activities in a better world.

As a public man, Dr. Ohdedar was much respected, for sacrifice was the main principle of his public life. He gave away his earnings, he spent his time, he expended his best energies for the good of his country. In the early part of his career he was a devoted educationist. The Anglo-Bengali School, which is now one of the leading educational institutions of Allahabad, owes its origin chiefly to Dr. Ohdedar, who established it on such a secure basis that it has flourished and grown and expanded as vigorously as schools with firmer financial stability. After his retirement from Government service, when he had laid down the heavy harness of office, he turned with relief to politics, and at once made his mark in the political world by the saneness and soundness of his views, the catholicity of his heart, and the practical turn of his mind.

As a friend he was most lovable and estimable. The warmth of his friendship and the geniality of his disposition magnetised everybody. If he had to say anything unpalatable he said with frankness and candour, and his sparkling sincerity gave a certain charm to his words. He was an exceedingly popular man. 'Popularity' to borrow the words of Carlyle, 'is as a blaze of illumination, or else of conflagration kindled round a man; showing what is in him; not putting the smallest item more into him, often abstracting much from him ...'

Peace be to his pure soul.

THE LATE MUNSHI CHHOTU LAL SAHEB.

We have learnt with the deepest regret the sad news of the passing away of Munshi Chhotu Lal Saheb, the revered father of our esteemed friend, Munshi Iswar Saran. Only in our last issue we had occasion to offer our respectful congratulations to the venerable gentleman on the courage and enlightenment he displayed in giving his consent to an inter-marriage in his family. And to-day we have to mourn his loss. Truly, in the midst of life we are in death!

Munshi Chhotu Lal Saheb has died full of years and honours. As our readers are aware, the family comes from the district of Chapra in Behar. Munshi Chhotu Lal Saheb, however, began his career in the seventies of the last century as a lawyer at Gorakhpur in these provinces and, by sheer force of merit, soon came to the front. During the last thirty years or more there was hardly a case of any importance in that district in which his advice and services were not sought after, and up to the day of his death he maintained his position of an acknowledged and respected leader of the Gorakhpur Bar. He gave proof of his enlightened views some time ago by sending his second son and grandson to England for education, and was always ready to support any movement that was calculated to benefit his community and country. The death of such a man is a great loss. We offer our sincerest sympathies to Munshi Iswar Saran and other members of the family.

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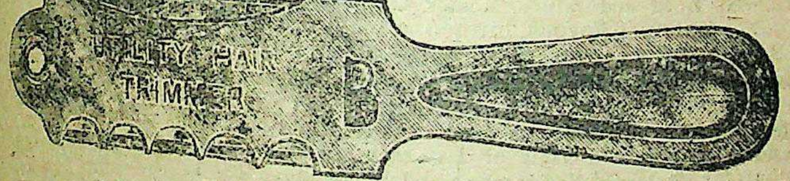

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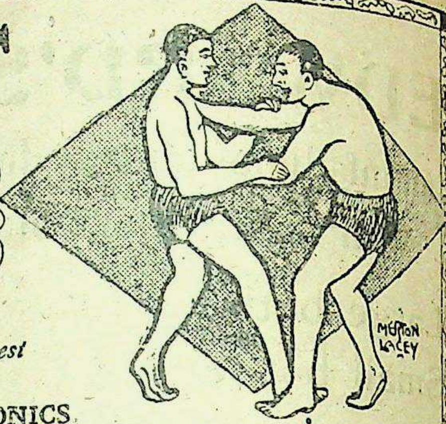

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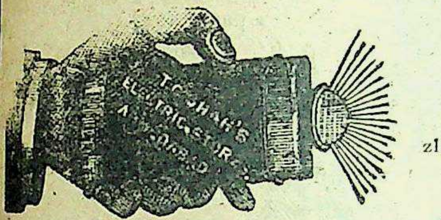

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"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, .K. C. M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."

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Obstructed Drainage as a Primary Cause of our Physical Degeneration.*

By MR. PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

THAT free drainage is an essential requisite of health has been recognised for thousands of years. Hippocrates says that the depopulation of the city of Allydos was not only stopped by the draining of the adjoining marshes, but it actually became healthy. In the colony of Demarara, drainage and agriculture, has "rendered the deepest and most extensive morass probably in the world a healthy, fertile and beautiful settlement. The climate of the Lincolnshire fens, at one time pestilential, is, since it has been drained and reclaimed, as salubrious as that of any other part of England.

Until the last decade of the last century, miasma, or air tainted by noxious emanations from marshes was almost universally regarded as the cause of the malarial fever which mainly accounts for the physical degeneration of the people of Northern India.* One distinguished medical authority ascribed it to "an earth-born poison, generated in soils, the energies of which are not expended in the growth and sustenance of healthy vegetation." According to him, "by almost universal consent this poison is the cause of all types of intermittent and remittent fevers, commonly called malaria, and of the degeneration of blood and tissues, resulting from long residence in plains where this poison is generated. Humidity of soil was almost universally regarded as the most important factor in the etiology of fever epidemics. Dr. Smith who was for sometime Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, says that "there is constant and close connection between humidity of soil and high rates of sickness," and that "the fever of the Bengal districts is beyond all doubt an endemic malarial disease due to local causes, chiefly want of drainage, partial or complete stagnation of water courses and saturation of the soil with moisture." Raja Digambar Mitra who made a special study of the causation of malarial fever in Bengal, says, "the type of fever met with in the epidemic districts is solely due to a something in the soil, and the condition most favourable to the development of that something is excessive or abnormal humidity of the subsoil."

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*From the writer's forthcoming work—"Survival of Hindu Civilization part 2—Physical Degeneration, its Causes and Remedies."

Towards the close of the last century, the immediate cause of malaria was discovered to be a minute unicellular parasite which is conveyed to man by the bite of the Anopheles mosquito. As the mosquito thrives best in ill-drained waterlogged, damp localities, the truth of the old idea, that such localities are the primary source of fevers is not affected by the discovery. Captains Proctor and Stewart found that villages in the districts of Jessore, Nadia and Murshidabad (three of the most malarious districts in Bengal) in which the "ground waterlevel was less than 6 feet, had a spleen rate of 75 per cent., and in those with a ground waterlevel over 6 feet, the rate was 55 per cent." They also ascertained that villages surrounded by dense jungle, which is favoured by a high level of sub-soil water, had a spleen-rate of 71·7, but the rate in villages with little or moderate jungle was as low as 44·5.†

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* The evil effects of malaria in Bengal are summed up in the Census Report of 1911 in the following words:

"Year by year fever is silently at work. Plague slays its thousands, fever its ten thousands. Not only does it diminish the population by death, but it reduces the vitality of the survivors, saps their vigour and fecundity, and either interrupts the even tenour, or hinders the development of commerce and industry. A leading cause of poverty—and of many other disagreeables in a great part of Bengal —is the prevalence of malaria. For a physical explanation of the Bengali lack of energy malaria would count high."

†Report of the Drainage-Committee of 1907.

It is significant that previous to 1860, outbreaks of malaria in epidemic form occurred only in small isolated areas in Bengal. History records one such outbreak at Gour and another in later times at Kasim Bazar. The fulminant type of malaria began to prevail in Western and Central Bengal during the sixties of the last century. It was then that a good portion of the East Indian and the Eastern Bengal Railways was constructed; and the close connection between them and the virulent type of widespread malaria was strongly suspected by intelligent observers, notably by Raja Digamber Mitra. He showed that, "the drainage of all the villages in the epidemic districts, as elsewhere in Lower Bengal, is effected by water first running into the nearest paddy fields lying in the direction of their slope, thence it is collected in the *beels* from which it rushes through *khals* into larger streams which again communicate with navigable rivers. An obstruction occurring in any one of these conduits must interfere with the drainage, and its effects are felt more or less according to the proximity or remoteness of the obstruction from the scene of its influence. The drainage runs over the whole surface towards the direction of the slope, and consequently roads running transversely to it must of necessity intercept the drainage..........Both the East Indian and the Eastern Bengal Railways and their feeders (feeder roads) have crossed the water courses of villages and obstructed the drainage of these places."

The fact that malaria has extended into the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab contemporaneously with the railway lends colour to the supposition that it has co-operated along with impoverishment to produce ill-health. The main Railway systems of Northern India traverse a vast expanse of immensely thick alluvium. There are several ways in which they tend to obstruct drainage.

First. The tremendous pressure exerted by the trains on the high embankments over which they run, convert these into practically impervious walls through which water cannot percolate. The effect of such walls is to raise the level of sub-soil water in the area the drainage of which is affected and lead to water-logging and increased dampness. The Railway companies are compelled, chiefly in their own interests, to provide water ways but these are quite insufficient, as is testified by good many lines being flooded during seasons of excessive rain.

Secondly. The "borrow pits" on either side of the majority of the railway lines are converted into pestilential pools frequently choked with weeds. "There is also a potential source of danger," observes Mr. O'Malley in the last Census Report for Bengal, "in the form of 'borrow pits' from which earth is excavated for railway embankments. They are not continuous but separated from each other by intervening banks of earth. In the rains they form stagnant ponds, from which water cannot drain away and in which the fever mosquito breeds and multiplies."

Had the country in Northern India served by the railways not been so generally and so deeply alluvial, the obstruction to drainage would not have been so serious. The comparative immunity of the Madras Presidency from malaria is, I venture to think, mainly accounted for by the fact of its being chiefly composed of hard rocks except a small strip along the Eastern coast drained by wide navigable rivers.[*]

Some of the canals in Northern India have like the railways seriously impeded drainage and thus tended to bring about conditions favourable to the spread of malaria. "It seems incredible," observes Sir James Caird, "that, for twenty years after the Ganges canal was made, the natural drainage continued in most cases to be blocked by the canal embankment, which had been carried across the natural outfalls of the country, with no provision of Syphons or outlets. The consequence was an accession of fever and the spread of *rhe*, both attributed to the canal irrigation, where in truth they were the natural consequence of water logging the soil by blocking up its outlet. Meerut, it is said, was so desolated by fever, from this cause, that it had to be practically given up as a military station till this want of outlet was discovered. If it had not been for some independent planters, who were not afraid to speak out, the cultivators would have continued to suffer, seeing desolation but accepting it as the destiny of fate through the ignorance of the government."[†]

Another observer remarks in regard to the Son canals in south Bihar that they "have been constructed with a most reckless disregard of the natural drainage of the country. Instead of providing suitable outlets for the surface drainage, wherever they happen to cross its line, they run on their straight course with majestic indifference of the natural ridges and furrows which mark the face of the country......... To any one who has travelled on the these lines, the extensive swamps which have been formed on either side of canals must have afforded abundant evidence of the mischief arising from the want of a system of drainage to carry off the infiltrations. The districts watered by the Western Jumna canal have afforded another sad picture of the injury caused by canal irrigation."[‡]

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[*] It should be noted in this connection that one high medical authority Major (now Sir) L. Rogers seems to be of the opinion that the railway has not obstructed drainage. At the malaria conference held at Simla in 1909, he said that he had taken the ground water-levels on each side of the Eastern Bengal State Railway for a distance of 25 miles. "The highest ground," he said, "is the bank of the river Hooghly. If the railway was obstructing drainage it is obvious that the water-level would be higher on the river side. But there was no difference between the two sides at all." Before, however, Sir L. Rogers could make an authoritative pronouncement on the subject, he should have ascertained whether the level of subsoil water has been raised or not since the construction of the railways. It might well be the same on both sides now, but much higher than in prerailway times when there was freer drainage.

[†] "India, the Land and the People," p. 41.

[*] "Notes on Indian Agriculture" by B. C. Basu, pp. 67—68.

The Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders.—II.

II

THE indiscriminate arrests of large numbers of people, many of whom were innocent, became a common practice. The arrests, we are told, were actuated by the following reasons :—

1. Suspicion of all those who were active in political affairs during the years anterior to the disturbances. Thus it was the lawyers in the towns were among the first to suffer. We shall quote from a statement made by a lawyer in a small district town. He asserts that when feeling ran high he did his best to quieten the people ; his efforts were successful, and there was no rioting or disorder of any kind. Four days later this is what occurred :—

"At about six in the morning, while I was in my night-dress, I heard a knock at my door. I opened the door. . . . . . To my surprise I found the Superintendent of Police with half-a-dozen men stepping into my room. He at once told me that I was under arrest. I said, 'All right.' The Superintendent of Police then said, 'Will you walk out ?' I said, 'I am bareheaded . . . . let me dress myself.' The Superintendent then said, 'You need not ; you walk out as you are, When I reached the bazaar I found a large number of cavalry and police with fixed bayonets waiting for me. On beholding such a show of force I laughed out. . . . . . But I soon found out that——and——, pleaders, were arrested as well. Till then we were under the impression that the authorities probably wanted to deport us. We were taken to the Clock Tower and made to sit in the presence of all the town till 8 a. m., when the arrests were complete. Then we were surrounded by the military and the police. On our arrival in the Jail, the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police retired in a room and they left the Jail after half an hour. We were then informed that we had been charged with an offence—being members of an unlawful assembly.

The narrator was tried and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. He was later released.

"After our conviction we were transferred to the Central Jail, Lahore. Although we were political prisoners, bar-fetters were put on us. We wanted a conveyance to reach the railway station, a distance of about two miles, but our request was refused. In the burning sun of June we were marched, fettered and hand-cuffed to the railway station with our bundles of wearing apparel on our shoulders. When the presiding magistrate pronounced the order convicting me to four years' rigorous imprisonment, I told him, 'I wonder who is a loser in this game—whether I who have lost my liberty, or the British nation which has lost its reputation for doing justice . . . . . .

"We were arrested because we are politically minded.

"(a) I have been told, and I rely upon the sincerity of my informer, that at the time when arrests were being contemplated, some police officials told the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police that there was neither a confidential nor a police-station report against us, rather the C. I. D. reports were favourable to our activities. But both of them ruled this question out of order, saying that we were politically-minded men and had organized the District Congress Committee and had awakened political sense in the people.

"(b) I myself suspect that the attitude of the local authorities was due to confidential instructions . . . . to arrest all who were prominent in politics.

"(c) I was asked to speak in the Congress at Delhi, criticising the administration of the ex-Lieutenant-Governor and his attitude towards the Reforms. I was therefore a special object of His Honour's displeasure.

The case of another lawyer will be of interest, considering his antecedents. His statement is as follows :—

"I am an M. A. (Punjab) and a B. A. (Cambridge), a Fellow and Member of the Syndicate of the Punjab University, and a Barrister-at-Law. I was formerly a foundation Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and among other academic distinctions won the Government of India scholarship, Cobden Prize, Whewell International scholarship of Cambridge University, the McMahon Law Studentship, and Brotherton Sanskrit Prize. I am a Fellow of the Royal Economic and Statistical Societies, London and of the American Economic Association. I was for some years. . . . . Professor of Economics in the University of Calcutta. . . I was arrested on the 18th April, at about 7-30 a. m., and taken to the Telegraph Office, where I was formally arrested as a Trustee of the *Tribune* newspaper. I was shewn no warrant of arrest, nor otherwise told what the charge against me was. I was one of the three Trustees of the *Tribune*, the other two being Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, K. C. I. E., and Mr. J. C. Bose . . . . I was removed by the police to the Central Jail, Lahore. . . .

"During the whole of this time (up to the 23rd May) I was given no indication as to what the charge or occupation against me was. I was left in a state of complete anxiety. On my release I was told nothing as to why I was arrested or kept in jail for nearly a month.

"I learnt during one of the interviews allowed me in jail that my home was searched after my arrest. I understand that out of my large library, two or three books, one of them Houghton's *Bureaucratic Government*, were taken by the police. They have not yet been returned to me. To this day I am ignorant of any accusation against me or of anything else that led to, much less necessitated, my arrest and confinement.

2. Another cause of wholesale arrest was the desire to obtain evidence against those who were to be tried before the Special Commissioners created under Martial Law. The report abounds with statements made by witnesses testifying to their experiences. The following interrogatory is significant. A Mohammedan merchant is examined :—

"Q.—Were you arrested.

"A.—Yes, on the 20th April I was arrested while I was offering prayer, and taken to the Kotwali, and I was confined in the Kotwali for ten days.

"Q.—Tell us what happened during those ten days.

"A.—I was asked to give false evidence, and I was oppressed in many ways.

"Q.—Tell us exactly what happened.

"A.—When I arrived at the Kotwali—C. I. D. officer caught hold of my beard and slapped me so hard that it made me reel for awhile.

"Q.—But why did he slap you all at once ?

"A.—I will tell you everything, hear me. He began by slapping me, as I have said. He then asked me to state that——and——had instigated me to bring about the Hartal on the 6th, that they had encouraged me by saying that they would use bombs to drive out the English from the country. I refused to make a statement——then asked his underlings to take me aside and to make me 'all right.' I was then taken a few paces from——'s office-table and asked by a number of constables to please ——by doing what he wanted me to do. I still refused. They then caught hold of my hand and placed it under the leg of a cot, over which seven or eight constables were sitting. When the pain became unbearable I cried out, 'Leave my hand; I will do whatever you ask me to do. I was then taken to—— again. He asked me to make a statement before him. I refused to implicate —— and —— falsely.

"Q. What happened then ?

"A. That day I was confined in a room. The next two days I was again beaten, slapped, and caned. Still I refused to give false evidence. They then threatened me that they would make me an accused and I would be hanged. On the sixth day I was again mercilessly caned by——and slapped and beaten on three or four occasions during the day. . . I believe I was beaten that day ten times in all. On the seventh day I was again beaten but not caned. On the eighth day I could bear my sufferings no longer. I felt I was going to die, but I still refused to make that statement. They beat me again—they slapped me—they caned me, and then they dragged me near a cot and placed my hand again under the leg of a cot and several constables. After a few minutes I shouted out that I was willing to make any statement they wanted of me."

The victim was now compelled to make his statement before and recorded by a magistrate. Finally, at the trial of the accused he told the court that his recorded statement was untrue and had been extracted from him. Finally he was released. This is not an isolated story. The report abounds with descriptions of tortures, a few even more revolting than the one recorded above.

(c) Another reason of arrest was the opportunity it afforded of blackmail.

"I was called by a constable; he took me to the Deputy Superintendent of Police. He said to me that I would have to give evidence in the right way. In case I did not I would also be arrested, because I was already in the list of those who were suspected. I was compelled to agree. . . .

"I was much frightened lest I also should be arrested. I again saw the bearer of the S. D. O. and he took me to the S. D. O. . . He demanded Rs. 3,000 as a bribe from me. I replied I had nothing to give. I went to the Sahukars (money-lenders) and requested them for money. I managed to get Rs. 1,000 and took the same to the S. D. O. He said that the amount was not enough, and added that if I was arrested I would be sentenced to death or to transportation for life. He further said it was easy to concoct evidence against me. I again entreated him. He accepted Rs. 1,000 and said that I should give a sum of Rs. 100 to his chaprasi."

Another case is the one of a confectioner, aged fifty, who, with his adopted son, was arrested. He was released after signing a security bond. For the next three days he was arrested each morning and released in the evening until he bribed the police with Rs. 100. Ten days later he was re-arrested, and finally got off by the payment of another bribe of Rs. 50.

There was however another sinister factor in the situation and that was the opportunity these troublous times afforded to persons to denounce their enemies and thus to pay off long-standing scores. Such cases were apparently frequent.

"I was quite innocent,——of—— had enmity with me out of sheer jealousy. I had access to officers as a loyal subject and did all they ordered me. I collected a lot of money for the Indian Relief Fund and gave a good sum myself I also supplied two recruits and I got certificates. ——used to be present when I induced recruits, and he would tell me to give half the recruits to him, but I refused. At the time of collection of the War Loan, I got a list of those persons who were to purchase it from the Tehsil. He asked me to exempt two men . . . and I made a complaint against him. The Zaildar told the Deputy Commissioner at——that I was the leader of the people at ——and that I had induced the people to declare the *hartal*. He at once dispatched the Zaildar with a constable, a head constable and a member of the Municipal committee, who took me with them to——.I was arrested without any investigation and kept in the lockup for one and three-quarter months. The police during all this time tried hard to get some evidence against me, but could not. Then, taking the Zaildar with them, the police began to tyrannise over the villlage people and got four witnesses against me. . . On this evidence the court sentenced me to six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. I was released after one and three quarter months."

The next charge the report under review brings against the administration of Martial Law is one of terrorism under which the guilty and innocent suffered alike. The programme in proclaimed areas included the following measures :—

1. Deportation without trial of the more powerful political leaders.

2. Indiscriminate arrests.

3. Imposition of restrictions :—

(*a*) Suspension of facilities for ingress and egress.

(*b*) Enforcement of a Curfew Law.

(*c*) In one instance the stoppage of the water supply and electric currents.

(*d*) Public floggings for minor disciplinary crimes such as infraction of the Curfew Order.

4. Deliberate persecution, as in making residents of a house responsible for the preservation of Martial Law Orders put up on the gates or walls of their houses.

5. Punishment of village populations by holding identification parades, and money levies imposed on them.

6. Special measures against students.

7. Imposition of special disciplinary measures such as the "crawling" orders—"salaaming" orders.

8. Firing on unarmed crowds and in one instance bombing them from aeroplanes.

9. The establishment of summary courts and martial law commissions which convicted prisoners, even with the death-penalty, on the flimsiest and faintest evidence.

It is not possible within the limits of this article to deal with the statements under each head. We shall, however, select some examples and limit ourselves to certain charges, namely :—

(1) Public Floggings, (2) Identification Parades, (3) Special Measures against Students, (4) Trials by Summary Courts and Martial Law Tribunes.

1. Among the relics of barbarism still included in the Indian Army Act is the power given to Commanding Officers to inflict flogging up to 30 stripes on soldiers and followers for ordinary breaches of discipline. In peace times, however, floggings are not administered to soldiers but only to followers. In 1918 at the autumn sessions of the Indian Legislative Council the non-official members called attention to the matter, but did not press it on receiving an assurance from the Commander-in-Chief that the law would be modified as soon as war conditions permitted; this promise remains unfulfilled.

In his statement a vegetable seller, aged 34 years, says that a few days after *martial* law began an Englishman's cook asked the price of tomatoes, and was told that they were two seers for the rupee; he put some in a handkerchief and walked away without paying for them; there apparently was an altercation. This is what happened next :—

"My servant told me that ——— Sub-Inspector of Police, required me. I went and told him what exactly had happened . . . the Sub-Inspector then took me to the house of the Superintendent of Police . . . I was made over to a Sikh Assistant to the Court Inspector. This Sikh Assistant took me to the Civil

Police Station, the munshi took my name and address and put me in the lockup. An informer gave evidence that he had abused the cook. The General asked me some questions, and I stated what was true. On this the General ordered that ten stripes should be inflicted on me and I should close the shop for fourteen days. It was Thursday and I remained in the prison that night. The next morning, Friday, ten stripes were inflicted on me, and then I was released after an hour. I remained ill for many days, and my shop remained closed for fourteen days."

A statement made by five "dancing-girls" which, if true, reveals a most damnable misuse of authority:—

"One day during the Martial Law regime, some time in or about the 3rd week of May, all the dancing-girls with male musicians were ordered by beat of drum to attend at 4 p.m. the Railway Station, the headquarters of the Military. It was announced that if any dancing-girl failed to attend she would be shot. All the dancing-girls appeared at the Railway Station in the afternoon. None of us knew why we were summoned. The order was said to have proceeded from the Martial Law Office. Soldiers went to our houses to find if any of us had remained behind. When we reached the Railway Station we found the Martial Law Administrator——with two or three military officers. We were ordered to stand near the iron railing of the signal at the railway platform. Shortly after a man was tied to an iron railing and we were ordered to watch him. As we could not bear to watch the flogging we tried to hide our faces, but ———made us all look at that horrible sight and threatened us with the remark, 'Observe carefully the result of love-making.' After being flogged each of them was brought close to us and everyone was ordered to look at his bleeding body. This shocked us very much; when they started flogging he yelled out with pain. We could no longer bear the sight and turned our eyes away, but————came amongst us, and after pushing us brutally compelled us to look at the flogging. He threatened us with flogging if we failed to look at it carefully."

The following statements throw light on the methods employed to investigate local crimes committed by rioters:—

"On the morning of April 16th I heard that———station had been burnt. . . . . On the 18th or 19th April, when I with my son was cutting wheat crops, we were startled to hear a shot from the railway side, after this we heard volleys after volleys being fired. . . . All began to run to and fro after this and some hid themselves behind the trees. . . . . (a few days later) a constable came to our village and said that the Sub-Inspector of Police wanted all the villagers at the Railway Station. We, some thirty or forty men, were about to start when the Sub-Inspector with———turned up, taking everybody who met him on the way. He seated himself on a *charpai* at some distance . . . . the people had to wait at the Railway Station the whole day without food or drink."

Another witness describing the same events:—

"Two days later————came with a party of soldiers and began indiscriminate arresting. He collected all males above eight years or so and ordered them to go to the Canal Bungalow———,where he ordered them not to go to their fields or cut their crops until further orders, and there made about 4 or 8 arrests, leaving the very old and young free. During this time we were sending meals to them with our females, and that was not allowed by the police.

or the soldiers without payment being made to them. My father was also arrested at that time and handcuffed, when————sent him round amongst the people saying 'here is a monkey.' I was beaten by————with stick. . . . Here one respectable-looking gentleman of another village was tied to a tree and given 18 stripes, when he pleaded innocence and absence from his place."

"Next day four Police Sub-Inspectors and a large body of constables and a few soldiers were ordered by him to search our houses for the looted property. These collected the whole male population of the village and asked them to surrender it. — son of———was severely beaten and his loincloth was taken off. We were all made naked, compelled to lie down on our bellies for about 3 hours in the sun."

"Again the remaining male population of the village was called by——on 7th, 8th and 9th May. . . . . . While we were there ——— came alone on the 8th May on horseback to our village, when he collected all the females of the village, numbering about 60, in an open place and removed their veils. This is considered in India a great humiliation and an outrage on modesty. He spat on them, kicked and beat them with sticks and abused them in filthy language and asked them to depose that——had spoken against the Government. We male people were ordered to attend twice daily, which meant a walk of 8 miles a day. . . . . ."

In another statement an old man of 75 deposes:—

"Along with the whole population of my village, I was called out in the open and made to lie on my belly in the sun for some hours. The worst of the whole thing was that I was also made to uncover my buttock . . . . We were also told that if we did not bring the station property our females would be brought and made to lie down naked along with us."

A widow, aged forty, of the same village, made the following statement:—

"While the men were at the Bungalow he [the Martial Law Administrator, the man mentioned previously] rode to our village taking back with him the women who met him on the way carrying food for their men. Reaching the village he went round the lanes and ordered all women to come out of their houses, himself forcing them out with sticks. He made us all stand. The women folded their hands before him. He beat some with his stick and spat at them and used foul and most unmentionable language. He hit me twice and spat in my face . . . . . . He forcibly uncovered the faces of all the women, brushing aside the veils with his own stick. He repeatedly called us she-asses, bitches flies and swine, and said, 'You were in the beds with your husbands; why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts will be looked into by the police constables.' He gave me a kick also and ordered us to undergo the torture of holding our ears by passing our arms round the legs while being bent double."

This statement is corroborated by eight other women.

3. With regard to the alleged maltreatment of the students it will not be necessary to say much, as the facts have already been reported in the evidence before the official Committee of Enquiry.

It was admitted in evidence at Lahore by Colonel Frank Johnson, the Martial Law Authority, that as a notice on a college building had been defaced he ordered that "every male found on the premises should be arrested," and 500 students and Professors were marched out to the Fort, three miles away, where they were incarcerated for two days. He further took action against the students of three other colleges and ordered them to attend a roll-call four times a day at the military headquarters, and thus had to walk sixteen miles between the hours of 7 a.m. and 7-30 p.m. This continued for three weeks during the heat of the month of May. At another place the headmaster of a school was reported to have complained to the military authorities concerning the indisciplined acts of some of his students. He was ordered to select six students, who on arrival were pronounced physically unfit for physical punishment. They were sent back and six others replaced them. They were then flogged publicly without a trial or enquiry of any kind.

4. The Martial Law Tribunals the report contends, were anything but judicial in their procedure and denied the accused the legal help and other facilities he demanded for his defence. A note written specially by Mr. Santanam, a Barrister-at-Law of ten years' standing, who himself helped in the defence of some of the prisoners, is worth perusal. He says:—

"The Government had no doubt out of a feeling of great humanity (one likes to think so), appointed a counsel for each Tribunal to take up the case of those who could not afford to engage a lawyer to defend them. But this was a colossal sham as such a counsel had often to defend as many as ten to fifteen men at time, and that too without any adequate time to consult them or prepare their cases. Some of these gentlemen have confessed to me that in several cases they had not had as much as five minutes with each accused for consultation, before being asked to defend them against such serious charges as waging war, conspiracy, arson, murder, etc. The procedure usually was to bring up before a Tribunal a batch of the accused, often numbering 30 to 40, who had never been told for what offence they had been arrested, to read out the charge to them and ask them then and there to name what witnesses they were going to summon in their defence. As often as not the *prècis* of the evidence for the prosecution was not read out to them nor were they allowed to take copies of the *precis*. After this they were taken back to the jail and were not allowed to see even the crown counsel till 9 o'clock on the morning of the day fixed for their trial, which usually was 3 or 4 days after the day on which the charge was read out to them. Sometimes, I am told, that the crown counsel was allowed to see the prisoners in jail from 7 a. m. in the morning till 8-30 a. m., when the prisoners were usually taken to court. But it can be imagined what this concession amounted to, if it is remembered that these counsel had to attend court every day at 10 a. m. and had to defend fresh batches of accused each day. Let it also be remembered that trial of 20 and 30 persons on very serious charges was usually over in a day, and it can be imagined what sort of trial these poor men could have had."

The Bar at Lahore, too, was thoroughly demoralized, and, as most of them had been active in politics, refused to accept the briefs of the accused; although lawyers from the other Provinces were willing to accept them they were prevented from entering the Martial Law areas by the authorities.

It is with a sense of deep responsibility that the writer places the facts of this Report before readers both in India and abroad—Indians and Europeans. The facts stated are believed by the vast majority of Indians to be true; they possibly are disbelieved by Europeans, or, if accepted, it is with the reservation that the times demanded heroic measures. We are now in possession of the Indian story of the events, and within a short period will have before us the official version; but we have a third party in the country—namely, the community of European race; their interpretation of the events is very different. They remain shaken, and can we wonder at their perturbation? Everywhere last year the European felt his life was threatened; he, with his women and children, was living on a volcano which at any moment might irrupt and overwhelm them. We wish to do justice to him and his legitimate instincts of self-preservation. The army officers, with the British soldier too, felt aggrieved; they sincerely believed that public security was at stake: the mere abdication of the civil authorities was sufficient demonstration, and they carried out their trying duties under unfavourable circumstances, and any punishment meted out now would be a shameful abandonment by the Government whose instructions they carried out. The situation, as will be readily understood, is delicate in the extreme; whatever future action is taken is liable to be misunderstood and, we fear, wilfully misinterpreted.

Only once before in Indian history has feeling run so high, as anyone who is familiar with the records of the Indian Mutiny will recognize. Let the European realize that the Indian has his Cawnpore in Jallianwala Bagh, the remembrance of which only time will efface, but even the efflux of time is not sufficient.

Only a change of heart can help us, whether Indian or European. Even during those terrible days at Amritsar one incident illumines the darkness. An English missionary lady was terribly injured by the mob in their anti-European frenzy; she was rescued by other Indians, tended in the house of one of her pupil's parents and finally rescued. These facts are known; but it ought to be more widely known that she petitioned the Government to spare the life of her assailants. In a letter to an Indian lady she said that the events had in no wise changed her opinion with regard to India, that she continued to regard the people as her friends, for she had received much kindness from them. To her credit be it recorded that she refused to accept Rs. 50,000 offered her by the Government as compensation.

The Congress Sub-Committee do not ask for revenge, but they plead for justice; they demand that those guilty of brutality should be no longer permitted to serve India; that injustice should be redressed. The Report is not a verdict but an indictment; the commonwealth of the Empire are the judges. India awaits their judgment.*

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* This article was written before the publication of the Hunter Committee Report and the Dyer Debate in the two Houses of Parliament—Ed., H. R.

Some Current Educational Problems.—II.

By Mr. C. R. REDDY, M. A.

TOP HEAVY NATURE OF THE EXISTING SYSTEM.

ONE of the most serious charges against the present system of Education is that it does neither social nor regional justice; that it favours the urban population at the expense of the rural; that primary education is not looked after so well as the higher. This is borne out by Mr. Sharp's Quinquennial Review in which he proves by much statistics that Education in India is top-heavy and that mass education is, relatively speaking, far less developed than the higher. If there had been proper integration, the development of one part of education disproportionately to another would have been automatically checked. If all the primary schools were real introductions to the secondary, then both secondary and primary education would have expanded at a less disproportionate rate. The rural population would have had more representatives in the public life of the country and they would leave demanded and obtained more educational facilities for their children. Relatively speaking, the State spends far more on higher than on lower education and this is inevitable, for the literate people are able to exercise influence to a degree that the others cannot and they obtain what they ask for more easily. The clamour for Secondary schools, High Schools and Universities is insistent, vociferous and organised and one such institution consumes the finance which would have gone to the opening of dozens of primary schools. The solution of this does not consist either in lopping off the top, which is a remedy worse than the disease, or in opening more primary schools of the present type, but in producing a better integration between the primary and the secondary grades so that in course of time a better diffusion of higher education and public influence might be secured.

CORRELATION OF VOCATIONAL WITH GENERAL EDUCATION.

To this it is sometimes objected that if we make it possible for all lads to get secondary and higher education we shall be producing a large intellectual proletariat, unfit for honest livelihood, helplessly dependent on Government for jobs, and becoming. if they cannot be provided with jobs, inflammable material which would jeopardise the prospects of the orderly and assured progress of the country. It seems to me that this objection is based on the view that no other reform besides integration and expansion is proposed, which is notoriously not the case. Indian opinion has always insisted on a proper infusion of vocational and technical elements into our education, and expert opinion too has confirmed the demands of the Indian public in this respect. Mr. Sharp's Quinquennial Review concedes that the present education is nominal, not realistic. Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu say that "From the economic point of view India has been handicapped by want of professional and technical instruction" and admit "that the charge that Government has produced a large intelligentsia which cannot find employment has much substance in it." There is such a thing as education through hand and eye and the best way of combining the principle of integration with that of social efficiency, as opposed to clerical, is by providing along with a minimum of general education which ought to be made compulsory, optional courses, both general and technical, so that pupils who have an aptitude for manual occupations will have an opportunity of taking up subjects congenial to their inclination. If higher courses of a similar nature are provided in the higher grades, then it will be possible for young men with pronounced manual talent to go up from grade to grade taking, as optionals, courses which will enable them in case they discontinue, to earn a decent livelihood without having recourse to Government service, and Government service too will be all the better for having men trained in manual occupations. The Bombay Government has done wisely in appointing agricultural graduates to the Provincial Civil Service.

Let the compulsory subjects remain as they are, but find a place amongst the optionals for vocational and technical subjects, and you will have remedied the defects of too literary an education without depriving the boys going in for vocational education either of general culture or of the chances of progress to higher grades including the University. This is the solution that we in Mysore favour and it is with respect to this part of the educational problem that many have criticised Dr. Sadler's Commission's Report as wanting in clear and firm direction.

I notice that in some quarters there is a tendency to advocate a restriction of general or literary education and an increased provision for technical. This school of thought proceeds on the hypothesis that there is an essential antagonism between literary and practical education, that literary education should be confined to the few, and that practical education should be the chief type of education open to the vast majority of the people. They forget that no such antagonism is recognised in progressive industrial democracies like the United States and Canada that restriction of opportunities for general education is likely to result in the domination of the country by an oligarchy ; and, that the best methods of overcoming the difficulty is by adding technical and vocational instruction to the optionals that may be selected at the different grades. This synthesis enables all students to have a certain minimum equipment of general culture and has the added advantage of correcting defects of either education by means of a common institution and a common neighbourhood. The extraordinary degree to which practical work is correlated with theoretical studies in western countries does not seem to be fully realised here, and in any case I am certain that the policy of a restricted general education, which would further increase the gap that now exists between the literate and the illiterate, will not be approved by the progressive elements in the country.

HOSTELSAND THE ORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

I now come to the fourth principle of reconstruction. It is not possible to provide Secondary schools except in a few chosen centres. But to prevent the rural population from stagnating we ought to make it easy for their children to come up to these schools, which doubtess will be situated in urban areas. Those of us who are acquainted with the conditions in our rural parts know how difficult it is for the children, say of agriculturists, to migrate to the cities for their education. Good hostels are non-existent and it is not always possible to billet one-self on friends and relations. I know of many families in the Telugu Districts which are maintaining small establishments for the benefit of their children at High School centres. But such establishments can never be either economical or satisfactory The proper provision of hostels at all centres of Secondary Education is very necessary if the rural children are to benefit by them. How exactly these hostels should be provided—whether as institutions managed by Government, or by Municipalities and other local bodies, or by private agencies receiving grants from Government—are matters which it is premature to discuss at this stage. I might in passing observe that I am personally convinced that if a grant-in-aid system like what obtains at present in Mysore is adopted, it will act as a tremendous impetus to the hostel movement. Hostels must be regarded as an integral part of the educational organisation and if there are a good number of them, they will add to the efficiency of the existing schools, and render the opening of small, inefficient schools in different places less necessary to a certain extent.

These then are the few principles which ought to be kept in view in the further development of educational policy in the country, *viz.*, integration, expansion, provision of technical instruction as optionals in the different grades, and of hostels at Secondary school centres. If they can be applied with thoroughness and consistency, they will result in a popular. democratic system of education which will at the same time promote industrial and economic efficiency; Educational Liberalism will have been realized.

MORE UNIVERSITIES.

While I thus insist on the supreme importance of a thorough-going reconstruction on these lines, I am not blind to the urgent necessity that there is for establishing more Universities in the Madras Presidency. Even should Travancore hive off, there will still be room for at least two more Universities in the immediate present. An Andhra University has long been overdue and a University for the Southern Tamil districts is no less necessary. These new Universities should be organised on very different lines from the Madras University; and the Madras University itself should take advantage of the relief thus afforded to cast off some of its obsolete features and remodel itself on the principles recommended by Dr. Sadler's Commission. You have been asking for a certain amount of decentralization in the S. S. L. C. administration and if these new Universities are established—and I trust every effort will be made to bring them into speedy existence—the decentralization that you have been asking for will be automatically secured.

DEPRESSED CLASSES AND THEIR CLAIMS FOR EQUALITY OF SECULAR RIGHTS AND SPECIAL TREATMENT.

That was a noble resolution of yours that you passed last year urging that all educational institutions be laid under an obligation to throw open their doors to boys of all classes and indeed I do not see how unless we adopt measures of this kind we could be said to be true to our nationalism. Plain men cannot easily reconcile nationalism with class or caste exclusiveness in regard to secular rights and privileges created or aided by the State. I am in emphatic agreement with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in his condemnation of the policy of separate schools for the Panchamas and other Depressed Classes. The Memorandum submitted on this subject by the Servants of India Society which, not perhaps altogether by chance, follows very closely the lines of developments inaugurated in Mysore, has my entire approval. While upholding the right of these unfortunate people to enter public and aided schools, we should at the same time, in view of the special disabilities under which they suffer and the need for special care and protection, organise on a scale commensurate with the importance of the problem, special facilities like Boarding institutions and a generous system of stipends. The Central Panchama Institute at Mysore, as has been pointed out by observers like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, is about the most successful measure yet adopted on their behalf. The eagerness of these classes for education has been proved to be genuine and widespread and in fact we were obliged to turn away more than a hundred applicants last year for want of accommodation from the Boarding Institutes of which there are already three in the State. It is very gratifying to note that all over the country attempts are being made by liberals of all sections and communities to wipe out this disgrace of ages and I have complete confidence that Indian nationality will not falter or fail in its handling of the problems of internal reconstruction. Some people have objected to their admission into general schools on the ground that they tend to lower their tone. But surely you cannot degrade a fifth of your own people to such lamentable depths without having to atone for it in some way and at some time or another. A wave of social liberalism, offspring of the new spirit in India, is sweeping everything before it. Just the other day the Zamorin College has been thrown open to Thiyyas. In this connection, one cannot but admire the sympathy and sagacity displayed by the Government of Lord Willingdon in providing a special grant of 5 lakhs of rupees for the advancement of the Depressed Classes and bringing about the nucleus of a special organisation to look to their interests. He has just commenced the liquidation of an ancient debt.

Lord Willingdon's forward Policy.

The broad imaginative sympathy, and deep insight into realities, and lofty idealism for which Lord Willingdon is famous have already found apt illustration in several educational measures and I trust that these are only an earnest of greater things to follow. Quite recently, he has given a lakh of rupees for being expended in aid of increased salaries to teachers in aided schools. I have already referred to the five lakhs budgetted for the advancement of the Depressed Classes. The recent order on Medical Inspection of schools marks a good beginning in a difficult field and the new Elementary Education Bill is a notable instrument of Educational progress. I am in general agreement with most of the provisions, though doubtless minor amendments will be necessary. I approve with special emphasis the proposal to entrust Educational administration in the districts to *ad hoc* councils. For some years past I have been advocating such *ad hoc* councils, having become acquainted with the excellent work they have been doing during my travels in Canada and other countries. This is what I said on this subject at the Birthday Session of the Mysore Economic Conference in 1917:—

Ad Hoc District Councils.

"The scheme of the Committee contemplates that all elementary education in the District and Taluk should be under the charge of District Boards. I find that in some foreign countries and in practically all parts of America a special Local Board is generally instituted to look after education and that education is never left to the charge of a general administrative board which has to look after a large number of concerns like roads, bridges and sanitation and which cannot therefore be expected to concentrate its attention on education. In this one point the scheme is not satisfactory, but I have no doubt that before final orders are passed this defect will be remedied. Education is too important a subject to be mixed up with a large number of other concerns and educational officers should be as far as possible independent of the general administrative officers of the District. The system of *ad hoc* Councils prevails practically throughout Canada and the United States and we cannot do better than follow the precedent of two such countries as Canada and the United States which have always treated education as the first and foremost concern of Government. If you have *ad hoc* committees it will be possible to secure the services of men who could not find a place on district boards, elections to which are influenced by a variety of interests amongst which education may not find a determining place, men of special competence who would further devote their entire attention to this one matter."

In any scheme of decentralizations which will add to the powers of local councils, general or *ad hoc*, in regard to educational administration, it may be necessary in view of the greater conservatism of the Districts to introduce special safeguards for the protection of the interest of the children of the Depressed Classes. I do not think that this has been done, but I dare say there are other ways by which the object in view could be secured. The Elementary Education Bill now before the Legislative Council is also remarkable for a recognition, though tentative end halting, of the voluntary principle in Religious Education. I do not think it goes the whole length of a Conscience clause, but it does travel some way in that direction. It permits of compulsion on the basis of local option coupled with a fair amount of local financial responsibility, which is the only sound basis of compulsory education at the present time.

EDUCATION LIBERALISM.

In any scheme of educational reform whether of content or organisation we would do well to remember that the country is not prepared to sacrifice the principles of social liberalism and national solidarity. Unless our reforms are charged with the saving grace of equality, which is the new principle of social reconstruction, their chances of survival are small. The debates of the last Educational Conference held at Madura have revealed what deep cleavages there are, even in a limited body like this, on subjects like religious and moral education. Moral education rests of course on a different footing from religious and it is not likely to be a scene of violent tempests and storms. It is possible to make arrangements for it though much difference of opinion exists as to its utility and the possibility of making it effective without calling in the support of religion. When you go to the root of the differences you will find that opinion is also divided as to what exactly are the ideals sought to be conserved and promoted by these measures, whether broadly speaking the ideals of conservatism or those of liberalism. What is light to the High Caste Hindu will probably be regarded as a blight by the Panchama ; and in these high themes of spiritual import it is both wisdom and prudence to preserve a charitable reticence. Read and inwardly digest the moving and powerful reference, though in great part indirect, to this difficult and delicate subject contained in Sir Abdur Rahim's famous Convocation Address at Mysore. consider also whether through indirect means like the Boy Scout Movement and a better organisation of school life we could not achieve the ends in view. Once again let me repeat that this is a subject on which it would be unwise to dogmatise and that whatever we do we should try to move with the times and not come into conflict with the forces of progress. Let us also remember that heavy curricula are opposed to all conceptions of mental hygiene and that if we load young shoulders with every item that is in itself and in the abstract desirable the result would be a most deplorable breakdown.

Miscellaneous.

The programme above sketched is by no means full and I cannot help touching on a few more matters of importance. The conditions under which the teachers have to serve require generous modifications. It cannot be said that they are adequately paid or that in other respect, like security of tenure in aided institutions their situation is not capable of amendment. One of the advantages claimed for a teaching Unitary University is that teaching and examination are not so wide apart and divorced as in the case of an examining affiliative University. In most modern Universities the professors and the teachers in charge constitute the majority of the Examining Board, and they try to test the knowledge of the candidates taking into consideration the actual conditions under which the teaching work is carried on. Such examiners would not make it their chief business to test the ignorance of the candidates; they are there to test their knowledge taking into account the extent and the manner in which it is imparted. In some of yeur resolutions you have been claiming that the benefit of teachers-examiners should be extended to the candidates appearing for the S. S. L. C. Examination and I do not see how the soundness of your contention can be disputed. University students are to be shown such a consideration, it stands to reason that High School students have a right for it to a much greater degree. This leads me to the question of the appalling educational wastage involved in the present organisation. There is the fallacy of the non-teacher-Examiner on which I have already commented. In every country passing is the rule and failing the exception. In India it is the other way about and the efficiency of the educational organisation is measured not by the number of pupils passed but by the number slaughtered. Our examinations require over-hauling. Then there is the wastage involved in the dualism of Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools and the boy who passes the Vernacular grade has to recommence in English at a later stage the subject already done in the mother-tongue; this linguistic marking of time is a drain on the years and intellectual freshness of our children.

Then there is the wastage involved in the defective correlation of our educational system to the needs and requirements of our life. It is not necessary to dwell at greater length on this subject since it has received adequate consideration at previous conferences. No modern democracy has found it possible to desist organising on a large scale an extension system of popular education. This is required for two purposes—to improve those who have already had some education and to give some education through the ear to those who have not have any. By this the village teachers could be kept up to the scratch and the rustic population initiated into the mysteries of modern knowledge and civilization. When you remember how our people have a trained and hereditary capacity for learning through hearing you will agree with me in thinking that a great mistake has been made in not employing a means of education so well suited to our needs and aplitudes as the extension system.

Financial Responsibility and the need for Caution and Prudence.

Each one of the projects discussed here will cost a great deal and collectively they will put our financial resources to a strain which we will not be able to bear unless we make a grand and united offort. It is very likely that in our new enthusiasm at the chance we have got of administering education we may rush, into schemes rather too wildly. I hope we shall act with a sufficient sense of responsibility especially in finance. There are a number of evils which have to be remedied. Our teachers, are already mentioned, are too poorly paid; relatively to their qualifications they are paid worse than men of similar merit in other Departments and as such their bread is not only canty but soured by a feeling of injustice. And then there is the cry for free education, for compulsory education, for kindergartens, adult schools and a large number of other developments which I would gladly have if they did not cost so much. We should cut the coat according to the cloth. If you sacrifice revenue, as by means of free education, and increase expenditure, will you be able to open more schools and provide the large number of localities which have no schools at all with the schools they have been wanting all these years? Nobody would oppose these things in the abstract and if money could be found let us by all means abolish fees, make education compulsory and improve the salaries and prospects of the teaching profession. But if in the actual circumstances you abolish fees, introduce compulsion in this area or that, and spend a few lakhs more on salaries, what would be the effect on expansion of Educational facilities? We cannot go on with revenues on the Indian scale and expenditure on the European. Believe me it is not a question of sympathy or of sentiment, but Business, Business viewed from the standpoint of the country. Exhaust your finances and you will soon reach a condition in which you cannot do anything more effective than keep firing blank cartridges, annonnce policies for which you are not able to find the money, and introduce schemes which have little chance of being executed. By this I do not mean to say that we should sit still and do nothing. What I mean is that we should make a careful, complete survey of our needs and finances and make the best possible adjustments. Let us prepare a comprehensive programme of the different items to be taken up in the order of importance, calculate the cost, and see how it is possible to raise the necessary revenues. Do not let us spend all on a few hasty measures of cheap or immediate popularity to the detriment of larger and more permanent interests. But let me not be misunderstood as taking a gloomy or despondent view. I speak from experience when I say that I am certain that if properly approached and awakened the country will give generously for education; and that it will never allow education to suffer for want of funds. Perhaps you will be surprised to know that private donations in aid of education have amounted to more than a lakh and a half rupees during the past year in Mysore and if we can raise a lakh and a half rupees in Mysore, it would not be too much to expect from the Madras Presidency 20 or 30 times the amount. All that I am desirous of impressing upon you is that we should make a careful survey, prepare our programme of development, and see how the necessary appropriations could be secured. Let free educatiom and compulsory education, if need be, follow the universal provision of facilities of the type sketched above. Or, if you have the money, by all means introduce them right from the very commencement, but not so as to interfere with integration and expansion. Thoughtless enthusiasm may easily lead the chariot into a mire from which we may not be able to extricate it, and a little caution will not be out of place especially when we, the minors, have just succeeded to the management of the Estate. Perhaps with the reputation I enjoy in some quarters for radical revolutionary enthusiasm, this plea for caution may come upon you as an unwelcome surprise. I am for cautious progress; and in the condition in which things are under the new Act, it is as necessary to emphasise caution as progress. But if caution is to be used as an excuse for preventing all progress I would fling it to the four winds without thought or compunction. Mysore spends relatively to her resources far more on Education than Madras; the standard of your Educational expenditure should be considerably raised.

As one who had special opportunities of judging the spirit of the younger generation in the Madras Presidency I am happy to be able to state that there is a real enthusiasm for educational work and that a great many of our finest youths are prepared to sacrifice their life's prospects in the cause of education. Many of them are entering the teaching profession in the spirit of missionaries. The cross of life lies heavily on your shoulders but nobody could have been present here without realising with what fortitude and cheerfulness it is borne. I doubt if the material support to which you are entitled in equity has been forthcoming either from Government or the people. I sometimes feel that even the moral support which your good work and self-sacrificing labours ought to elicit is not forthcoming in sufficient measure. I sometimes feel dismayed at the manner in which elections even in the field of education go and how little support is given to educationists even when they have a clear title deed for such support. This is not so in America nor even in Germany. The regard in which the teaching profession is held in America must be seen before the full extent of it is understood by our people whose eyes are still too easily dazzled by worldly glamour. Some of the best statesmen and administrators on the American Continent have been drawn from the teaching profession and many illustrious people after the lapse of their public career are only too happy and proud to join the teaching profession. I do not mention this in a spirit of querulous complaint but just to draw the attention of the country to a glaring defect of our psychology. I do not think that the vast majority of us care either for reward or recognition but it is to the good of the country that it should revise its catalogue of moral values. I cannot but express on this occasion my very deep and abiding admiration for the splendid work which you have been doing, for the justification of the spirituality of our civilization which you are providing every hour of your life, and wish you and the deliberations that are to follow every success.

Education is confronted with a heavy task in our country and if we take into account the races, creeds and all manner of social cleavages that have in some measure cut up our unity into fragments, we shall realise the full scope and difficulty of the synthetic purpose that we have to serve; and I have not the slightest doubt that amongst the unifying influences that are now operating with such striking success, this noble instrument, this brotherhood of educationists, occupies and will continue to occupy the foremost position.

Palestine for the Jews.

By Mr. C. I. Varughise.

The incorporation of the Balfour declaration in the Peace Treaty with Turkey, providing for Palestine to become the National Home of the Jews, affords an opportunity for a very short account of this peculiar people. They have been ever moving over civilized life, yet never received into its bosom. They are to be found in almost every country, yet apparently settled in none. They have preserved their identity, and their peculiar speech, even though mixing with various people, and speaking the language of the country that, for the time, is their homeless home. They have been persecuted, yet never cast out. They have become hewers of wood and drawers of water to their despisers, yet clinging together and wandering about, as if under the influence of some awful curse, and doomed, like Satan, to walk perpetually to and fro upon the earth.

Looking back to the origin of the Jews, we find them flowing from Abraham, as a great river comes down from a fountain in some distant hilly country. Like that river, it is narrow and feeble in its first course. Abraham had a son in his old age, when hope seemed to be against hope. That son had two children, Esau and Jacob, of whom the latter became the wider channel of the river. The twelve sons of Jacob are the heads of the Jews. This family was sent down to Egypt, there to become a people. When the family 'grew and multiplied', and were rapidly rising into a great people, the jealous despots of Egypt oppressed them with cruel bondage, and made their lives bitter unto them. But the time came when the people were to be led out to become a nation, and so with a high hand were they brought forth under the guidance of Moses, carried across the Red Sea, and brought into the deserts of Arabia. They were in the deserts without patriotic feeling, for they had no fatherland, the only fatherland which many amongst them seemed to know being the dainties, the onions, the leeks, the flesh-pots of Egypt. They had no literature; no laws but the traditional patriarchal observances, analogous to the mere natural laws observed in a family; no religion but the dimmed knowledge of the true God which had come down from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; no public spirit, for their standard of conventional morality was very low; scarcely any courage, for their hearts were the hearts of slaves ready to impel them into some outburst of folly, or else to make them cringe with abject fear. Such were the people entrusted to Moses, to be moulded into a nation.

The first thing to be done, was to stir the patriot feeling in them, by pointing to a fine and fertile country as their own. This feeling had, indeed, been latent during all their own sojourn in Egypt. But now it was brought out, and made a principle of action, for they were advancing on Palestine, of which God had promised to Abraham. "I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession." Soon they drew near, and spies were sent forward to view the promised land. These came back with tempting reports of the country they claimed as the land of this prospective nation. But their teeth chattered, and their lips quivered as they told of the gigantic inhabitants, and of cities walled up unto heaven. A cry of fear ran through the congregation; the people were men; but they had not men's hearts. They had come out from Egypt, but they were Egyptian bond-servants still ; for the nature of man will not be changed in a day, and in all great national changes, one generation must go and another come, before the change is worked into the habits and feelings of the people. Moses, by divine direction, led them back, to wander in the desert, till the Egyptian generation had sunk into the earth, and a new race had sprung up, breathing the atmosphere of freedom, and educated into bravery by hardship, and privation. Then began Moses his great work. The horde was to be organized into an army. A tabernacle was built, a costly movable tent, towards which the wandering vacant feelings were to be gathered, and God as dwelling visibly among them, became the focus of their faith. A moral code was inscribed on stone, and preserved with awful veneration, in the ark of the convenant. A priesthood was instituted to minister into holy things. All the laws and regulations given to this people are calculated to shape into national form, a rude, ignorant, wilful, unlettered race, laws of medical police, laws of social and personal cleanliness, regulations inculcating mercy, kindly feeling, purity and temperance—some intended merely for their nomad existence in the desert, and some looking forward to their settled existence as a nation. The people whom Moses led out of Egypt presented as raw materials as ever lawgiver had, to mould into a nation ; and no sculptor ever had a rougher block to hew into a statue. Moses, however, having hewn out the statue, was not permitted to place it on its pedestal. He died "on this side Jordan;" but before he died, he saw "afar off the promised land." Moses the Lawgiver departed and Joshua the Conqueror came. The history of the conquest of Palestine recorded in the Book of Joshua gives us but a poor idea of the courage or military skill of the conquerors. The slave-taint was still in the blood of the children of the slaves. At last, though the land was not all conquered, nor all the inhabitants subdued, it was divided by lot amongst the tribes of Israel.

Rapidly we shall pass over a period of several centuries, known as the period of the judges. The Jews were in a state of great rudeness and great simplicity. Their names and their Government were patriarchal and agricultural. They existed as a simple federal republic, offering a rough outline of the Government of the United States. Each tribe was governed by itself, but all were linked in union, and the judge for the time being was the president. The Judges were frequently only temporary officers, raised up in some emergency, when the nation was distressed by its neighbours. From Joshua to Samuel is the Republican era of the Jews when they were simple, ignorant, sometimes interesting, often foolish and perverse, with little national forethought or spirit, yet primitive as well as often cruel in their habits. During all the time of the Judges, the nation was gradually, though slowly, advancing. There is a perceptible difference between the earlier and the later portions of its republican history. The people were numerous, wealthier, had advanced in social life, and had attained a higher national spirit. At last, they demanded a king, and a king was given them. Saul, whose varied, inconstant, flickering reign was ended by an ignominious death, was succeeded by David the Warrior—David the Bard—under whom the Jewish nation as a Monarchy rose to glory and splendour.

The glorious period of the Jewish history commences with the reign of David. In his time was Jerusalem—hitherto a hill-fortress in the possession of a Canaanitish nation—taken, and made the seat of government and the central place of the national religion. When the Jews wandered in the desert, the tabernacle occupied the centre of the camp ; and after they arrived in Palestine, the place where it rested was the point of union—the place of rendezvous—the spot where the annual celebration of the three great festivals took place, those annual festivals appointed, under God's direction, by the wise and provident Moses, that the bond of union might be strengthened by the tri-annual intercourse and meeting of the entire nation. But from the accident of David's having selected Jerusalem as the seat of his government, that city became intimately interwoven with the religious faith of the Jews; and when the Temple was built, that moveable idea, whose primary place was the centre of the Jews, wherever the Jews might be, became a fixture, irrevocably settled at Jerusalem.

During the reign of David, the Jews, as a nation, advanced rapidly, became outwardly great, while a vast improvement was made in the art of government, in financial regulation and political economy, in the arts and in literature. David was the greatest literary character of his age, and left a son behind him, not only to occupy his throne, but to fill his literary station. The world owes much to these two men whose rank as kings was but a mere adjunct to their higher character as noble men. David the Warrior and Bard died after a glorious reign; and Solomon the Wise and Magnificent succeeded. Under him the Tabernacle disappeared, and the Temple rose. The wandering ark with its sacred deposit, which David had brought into Jerusalem, that it might wander no more, was received into the Holy Place of the Temple, there to remain till it perished with the Temple itself. Solomon the Wise was succeeded by Rehoboam the Foolish. The people, groaning under the weight of taxation, came to Rehoboam, and desired to be lightened of their burdens. The Fool consulted the old men, who had been with his father, and they advised a meek and kind answer to be returned to the suffering people. He then turned to his young companions, and they, in that spirit of sneering imbecility characteristic of pampered idiots in all ages, advised the king to return a mocking answer. "Keep the people down by all means," was the tenor of their advice. But sometimes the bent wand starts back and smites the bender in the face. "Now when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king saying, what portion have we in David or inheritance in the son of Jesse? To your tents, O Israel! Now see to thine own house, David."

Now, here begins the decline and fall of the Jewish nation. The revolt of the Ten Tribes rent Israel into two kingdoms. Rehoboam retained only two tribes, and but a fourth part of the dominions of his father, while the other Ten went under the rule of a clever, crafty adventurer who had been the representative of the demands of the revolutionists, and who had headed the revolt. From this period, nearly a thousand years before the birth of Christ, the Jews began to cease to be peculiarly a peculiar nation. A large portion of the people was cut off from participation in those services and rites, and from a knowledge of that Law, which alone constituted the Jews a distinct and privileged race; and though the two tribes, by the possession of Jerusalem and the Temple, and by the adherence of the priesthood, could still boast that to them were entrusted the "oracles of God," in no large or general sense can we say that from henceforth the seed of Abraham inherited the promises. The Ten Tribes were the prey of successive tyrants and adventurers, whose annals are blood-stained; the people sank lower and lower in idolatry and ignorance, until, at last, country and people were conquered and swamped by the king of Assyria who carried off the higher classes of the people, and mixed up the lower with a colony of foreigners, producing a mongrel race, known, in later times, as the Samaritans. Exploring and adventurous souls have been searching, even in our day, for the Ten Tribes, in the delusive nation, that they may yet be found pure and preserved in some quiet nook of the earth. The downward progress of the two tribes, or the Kingdom of Judah was not so rapid, but it was sure. Before the final breaking up of the Jewish nation by Nebuchadnezzar, Pharaoh Necho King of Egypt had killed in battle the good Josiah who reigned over a people too far gone in national decay for him to recover; Judea was made a province of Egypt, and a heavy tribute laid upon it, and the son of Josiah was carried away captive with many of the grandees. Then came the Babylonians, and the Jewish polity and government, the sacrifice, the altar and the priest, were swept away, and that for ever, by Nebuchadnezzar. The Temple was destroyed, and with it all those sacredotal emblems which were the warrant to the Jews, that they were a peculiar nation. The tables of the law—that moral code written on stone—perished along with the Ark which enclosed it. The sacred fire was for ever extinguished. The Shekinah or cloudy emblem which hung over the Temple, disappeared. With the Temple perished all its costly ornaments, and the sacred vessels were either broken up or carried away as trophies. The priesthood was all but lost in the mingling confusion of the Captivity. Nebuchadnezzar "carried away all Jerusalem and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives. None remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land."

The history of the Jews is divided into two grand periods: the first, that of the existence of the Mosaic polity which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; the second, that of the Dispersion which commenced with the captivity and continues to this day. The object of the first period was *conservation;* the object of the second was *diffusion.* In the first period they were to preserve and adhere to a divine system of religion, which, though far more gross than the purer system which succeeded, was still pure and divine, when compared with the darkness and debasement of idolatry. In the second period they were to diffuse, amongst the nations, the knowledge of a spiritual being, and the hope of an approaching and brighter day. In the first period, the Tables of the Law engraved on stone, were locked up in the Ark. In the second, their spirit, and power and influence were to enter into the minds of other nations, and to become a law, not engraven on stone, but on the fleshy tables of the heart. The Jewish literature accumulated during the first period—its poetry so grand, so pure; its prose full of wisdom; its history full of warning—was, in the second period, to be poured into the literature of other nations, and to elevate its spirit. The purposes of both periods were accomplished even in spite of the Jews, although in the first often did they degrade their religion, their laws and their literature by their idolatry and profligacy, and in the second often obstructed the propagation of truth by their monopoly, thus forfeiting their character. In the second period not only was there diffusion, there was reciprocation. Noble and inspiring as is much of the Jewish literature, it is most singular how very little of the moral grandeur is sustained by what would appear to be the most elevating of all considerations, the doctrine of a future state. It is difficult to make out, in the whole of the Old Testament, a reference to the immortality of the soul. A few, very few passages there are, which seem dimly to shadow out the doctrine of a future existence; and even these require a favourable construction. The Jewish heaven was Palestine, "the Promised land," the idea of being "buried in the sepulchres of their fathers" was their future existence. They seem to have been quite incapable of reasoning about a future state at all. God was their god, their king, their governor; Palestine the everlasting abode of their nation; and when death came and closed their eyes, the darkness of dissolution was cheered by the thought that their bones would repose in peace in that country which was given to them and to their children for a perpetual possession. And yet while the Jews, to whom were committed the "oracles of God" were undisturbed by the idea of a future life, this very idea coming down from a remote antiquity floated about in the world even among nations who made a block of wood or stone a type of their deity, and it found its way into the Jewish mind during the Captivity.

A few returned from Babylon from the Captivity, rebuilt Jerusalem erected an imitation of the former Temple, and constituted a kind of Jewish province of the Persian Empire. But they had not a particle of nationality. The Jews scattered over the Persian Empire maintained intercourse with their brethren in Judea; and the great process of diffusion and reciprocity commenced during the Captivity continued to be carried on, till Alexander the Great overthrew the Persian Empire. A new direction and a fresh impulse were now given to the diffusion of the Jewish doctrines. The Macedonian conqueror founded Alexandria, and induced vast numbers of the Jews to settle in it. It, in fact, became another Jerusalem. After his death, the Ptolemies continued their patronage of the Jews. The Old Testament was translated into Greek; and a famous "school" arose in Alexandria which produced some able men who compounded Jewish and Grecian literature. In truth Egypt once the hated "house of bondage" to the Jews, became to them, for a considerable period, a better country than Judea. Meantime, a vigorous attempt was made to regain long-lost nationality for Judea. It passed from the rule of the Egyptian Kings to that of the Syrian; and though Antiochus the Great had confirmed the Jews in their privileges, his son Antiochus Epiphanes plundered the Temple, sold the high priesthood and erected the statue of Jupiter Olympus on the altar. An insurrection broke out; it was begun by Mattathias, and carried on by his sons, who, known as the Maccabees, maintained a gallant, though unequal struggle. Three of the brothers fell in battle; the fourth continued the contest, formed an alliance with Rome then beginning to spread, and ultimately made himself ruler of Jerusalem, combining in his person, ecclesiastical and civil functions. His family governed the country for the best portion of a century. About sixty years before the Christian era, Syria became a Roman province, and Judea a dependency of it. Some years later, Herod the Great was made king. having ingratiated himself with his Roman masters, and cleared his way for the murder of the last of that patriotic race which had given Judea a temporary independence. This short period of independence enjoyed under the Asmonean family, the descendants of the brave Maccabees, along with the extraordinary attachment and respect towards Jerusalem and the Temple, manifested by the Jews now scattered over the known world, made the Judeans feel keenly, the iron grasp of Rome. They retreated into themselves, and began that long dream of national glory and independence which yet floats before their vision. Herod the Great rebuilt the temple of the restoration and made it more architecturally magnificent than even Solomon's. But even this was but an augmentation of their hopes, an incentive to their vehement wish for national independence. Now, busy rumour rolled along, and all the people began to whisper to one another, that the time was come as spoken by the prophets when the Deliverer should arise. The Jews in Judea grievously oppressed by a succession of rapacious Roman Governors, and fretting about their national independence, and about the coming of a delivering Messiah were, at last, goaded into revolt. For several years the war was carried on with varied fortune ; but at last in A. D. 70, Jerusalem was invested, and after an obstinate resistance, taken by the Romans under Titus. But though Jerusalem was sacked, the Temple burnt down, the people sold as slaves, and the landed property of the country confiscated, by the conquerors, we must not suppose either that the Jews were rooted out of Judea, or that the taking of Jerusalem by Titus was the final desolation of the holy city. The country appears to have gradually recovered, and Jerusalem to have been rebuilt, when another great insurrectionary movement of the Jews brought down upon them another severe punishment. The expectation of a Deliverer again became general ; one of the Jewish rabbins, Akibah, a great light among his brethren, and of whom they said that things were revealed to him which were unknown to Moses, proclaimed the advent of this Messiah, in the person of an adventurer, Barcochebas. This man, being joined by numbers of his countrymen, took Jerusalem A. D. 132 from the Roman garrison, proclaimed the independence of Judea, struck coins having on one side his own name, and on the other "Freedom to Jerusalem," and played the king for three years. The Emperor Hadrian, to crush this rebellion, sent for his ablest general, Julius Severus out of Britain. Severus succeeded, as Titus had done sixty years ago ; Barcochebas perished ; the rabbi Akibah and many of his friends were put to cruel deaths. The very name of Jerusalem was ordered to be blotted out, that of Ælia Capitolina being given to houses erected for a Roman colony on a portion of the site ; and Hadrian issued an edict forbidding the Jews to practise circumcision, or to read the Law or to observe the Sabbath. It is affirmed that half a million of Jews perished in this revolt. This punishment appears to have sobered the minds of the Jews. Their vehement desire for a national existence was somewhat quenched ; and applying themselves to commercial and industrial pursuits throughout the Roman Empire, the recollection of their stubborn restlessness was so far forgotten that the edict of Hadrian became inoperative under subsequent emperors, and the Jews enjoyed a tacit toleration.

Meanwhile, Christianity was spreading ; and Christians and Jew came frequently into collision. Very early the Christian Church became Judasied in its character, spirit and ceremonies. Christianity was intended to supersede Judaism. But Judaism crept over Christianity. This is a subject we must not at present pursue. We shall, however, pass on to consider a new and portentuous form of Judaism which sprang up in the same quarter of the world where the laws of Moses were promulgated, and amongst a people descended from the same stock as the Jews. Mohammed tried to enlist the Arabian Jews in his interests ; but they refused to accept a descendant of Hagar, the bondwoman of Abraham, as their prophet and Messiah. He also intended originally to make Jerusalem the focus of his faith. But he changed his purposes ; and in revenge for his rejection by the Jews, punished them, when he could, with great severity. Four years after his death, Jerusalem was taken by Kalif Omar in 636 A.D. Jerusalem was to the Moslem an object of intense veneration, not only as the cradle of Judaism and Christianity, but as the first *kibla* of Islam, or sacred spot to which the faithful turn in prayer ; and also the shrine at which Mohammed alighted on the heavenly journey which he performed by night. At the crest of the sacred Mount is a stony projection which tradition marked as Jacob's pillow. The Moslems fondly fancy this to be the spot in the 'Farther Temple' from which the, winged steed of Mohammed took its upward flight ; and the eye of faith still traces an outline of the Prophet's foot imprinted on the rock as he sprang into his airy saddle. It was here that Omar laid the foundation of the Mosque which, to this day, bears his name." For four hundred years Christian pilgrims visited the city under the protection of its Muhammadan masters. Meanwhile, the Jews who thus saw their favourite Jerusalem divided between two great rival religions, both of which they considered as bastard products of their own, were content to follow the fortunes of their new masters. The successors of Mohammed did not imitate his severity towards them. The Jews were patronised by the khaliph whose treatment of them presented, in many respects, a striking contrast to the treatment accorded them by the Christians ; and these isolated wanderers were found wherever the crescent was set up.

During the period of which we have been speaking, the Jews, scattered over the greater portion of that world which once constituted the Roman Empire, were largely engaged in commercial transactions. In the fifth and sixth centuries, taking advantage of the wars which disturbed the whole face of society, they became the general slave merchants of Europe. It would be interesting to inquire whether the grasping and overreaching spirit so universal in the Jews is a peculiarity of the race, or has been contracted through the forces of circumstances. Jacob, the father of the twelve patriarchs was certainly, in many respects, the type of a trading Jew. By the time of Solomon, the Jews had become a commercial or trading nation, as well as an agricultural ; and we find various allusions to mal-practices or "tricks of trade" in the Proverbs. Their dispersion, during the captivity must have led them more and more into commercial business. In the time of Christ, the great resort of Jewish pilgrims from all quarters of the world to visit the Temple and pay the devout tax exacted for its support, led to the business of money-changers who earned a livelihood by exchanging foreign coins (most of them marked with idolatrous emblems, and therefore unfit to be paid into the Temple treasury) for Jewish shekels. But it was after the Jews had lost all hold upon Palestine and Jerusalem, and more especially after Christianity became a ruling power, that they grew so conspicuous as traffickers. They could not preserve anything like an adherence to their ceremonial law, and yet mingle freely with Christians and Pagans ; and necessity the mother of invention, sharpened their wits, and led them to practice businesses by which they could, in some measure, preserve their liberty of action. Then the cruel exactions to which they were repeatedly exposed, the foul robberies and confiscations which they repeatedly endured, the concentrated value and moveable nature of their property, and the unsettled state of their lives, must have developed all the low cunning of humanity, and exasperated that desire of revenge which found no other vent, no other mode of satisfaction than that which resulted from a secret sense of overreaching those who hated them.

The tenth century brought a great change for the Jews, both in Asia and Europe. Free access had been given, by the Saracen masters of Jerusalem, to the increasing hordes of Christian pilgrims, though these tolerating Muhammadans, who were stern haters of idolatry, could scarcely tolerate the scandalous scenes which then began, with undisguised effrontery, to be performed over the pretended sites of holy places. "Had the Christian pilgrims," says Gibbon, "been content to revere the tomb of a prophet, the disciples of Muhammad, instead of blaming, would have imitated their piety ; but these rigid Unitarians were scandalised by a worship which represents the birth, death and resurrection of a God; the Catholic images were branded with the name of idols, and the Moslems smiled with indignation at the miraculous flame which was kindled on the eve of Easter in the holy sepulchre." While these tricks were practised for the edification of the faithful, a general impression prevailed in Europe that the year 1000 A. D. would witness the advent of the Son of God, who was to descend into the valley of Jehoshaphat to judge the world. Many disposed of their property, giving it to the clergy, or for charitable purposes, and hurried to Jerusalem. Pilgrimage became a mania ; but while the mania still raged, a Caliph, through some frantic caprice, and in utter opposition to the policy of his predecessors, interrupted the devotions of the pilgrims. In A. D. 1009, " the temple of the Christian world, the church of the Resurrection was demolished to its foundations ; the luminous prodigy of Easter was interrupted ; and much profane labour was exhausted to destroy the rock which contains the supposed holy sepulchre. At the report of this sacrilege, the nations of Europe were astonished and afflicted ; but instead of arming in the defence of the Holy Land, they contented themselves with burning or banishing the Jews as the secret advisers of the impious barbarian. Yet the calamities of Jerusalem were, in some measure, alleviated by the inconstancy or repentance of the Caliph himself ; succeeding Caliphs resumed the maxims of religion and policy ; a free toleration was again granted ; with the pious aid of the Emperor of Constantinople, the holy sepulchre arose from its ruins ; and, after a short abstinence, the pilgrims returned with an increase of appetite to the spiritual feast."

The very large increase in pilgrimages during the eleventh century laid the foundation of those extraordinary events, the Crusades. The Turks, sweeping onwards from their Scythian deserts, conquered Jerusalem ; and savage in their manners, and full of zeal for their newly-acquired faith, they paid little respect to the intentions or persons of Christian pilgrims. They rendered more savage and intense the fanatic hatred which was felt towards the Jews throughout Catholic Europe, who were regarded as the crucifiers of the Lord of glory, for the recovery of whose holy sepulchre every pious Christian was willing to sacrifice all that was dear to him. They were teased, tormented and plundered in France; massacred in Germany at the cry of "Hep," "Hep," the initials of the words, 'Hierosolyma est perdita' (Jerusalem is lost) ; persecuted with fury, by rich and poor in England, and at last banished the kingdom in the reign of Edward I ; and expelled under circumstances of outrageous folly and cruelty from Spain, which by this act of madness, inflicted an almost incurable wound on itself, for the country lost its best and most productive inhabitants.

In the very midst of the turmoil and confusion of the Crusades, the poor Jews, driven from country to country, seeking for rest and finding none, returned, like the dove to the ark, into their own invulnerable patience and hope ; and yet unknown to their tormentors, they were performing a great service to the cause of European civilisation. Whether or not they were the inventors of Bills of Exchange is a question of little importance. Moving disjointedly over the surface of society, they became the chief bankers and commercial agents of Europe, and paved the way for funds and loans and the dominion of capital. The world owes them far more for this service than it can yet fairly estimate ; and it seems that Providence has made the separate existence of the Jews, and the cruelties of Christians towards them, a grand means of advancing the civilisation of the world, of furthering the social and intellectual progress of the human race.

The Jews, after their banishment in the reign of Edward I do not seem to have returned to England till the time of Cromwell. He permitted them to return and allowed a small number to settle in London and to have synagogues. After the Restoration they came in greater numbers. Many of them were Portuguese Jews flying from the intolerance of their country; and these were still further increased by Jews from Germany, Poland and Barbary. But the Portuguese Jews, many of them noble, all high-minded, and mostly rich, kept themselves quite distinct from their other brethren, whose habits, poverty and ignoble spirit rendered them unfit associates. "The haughty Lusitanian Jew," says D'Israeli, "would have returned to the fires of Lisbon, ere he condescended to an intermarriage with the Jew of Alsace or Warsaw." The Jews in London were sufficiently influential and numerous to procure an act to be passed in 1753 permitting their foreign brethren to be naturalised without taking the sacrament But the Legislature outstripped the public spirit, and popular clamour caused the act to be repealed in the following year. Since that period they have lived undisturbed in the country. The condition of the Jews in some parts of the Continen was very considerably ameliorated.

The European War has materially altered the position of the Jews almost everywhere, and an attempt is at present made, with the help of Gvernments for their settlement in Palestine. But what guarantee is there in Scripture or reason, that this widely-dispersed body is once more to be restored to what is called "their own land." Only a very few, "the remnant" will come to settle there. The land is no longer *theirs*. They forfeited it ages ago. Are they to be gathered from the lanes of London, from the high-roads of Russia, from the Europe and Asia and America to build again the house of David? Moses, David and the Temple belong as much to the past, as old Egypt, or Nineveh or Babylon. There is a progression in the history of the world as certain as in the life of man.

" Galpa Bol !"* or the Spell of a Tale.

By Mr. L. V. RAMASWAMI, B. A., B. L.

THE child, from the time when it is able to articulate its simple wishes, ever cries out, " Auntie dear! tell me a tale !"

That good-natured person begins the narration of her story:—" Once upon a time there lived a prince, a kotwal's son, a merchant's son ——"

The Guru Mahashoy comes down suddenly and interrupts, " Three times four make twelve, lad !"

The stentorian pleadings of the Guru fail to penetrate the ears of the child who is bewitched with the shouts and cries of the Rakshas or giant in the story.

Now step in the well-wishers of the child and rebuke him for his carelessness and indifference and gravely tell him, " Look here, lad, " three times four make twelve " is true and capable of proof whereas the story of the prince and the Rakshas is pure myth and fiction and as such unworthy of your attention !"

The well-wishers succeed no better than the Guru Mahashoy. All the while they have been trying to drill into the mind of the child the intellectual danger involved in hearing tales, the child's mind has been crossing the bournes of the ocean of imagination and actually revelling in the company of the prince and his doughty deeds in the story.

The well-wishers then think that the obstinate wickedness of the child deserves correction by the application of the rod.

The good-natured aunt, out of deference to the legitimate authority of the Guru Mahashoy, discreetly retires from the scene.

But the evil never stops there.

Immediately after, comes the Kathak (teller of tales) and regales the child with a delightful version of the forest exile of Prince Ram

When the child with parted lips and bated breath is intently listening to the account of the cutting-off of the nose of the giantess in the story, the well-wishers burst in and say,

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* Translated from the poet Rabindranath Tagore's original Bengali version in the recent ' Baisakh ' number of the " Prabasi."

"child! History affords no proof for these idle tales. What exactly is capable of proof is "Three times four make twelve."

The child continues to be obstinate still and the famous leap of the monkey-god Hanuman is infinitely more interesting to him than anything that the Guru Mahashoy might deign to give him.

At the Patshala, at school and at college the process of purging the child's mind of its tendency to respond to the influence of stories and legends, continues with unabated vigour.

But alas! however tenacious these attempts might be the feeling which prompted the child in its infancy to lisp out unceasingly "Auntie dear! tell me a tale!"—this feeling never dies.

The well-wishers of the child forget that the life of man itself is a vast series of tales.

They ignore the fact that the inebriety which the child feels under the influence of legends and tales is a feeling which the Almighty Being Himself has suffered from when he created mankind.

To hope, then, to cure the child of a feeling which has not failed to influence the Almighty Himself were vain and chimerical indeed!

One day in His grand workshop the Almighty created the elements, one by one. Everything was substantial then and the spirit of childish wickedness had not then invaded his mind.

Living beings were next created. Grasses of many-a shade and hue sprouted out from underneath the earth; trees of all kinds shot up into the air, bursting through the shackles of earth and seeking the protection of Heaven; animals roamed about in the deep oceans and on the firm land; birds circled in the air and in delightful glee sang the praises of the Creator.

But man was not yet.

Ages passed by. Then suddenly one day the Almighty took it into his head to create man. Now began the reign of the kingdom of tales and legends. The spirit of merry wickedness which makes the child revel in the story of the Prince and the Rakshas now begins to attack the Almighty Himself. For ages past He had exercised His superior wisdom in the regions of science and architecture. It is now his turn to busy himself with the development of man.

Is it not through tales and legends that the Almighty has made man blossom forth into stages of perfection?

The beasts of the earth and the birds of the air merely lead a life of eating, sleeping and procreation but man's life has been one vast tale!

What sufferings, what surprises, what conflict of happiness and misery, of good and evil, do we not find here in this vast tale of tales—the History of man.

We see here, wish crossing wish, *the one* struggling with *the many*, Ambition wrestling with character, Desire countered by Circumstance.

Even as the mighty river is the combination of many a little mountain brook, the history of mankind is one vast torrent of tales.

Hence comes it that when one of us meets another casually the question "what news? what happened next?" crops up with unvarying frequency.

It is these 'happenings' that have been strung together through the universe and developed into the story of man.

To the right-thinking man, therefore, it is not merely the story of Asoka and Akbar that must be true but the story of that prince who crossing the seven oceans went in search of the much-coveted gem, must also be true. Even as the story of Aurangzeb is genuine, so must the story of Duryodhana too be genuine.

These are true not in the sense that they are supported by historical evidence but, as real stories fulfilling their proper function of illustrating the mutability of human nature, the smiles and reverses of fortune, the triumph of virtue over vice, they ring genuine and true!

Short Studies of some great Indians.

By PANDIT MADHO RAM,

MR. GANDHI.

At the present time, a pretty large number of able persons are working according to their lights for the uplift of mother India. Each one of them has chosen his work according to his tastes and training. It is hardly necessary to make invidious distinctions to give any one of them a higher place than the others for the work of all of them is useful in its own way. Unfortunately or otherwise, almost all the leading workers have got their own set of followers or admirers. It is these people really that are responsible for much of the unpleasantness that I have seen during the last thirty years existing between the different camps of public workers. Sometimes the leaders too encourage this state of things by their weak-kneed-policy. I have seen the quarrels between the different sections of the Arya Samaj. I have read of the disputes that rent the Brahmo Samaj into different parties. I have heard of the great differences between Mr. Tilak's party and that of Mr. Ranade and Gokhale. The treatment which Mrs. Besant, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and Mr. Shrinivas Sastri have met at the hands of the followers of other leaders are matters of yesterday only. Some people think that these quarrels are absolutely necessary to prevent stagnation. Others say that they being the sole custodians of truth, those that differ from them have no right to mislead the public and that every effort should be made to expose them. And so on and so forth.

Happily there are two public workers in our midst who decline to go into parties. Mr. Gandhi is one of them. He has had great experience of public life in England and South Africa. He knows very well that unsteady, happy-go-lucky and unmethodical people are not qualified to work out the salvation of any country in these days of keen competition in which individuals and nations are engaged. He sees the working of the great world forces which modern civilisation has let loose for the confusion of man. There is great wealth side by side with great misery. Man has at his disposal all the marvels of science to make him comfortable but he is restless and unhappy.

He is hankering for more and more. General Booth's "Darkest England" acted as a great eye opener to students of contemporary life. America and the non-English parts of Europe are no better than England. Professor Huxley, himself a leading Scientist, prayed that some friendly comet might come and destroy the earth on which we are living. He was of opinion that all the efforts of religion and philanthropy had proved of no avail to remove the helplessness and misery of mankind. Professor Huxley being an eminent thinker could go deeper below the superficial glitter of the life around him than other people could and he was dissatisfied. He had however no knowledge of the life of the ancient Indians and could hardly be expected to have any idea of the means by which our ancient teachers had tried to solve the difficulties of human society. Modern India has been educated for nearly a century on western models. Educated India is disgusted with Indian ways of life and tries to ape the European in all his concerns. The best products of modern education are very anxious to bring about in India the same conditions, political, industrial and social, which prevail in Europe and America. They want no restrictions in the matter of marriage, divorce, dress, food or education of females. They are tired of the slavery embodied in the Hindu system of life and want to break its chains. Happily for India we have in our midst Mr. Gandhi who knows what is best in the West and the East. He has seen in the West enough of its sordid industrialism, its pitiless struggles between capital and labour, its drink and other evils. He has seen also its intense patriotism, its indomitable energy, its love of knowledge and adventure. But he does not believe that it is necessary for us to forswear our own ways of life to cultivate these virtues. His long sojourn among the western people has freed him from the illusions which an educated Indian generally suffers from. He is, to all who have eyes to see, the great Rishi which under the modern conditions it is possible to have in our country. He is a man of great education.

From all that we have heard, Mrs. Gandhi is a lady of little or no education in the modern sense of the word and yet how remarkably well both husband and wife have been serving the cause dear to them, for she is educated in the best sense of the term as understood by the non-liberal Hindus. The liberal

Hindu has rent the sky with his lamentations that an educated man's wife being uneducated, the husband has to lead a double life because his wife has no sympathy with his ideals. She drags him down to her own low level. What an insult to the womanhood of India is implied in the above statement. The Indian woman is illiterate but not uneducated. She is educated in the best of all sciences, the science of promoting the welfare of her family. Before marriage her affection for her parents and brothers and sisters is touching in the extreme. After marriage, her devotion to her husband and children knows no bounds. Educated India forgets that this trait of our womanhood is a valuable asset of the Indian family. The fact is that the educated Indian having become denationalised in his ideas, sees no good in the national life represented by the ladies of his house. Hence the outcry against our females who do not go about freely among men, do not attend lectures and do not deliver lectures. Hence our youngmen who are fond of talking English from morning to evening do not like to marry a girl who cannot talk English. Hence our girls must pass University Examinations before they are eligible for marriage with a youngman of modern education. Hence they must be educated in Christian schools and convents; and girls' schools teaching English must be started all over the country.

This is our patriotism. This is our advocacy of the Swadeshi movement. I am afraid some great disaster is needed to put an end to this craze for the English education of our girls. If our ideas about education were rightly directed, we would strive for the day when Indian boys and girls would be considered educated even without knowing English. The strain of English education is bad enough in the case of our boys The effects of it in the case of girls who have other functions to perform in life must be worse. We forget that all the English women whose accent and pronunciation we admire are not highly educated. They know reading and writing just sufficient for their ordinary work. An Indian girl should therefore learn her vernacular and the patriots who shed bitter tears when talking about the ignorance of our girls should embody their knowledge in vernacular books. Mr. Gandhi is not very fond of talking English himself. He generally talks Hindi with Indians and even in big Conferences and Congresses he sticks to Hindi. Though he made lot of money in his younger days, he now dresses like an old fashioned Indian. He is not anxious to be taken as a Sahib or a non-Indian. His food is said to be very simple. In fact he is a chip of the old Hindu block in habits of body and mind. The old Hindus held self-abnegation and renunciation to be the cardinal virtues of a man. Mr. Gandhi has tried to typify them in his life. He does not indulge in tall talk. He does not hurl defiance at his opponents. But when he means to do a thing, he does it with all the soul force at his command. The prospect of suffering does not change his course. . What has he not suffered in Africa? What is he not willing to suffer in India? He has willingly gone to jail in Africa and been insulted and assaulted sometimes by members of his own race. It is men like Mr. Gandhi who by their heroic example put new life into drooping hearts. In India the course of his conduct has been the same as in Africa. He has never raised his hand or voice to injure a fellow man. He is against violent talk and violent action. He sees that his cause is just and then sticks to it. He never poses as a self-sacrificing man. He never calls on heaven and earth to bear testimony to his sufferings and sorrows. Whenever he is hauled up before a Court, he admits everything that he has said or done and never raises a quibble or tenders a false apology to save his skin. It is simply because he is not afraid of a jail that the courts are not anxious to imprison him. For it is true now as it was true of old that man tastes of life eternal only by passing through suffering. Our Hindu Shastras are full of such elevating examples. Our Sitas and our Savitris, Our Harish Chandras and our Bhishams speak to us with no uncertain voice through the corridors of time. Therefore those that are loud in shouting "Gandhi Maharaj ki jai" should remember that there are certain duties attached to their admiration for Mr. Gandhi. They should be sincere advocates of Swedeshi in all its forms. Men who are Bideshi at head and heart and whose conduct shows them to be the enemies of Swadeshi life are false to their admiration for Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi wants you to be true to your national language, to be true ideals of your race. Above all he wishes you to fear God. If you are not able as I am not, to follow Mr. Gandhi in these matters, it would be better for you and for the country if you remain silent and not delude yourself and others by shouting "Mr. Gandhi ki jai" Mr Gandhi advised his countrymen to encourage spinning by Charkha in their homes. They smiled at his advice because it is not considered wise now to educate our girls to live like their grandmothers. And in these days of scientific progress, it is sheer madness to advocate the use of Khaddar by decant people, cry the kid-gloved diletantees.

Satyagraha and Indian Politics.

By "A STUDENT OF POLITICS."

Of all places Satyagraha is likely to get a permanent and lasting influence in the Indian political life. There are two reasons for it. The first is India's vast population and the second the religious outlook of the people on all questions including politics. The ground is already favourable for it. There is an occasion for it, if there ever was one. It only wants a vigorous, systematic, and intelligent propaganda. Even in its short history it has made an impression on the current politics of India, which it is not altogether easy to deny, even though certain classes of people might regard it with what amounts to a comtemptuous but obstreperous indifference.

Since the early nineties of the last century, there has been a new spirit in the life of the people in all directions. Its manifestations have been many and as different in their nature as in their effects. It has given rise to hundreds of movements all over the country. Political life which seemed to have claimed the least of people's attention soon began to re-assert its importance and gradually got the educated classes to take up at least a theoretical discussion of it. Very soon it began to develop into mild and timid criticism of the actions of the government, till at last today we find it engaged upon an open, frank, and fearless cirticism of the government, just demand for a greater share in the work of governing, and opposition by all the constitutional means available. In the meanwhile the political aspirations of the people began to formulate themselves systematically and the movement began to take definite and clearly defined shape. And to-day it is not that vague, indefinite, sentimental something that used to disturb the people by making them feel at times that there was something wrong, but a careful spotting of the wrong, with positive suggestions for its remedy. It has become just as much an affair of the head and intellect as of the heart and feelings.

This is not the place to enter into any discussion about the history of the Indian political aspirations. Suffice it to say, this development, once begun, has been more rapid and encouraging than the pioneers of it allowed themselves to believe at the outset. A true and detailed history will have to be written one day and written with care. But it is best that it is not yet written, till we have reached some definite goal. Nor is this the place to write a history of Satyagraha in Indian politics, short as it is. Though it is an important work, its time has not yet come. In the meanwhile it is our duty to prepare as much useful material as we can to render the work of the future historian less difficult.

Satyagraha is only one of the many forces in Indian political life. As it is, it is not even the most widely spread or the most effective force. Though it claims a vast number of sympathisers, its inherent difficulties make its actual following very limited. It is not as easy to take a vow of Satyagraha as it is to join some other political body. It lacks in the first place the maturity that other political institutions and movements have. It also exacts an almost super-human amount of self-control, discipline, self-denial, and even a willingness, a cheerful willingness to undergo self-torture. This demand would have been easier to satisfy, a fifty or a hundred years ago. But there has been a considerable change in the life of the people during that period. However, it is all the same. Perhaps a fifty or hundred years ago, with the greater capacity to undergo pain and suffering, there would most probably have been no readiness to do so. But even as it is, this quality has not vanished entirely from the life of the people. There is yet a considerable number of simple, unsophisticated, hard-working and self-denying persons, mostly in the humble walks of life, who when once effectively appealed to, will form the greatest stronghold of Satyagraha. In a country like India, it will not for long want the strength of numbers. Mr Gandhi and a few other persons who have joined hands with him in the most selfless manner, are the fittest persons to make such an appeal. Mr. Gandhi's universal popularity, especially among those classes who so rarely knew any of the popular leaders even by name, and even the existence of these classes was only a matter of the sub-conscious processes of the minds of these leaders, the universal esteem, admiration, confidence, and respect that he has evoked, even in the hearts of his opponents bid fair to achieve the ultimate success of Satyagraha.

The real question, however, at issue is not so much whether Satyagraha will be successful in the Indian political life, in the sense that it will have a large following, but whether it would be successful, meaning that it would help materially in the realisation of the aspirations of the country. It might arouse a very large amount of enthusiasm, it might gather a large following, but that fact alone cannot constitute its success. That is only one of the many considerations before pronouncing an opinion upon its success.

What will be the immediate effect of the introduction and the practice of Satyagraha on the political situation of to-day? India is engaged in a struggle for liberty, as every other nation is in some sense. But for India, like all other subject races, this struggle is threefold in essence. The first phace and one of immediate interest, is to gain at least a minimum standard of freedom for the people, compatible with the existing form of government. This means a sort of negative freedom, freedom from particular evils in the government, in the form of laws and in the actions of the executive. Whatever the form of government, however good or bad it may be from ultimate considerations, the first thing is to get it to do as much good as possible and lessen as much evil as it can, without affecting its existence or nature. Next, there is the second phase of trying to secure the greatest possible amount of share in the disposition of the political affairs of the country, that is compatible with the maintenance of the power of the ruling race in affairs of imperial and foreign importance. This is a more positive form of freedom than the first and necessarily implies a change in the form of the existing government. Thirdly, there is the gaining of an independent position in the ranks of nations of the world, a position, though not superior, at least equal to all and inferior to none, a position of complete internal and external autonomy.

These are not real divisions in the political world. They are provisional and are made with a view only to facilitate study. They do not imply an order and succession in time that should be observed in actual practice. Political life of India is not so cut up in reality nor so inorganic and artificial as capable of being cut up and manipulated in this manner. There is nothing, besides in these divisions, that can make each of them exclusive of the other. They are interrelated nay, aspects of the same struggle viewed from different points. Each of them necessarily implies the other and an advance along one line is also accompanied more or less by an advance along the others.

There are a thousand small matters,—small when taken separately, but the combined effect and significance of which is by no means small,—which demand an immediate attention. We cannot here enter into a complete enumeration of these small evils which abound in the state. They are petty acts of injustice and tyranny in local affairs, unjust and inadequately clear and inconsistent laws, waste of public money, little acts of ommission and commission which are likely to exist in all governments irrespective of the fact whether they be foreign or native to the soil, and which only a vigilent and persistent popular effort can detect, bring to light, and get remedied. These are evils which all governments are constantly in the habit of giving rise to and to remove them a change in the government is not always necessary. The average Indian citizen is very timid and full of the fear of and respect for even a petty government official, which in most cases amounts to servility. He prefers to undergo a little personal inconvenience and even pecuniary loss to standing on his own rights, making a fuss, and getting himself involved into further trouble and expense. This has become a habit with him and he gets used to the many small acts of injustice and airs of contempt and superiority of the government servants. Treatment far from civil, and at times even provoking, insults, and such other things, are received with a sullenness that has become a characteristic of the

Indian peasant. There is a great work for Satyagraha in this particular evil and many others of such nature, where the liberty of the people, even the small amount of it that is left in the circumstances, is in danger. By lessening the citizen's fear of and servitude to the government officials, by teaching him to understand his elementary rights, which even a bureaucratic and foreign government and its laws allow, by making him stand up against any invasion or evasion of his rights, by teaching him to restrain himself from any lawless action, Satyagraha will do a great amount of good both to the people and to the government, if the latter is sane enough to see it. The government, *i. e.* those in whose hands the ultimate authority lies, do not desire that these things should occur. They are personally as much against them as the Satyagrahi himself could be. But very often these things are hushed up at the very bottom and those at the top do not at times have even the shadow of an idea that such things exist and in such appalling numbers. The petty officials who indulge in this kind of mischief, are in mortal dread of their superiors. It is only the sense of security and their confidence in the acquiesence of the Indian citizens that encourage them. When he finds this confidence of his betrayed, when he finds that the citizen is not likely to take his actions or words in the usual spirit as final dispensations of Providence, he will of his own accord change and a great amount of evil that passes in the country just for want of resistence, will soon disappear. The sacrifice demanded of the individual in practising Satyagraha on such occasions is not very great or disproportionate to the amount of good that it does. Besides it will be a very great discipline for a better and higher kind of liberty which must sooner or later follow. At this stage of the struggle for liberty, Satyagraha is not only a good and effective method of dealing with the situation, but it is practically the only good and effective method that can be thought of.

But with the entrance into the second stage of the political struggle, the place, the function and the utility of Satyagraha are not so clear and obvious. With the passsge from the mere effort of claiming what is already our own, not in abstract justice but in concrete volumes of law, from that which is ours but for claiming it, to a more positive demand for liberty, which however much it may be ours from the point of view of abstract justice, yet those who hold it in their hands are not willing to yield just for our asking for it, a new complexity enters into the situation. In the former case, the way before Satyagraha was clear enough. There is no such simplicity or clearness about this next phase we are considering. We have already noticed in connection with other things that Satyagraha is for making for an extreme simplicity in all questions, a simplicity that at times almost amounts to nudity. It takes the simplest views of things, losing count of all complexity where it is present. Therefore where the situation is already simple, its success is immediate and undeniable. This advantage is lost when Satyagraha is brought to bear upon highly complicated questions. And we need not look out for them out of the realm of politics. It has enough of its own.

At this stage of the world's history, even a most benevolent foreign government would get into hot waters, if it showed no sign of slowly slackening its grasp and giving the people a share in its power. There has been not one single instance in history, where the people of one country however weak, however divided amongst themselves, have borne the yoke of a foreign government with complete willingness for any length of time. Even a consciousness of the internal weakness and dread of external danger have not prevented some certain sections of the more enthusiastic and nationalistic people in a country, from trying to get rid of the foreign government, under which their comparative safety is secured. The rule of Britain in India cannot exactly be called benevolent in essence. It might be so in its results but certainly it has not been that in motives. India has at no time been governed in the complete interest of this country. In the disposal of Indian questions, several other factors have always reduced India's claim at a minimum. Even an Englishman, if he were to be frank, would not take upon himself the task of conclusively showing and demonstrating to the people of India and to the world at large that either the attitude of the government at Whitehall or that at Delhi, why even those at the provincial centres like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta or Allahabad, have ever been swayed by solicitude for India's benefit. The highly expensive services, mainly manned by the Britishers, so far at least as the higher posts go, the working of the Indian Industries for the benefit of the British capitalists and British workmen, the same lamentable state of affairs in the Indian Commerce, the phenomenal ignorance of the people, the lowest imaginable standard of physical vitality, the constant ravages of death and diseases, the exceptionally high rate of mortality, the degrading poverty of the people which even denies them sufficient food and clothing and shelter, and many other things equally bad which could be piled up to prolong the list, will be too much for them. If one were to be candid, one cannot but come to either of the conclusions that the rule of Britain over India must have been exceptionally inefficient to have produced these results at the end of a hundred and fifty years or that it must have been undertaken with no selfless motive for the benefit of India.

The British rule in India in the way in which it is carried on to-day is thus not exactly a benevolent rule. That is all the more reason why it should be changed. The whole effort of India is directed towards securing that change to as great an extent as possible. How far that change is to go, how far the people are to have a hand in the management of their internal affairs, how far is the new government to be responsible to the people instead of to a vague and never asserted control of the British Public, is a matter of difference of opinion both between the government and the Indian people on the one hand and between the different parties of the people that are working for it on the other. How far will Satyagraha help this effort ? Can Satyagraha play an useful role in the business or is it altogether out of it ?

In the first place, it should not be forgotten that so far as the decision of the government in Britain to make a change in the Indian administration at an early date, in reply to the persistent demand and agitation of the people to obtain is concerned, Satyagraha has had no important share in it. The Indian people have gone so far without the necessary of practising Satyagraha in their political struggle. Satyagrah in its present organised form has come later into the field. So far its work has been mainly on the negative side of this struggle. At its best, it has gone to emphasise the struggle and thus help to draw a greater attention of the English people to the Indian affairs. What positive programme does Satyagraha offer for the future ? What contribution can it make to the strength of this effort ?

Of course, the indirect contribution that Satyagraha can make to the strength of this struggle is immense. By training intelligent, selfless and bold workers for the national cause, by encouraging a life of simplicity and law-abidingness, by its encouragement of all indegeneous industries of the land, by creating a greater intelligent interest in political affairs of the country in the lower classes, by lessening the spirit of discord that has not altogether been absent between the people of different races in India and which has more than anything else been the real difficulty in the path of political progress, by disciplining and qualifying the people for a life of greater enjoyment of power and responsibility, in fact, by a hundred little changes that are all calculated to do some good. Satyagraha will help the cause of India's liberty in the long run.

But this is all a matter of time and necessitates much patience. Neither is India in a mood to push matters to such an indefinite point in time, nor is England so uncharitable as to make such a demand. Political matters are just as much dependent on the immediate exegencies and the circumstances of the time, as on ultimate principles. With all our faith in the sense of justice of the British people and the sound common sense of John Bull, we cannot let the opportunity pass when England is in a mood to reconsider the Indian claims and bring about some change for the better in the machinery of the administration of the country, and when the people in India are roused to their present pitch of enthusiasm, to go without some positive and effective work. For aught we know, England might return soon to its old imperialistic attitude as a result of pride and elation for having come out of the great war with such marked success or India might return to its usual sullenness and fatalism as a result of the futility of its great loss, sacrifices, and sufferings owing to the war and other natural causes. Such instances are not quite unknown in history.

So far as the present and the immediate work is concerned we can not therefore rely on Satyagraha. We cannot practise Satyagraha against the present form of Government as a whole. Satyagraha itself would not allow it. And even if it did, there would be no purpose in doing it. The pressure of physical force on the Government is entirely out of the question, as much from the Satyagrahi's point of view as from any other. India will get its liberty by more honourable and harmless means. The sacrifice of blood is not the best of all sacrifices. There are other greater and nobler sacrifices that are necessary. For the attainment of our present purpose, any amount of pressure of even a moral or spiritual kind on the Government of India will do no good. In the first place as an established Government, it is too much subject to system and form, to red tape, too much impersonal and mechanical in nature—a beauracracy is the worst in this respect of all the forms of Government—to be appealed to in this way. And in the second, it is not within its power to make any such concession as we demand. All it will do perhaps is to misrepresent the real spirit of our struggle both to the British Parliament and the British Public, not being itself capable to understand that spirit aright. What remains therefore for us to do is to go on as we have done before and to try to achieve our purpose by a continuous constitutional agitation both in the press and on the platform, both in India and in England, by petitions and requests, by making an effort to explain the case of India to the British people in the right manner, by a greater and better understanding of each other, by gaining the sympathy of as many people and parties in the English political circles, as we can and by strengthening the hands of all those who are working for us and those who are inclined to work for us, in England. It is a complex situation and it should be met by complex and multifarious means and not by so simple a remedy as Satyagraha, which will make the situation only more difficult and complex.

The third phase of the struggle is more a matter of mere theory than any concrete activity on the part of the Indians. It is a question of a much distant date in future and does not materially affect the political interests of the country to-day. Its importance therefore though not small from a wider view of history, is not so great in the present-day affairs of the country.

The ultimate aim of all politics and political institutions is and ought to be the greatest amount of happiness secured by a profitable use of the greatest amount of co-ordinated energy and work of all and the highest degree of liberty that is compatible with this. In spite of all the loose talk about the ultimate value and goodness of liberty, justice and peace, it must be admitted that in the highest considerations affecting the state, all these have only negative and police functions. All these have value for mankind so far as they directly or indirectly help in the final realisation of this ultimate end. The positive and the fundamental fact about all politics is the success of this profound and tremendous experiment that humanity has entered upon. From almost the earliest dawn of human intelligence, to its credit it must be said that it was felt by man that his real strength and greatness lay not so much in the individual and his effort just by himself but in co-ordination and solidarity of all mankind. That in living and working together in co-ordination as far as possible lies the true greatness of mankind, perhaps even the possiblity of existence, was perhaps the earliest truth realised by man. Since then in all that man has been doing, in spite of occasional failures and blunders this truth has been operating consciously or unconsciously.

But the perception of a truth is one thing and the realisation of it is another. The first is more or less a matter of intuition or a happy conjucture. The latter a result of the most highly complex psychological and physical activities and a matter of time. The practical working out of this truth has been slow, step by step, and subject to a series of changes in details. The most suitable ways and means were not perceived as early as the truth itself and never completely and definitely. Even to-day we cannot be said to be seeing our way clear for any considerable length in the future.

The two great political forces that are operating to-day in the minds of the intelligent part of the humanity are the ideals of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Nationalism has at present the greatest hold and is in actual possession of all political affairs. It is however being slowly abandoned and replaced by cosmopolitism, mostly as yet in the theoretical discussions of the abstract political questions. Its appeal has reached up till now only to the more imaginative people. Even the World War great as it was, has not given Nationalism its death-blow. Even the Paris Peace Conference and the leading part taken in its proceedings by the United States of America, has not succeeded in modifying anything but the most intense and extreme form of Nationalism. How great a fetish a thing that man himself has created can be to him, and what an overpowering influence it acquires over him can be well seen from this particular instance.

However distant the date, however great and long the struggle, howsoever many blunders and turning-backs, the world seems really committed to this ultimate end of the co-ordination of the whole humanity under one sovereign state, irrespective of class, geographical, national and racial limits. This state however must be preceded by the complete independence of all peoples and the abolition of the practice of one race ruling over the other. Any honest Britisher need not be filled with rage or dispair. In the first place this is a question of so distant a date that his vanity need not be wounded. England itself by that time will have undergone such a change, that he would not recognise it, were he to return with his memory, as the old England of the Twentieth Century. England's work in India and its superiority over it are not of permanent duration. No wise Englishman would delude himself with such a hope. England has a work, a very noble work in India, that India once rid of the bitterness that is caused by the affairs of to-day, will ever remember with gratefulness, in fullness of time, when the sorest of its problems are solved, and when it finds itself secure on the path of liberty. But this work will be and must be over one day. It will be to the disgrace of England itself, if it could not say after a sufficiently long period, to the world, "Here is another great and noble nation that is fit to be the companion of the very best; it is all my work and I am proud of it." It will certainly be a proud day for England when it resigns all its power over India, having ruled it in such a way, that it will be able to take its place in the Council of Nations of the world. The greatness and the pride of Britain will certainly be greater in the realisation of this end than in the superiority and power that it enjoys over India to-day.

No true Englishman will look upon the prospect of a liberated, independent and friendly India at some point in the future, with any gloom and no true Indian need rush with the insincere effusion that there is no such thought of separation in the minds of the Indians, that every Indian looks upon India being the Vassal of England as a settled fact for all time, to reassure the Englishman of his loyalty. His loyalty need not go to that length. It must be but a poor loyalty after all, if it stands in need of such unnatural and wild assurance. A fair and candid discussion of these questions of a distant future affects in no way the loyalty of the Indian subject to the British Crown. It must certainly point to a sorry state of affairs, if we cannot meet on a common platform of frankness and sincerety, in the theoretical discussions of questions of a time far in the future.

My readers will perhaps here remark that I have been dreaming and that I have been off my track. No doubt, perhaps I been dreaming. All speculation about a distant future is of the nature of dreaming, But such dreams do not occupy an insignificant place in life. They are just as stubborn and as important as facts in the world of reality as sleep is important in life. They go to make Reality and certainly give it its colouring and flavour. As to my being off the track, I protest against any such charge. It is thinking about Satyagraha that sent me fooling about all these abstract considerations, and I have gone at such a length into all this to leave you to find out how far will Satyagraha help in the achievement of this final goal of India. (We had once the occasion to refer to this same question in relation to religion. We could not make out a strong case for Satyagraha there. Is it more likely to help on the political side of the same question ?) Its indirect help here will be the same as in the second phase of the struggle. That cannot be belittled. But it requires a far greater work than that, for the final realisation of the end. The recognition of equality and strength in the first place from Britain and in the second from the whole world is not a mere question of making a stand on our abstract right to it. It is a question of more positive acquirements and achievements. Besides, it will require an ultimate harmony and suitability between the ideals and the life of the Indians and those of the other nations. So far as Satyagraha defines them for India, there does not seem a very great possibility of there ever being this harmony and compatibility between them and those of the western world. To believe that our forefathers thousands of years back saw the whole truth and led a perfect life that must in the end be accepted by the world for itself come time in the future, to believe that the West has been all along in the wrong, that it has had no great share in the virtue and the wisdom of the world, is in the frankest of terms a piece of national vanity which India will have to forego before it can meet the West and the Western people on a footing of equality and co-operation. Sacrifices more potent than blood or fasting, imprisonment or lifelong celibacy, will have to be made on both sides, much of the mutual misunderstanding will have to be removed, much of toleration will have to be learnt and practised, much of what seems to us to-day as the most uncontrovertible truth will have to be recognised as falsehood and result of natural and racial vanity, before true Cosmopolity will be achieved. Even toleration alone will not do. Much of the Western Civilisation of to-day and to-morrow, which India is loath to accept, will have to be accepted and adopted, in the life of the people, and much of the Oriental Civilisation that the West looks down upon as useless and unbecoming, will have to be accepted and adopted by it, before we have the United States of the World.

Satyagraha cannot help much in the most difficult part of this work for the future. On the one hand, it preaches harmony and love, on the other it exhorts every Indian to return to the ideal of life that swayed India in pre-historic times. It cannot see that these two phases of its teaching are not compatible, if we take harmony and love to mean co-operative activity and close intercourse and not mere absence of hatred or ill-will. The former so long as India clings to its old world dream, which makes more for seclusion than active intercourse in a spirit of sympathy and love, is not possible. If Satyagraha really remains as much emphatic about this side of its teaching, it will not only be not a help, but will stand in the way of India's real progress along the one line that alone is possible, will become a positive hindrance, and will have to be repudiated.

Proportional Representation and the Coming Elections.

By Mr. N. SUNDARAM

THE recommendation of the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Act that the principle of proportional representation ("P. R.") should be fully investigated, and the actual adoption of the method of election to a limited extent by the Government of India—as for example for elections to the Council of State, to committees of the legislative councils and so on,—revive interest in a subject which is of more than theoretical importance to this country. It will not be out of place therefore to give a short account of what proportional representation is, and what it claims to achieve.

Proportional representation is at bottom a device for giving a more fully representative character to popularly elected legislative bodies. All popular Government avowedly rests on the consent, based on free will of the people governed; and seeks to make this principle effective by entrusting the main functions of Government—legislation, the raising and spending of the public revenue, the determination of policy and the general control and criticism of the executive—to an assembly composed of representatives elected by the people at large. In order that such a system of Government may really achieve its object, it is of the first importance that this elected legislative assembly, to which the executive is responsible, should truly and completely represent the will of the community—that in other words, "there should be no strain of opinion honestly entertained by any substantial body of the king's subjects which should not find there representation and speech." The legislative assembly must, it is justly claimed be "not only the mouth-piece but the mirror of the national mind."

The existing system of election by majority vote in single member areas, obviously, fails to secure this object. In the first place, it unduly narrows the freedom and range of choice of the individual voter and often obliges him to the preference of the lesser evil. Secondly, it tolerates, if it does not encourage, a state of affairs in which a considerable minority of voters, almost equal to a half, may go without representation. If political opinions and interests were at all uniformly and permanently distributed throughout the country, this will mean in practice the disfranchisement of almost a half of the entire community—thirdly, even if such an extreme contingency never arises, the system of simple election creates or allows the continuance of a gross disproportion between the numerical strength of parties and opinions in the legislative assembly and in the country at large. The exaggeration of majorities may be seen from a few figures. In the general elections of 1886 in the United Kingdom the conservatives obtained a majority of 104 though strictly entitled only to 18. Similarly, in 1895 their actual majority of 150 ought only to have been one of 2.

On the other hand in 1906, the Liberals came into power with the overwhelming majority of 356, though the number of votes polled only entitled them to one of 44. This evil, cutting at the very roots of the equality demanded by popular Government, is even more marked where a constituency returns several members on a single ticket. Here, a well organised majority may sweep the whole board and leave the minority entirely unrepresented by any of its own candidates. Lastly, the system of majority election in single member constituencies may by reason of the 'split-vote' give results entirely the opposite of what may be expected.—If, for instance, in a constituency of 30,000 voters, party A has 17,000 and party B 13,000 votes, and if 3 candidates stand for the single seat 2 being from 'A' and one from B, the 'A' party vote of 17,000 may be to split up between say X and Y— into 11,000, and 6,000 for example,—that 'Z' the 'B' candidate is elected by 13,000 votes,—an actual minority of the votes cast. The fact is that when there are more than two alternatives, the voter ought to be given two choices, which the method of simple election cannot provide for. The result is that many votes are wasted or frustrated in their object, and the equality of opportunity which democracy stands for is entirely ignored.

Proportional representation, in the best known form of it called the 'single transferable vote' merits our attention as claiming to obviate—or at any rate minimise, these evils. On the positive side, it secures the representation of parties and interests strictly in proportion to their strength and importance in the country. In the first place it substitutes for the single member constituency, larger areas returning several members. In the original scheme of Thomas Hare, its founder, the whole country was conceived as a single unit, the idea being to secure to the nation the services off men of national importance, who would be able to muster a quota of supporters in the whole country, but have no local strength or political backing. But later criticism—notably of Bagehot and Graham Wallas—has shown this to be impossible, has shown in fact that such an arrangement would strengthen and make more rigid the very party—management which Hare wanted to avoid. But the advantages of the system may be realised even in a lesser area provided that it returns a number of members,—say, six or seven. This plurality of members gives the voter the freedom and variety of choice among candidates, which is absent under the other system. It also fosters community of interest and feeling, by bringing together in a single area parties and causes which would under the rival method be split up into several districts. This is by no means an insignificant advantage in a country like India where the real obstacle to political progress has been the persistence of the particularism of small local areas.

The second important feature of Proportional Representation, closely connected with the first is that it enables the voter to exercise as many choices, among candidates, as he likes by the indication of the order of his preference. Thus, he votes by placing the number *1* against the name of his most favourite candidate. This is his first choice, and always effective. But if this candidate either does not want the voter's support—because he has already been elected by other—or cannot in any event, be helped by it, the voter's second preference comes into operation. For this purpose he must place the figure *2* against the name of his second choice. There is of course no legal obligation on him to do so: his vote is perfectly valid even if it contained only the first preference. But in order to obtain the full advantages of the system, voters are invited to indicate further preference by the figures 2, 3 and so on up to as many places as they like. And having done this their task is at an end—the alleged complexity and difficulty of the system notwithstanding. The rest—the ascertainment of the result according to the preferences indicated by the voters—is for the skilled returning officers who will count the votes.

Every voting paper is first counted as one vote for the candidate whose name is indicated as the first choice of the elector and the votes of the several candidates are placed in different heaps. The total number of votes cast is also counted, and the *quota* is next ascertained. The quota is simply the number of votes which are required to secure the election of a candidate, a number so fixed that all the required number of candidates can secure it, and no more. In Hare's original scheme the quota was made too high, with the result that one member had always to be elected with less than the quota. But later writers have shown that the quota is really the lowest number which will ensure the election of a candidate, whatever combination be made of the other votes. The actual mode of ascertaining it is to divide the number of votes cast by the number of seats to be filled plus one, and adding one to the result. Thus, if 100 votes are lost and 3 seats have to be filled, the quota is $\frac{(100)}{3+1}+1=26$. It will be seen that three and only three candidates can get this number of votes, and that any candidate who gets it is sure to be elected whatever becomes of the rest of the votes. The advantage of having the quota rather than the majority is that it secures a better adjustment of seats among parties, and facilitates the transfer of votes which would ordinarily be wasted.

It is this transferability of the vote which forms the essence of the scheme and gives it the name of the 'transferable vote.' The transferable vote is defined in the English Representation of the People Act, (1918) which adopts it to a limited extent, as a vote (*a*) capable of being given so as to indicate the voter's preference for the candidates in order; and (*b*) capable of being transferred to the next choice when the vote is not required to give a prior choice the necessary quota of votes or when owing to the deficiency in the number of votes given for a prior choice that choice is eliminated from the list of candidates." In actual practice, the quota being ascertained, every candidate who has obtained the quota at the first count is declared elected. But obviously some may have received more than the quota and some less. First, as regards those having a surplus. The votes, counted according to first preferences having been placed in different heaps, the returning officer takes from any heap which has a surplus a number of papers equal to the surplus and distributes them according to the second preferences marked thereon among those candidates who have not yet been elected. If any candidate now gets a surplus that, would be treated in exactly the same way. In transferring these surplus votes to second preferences an element of chance may come in if the papers to be transferred are taken at random from among the voting papers in a heap. For the second preferences on different papers may be different and it is an important question from the point of view of these second preferences, which particular voting papers shall be taken out and distributed. A particular candidate might well be prejudiced by chance, or the manipulation of the returning officer in the selection of papers to be transferred. To avoid this the returning officer re-examines all the votes of candidates having a surplus, and notes down the second preferences which they contain in favour of each candidate. He then transfers the surplus in proportion to the number of second preferences each of them, respectively, has obtained out of the whole. This process may be continued even as regards the re-transfer if any, of these transferred votes, when third preferences become operative. But for practical purposes the element of chance here is infinitesimal and may be ignored.

When all the surplus votes have been dealt with in this way, and some seats still remain to be filled, the returning officer eliminates successively the candidates having the smallest number of first preferences, distributing their votes to the next choice indicated thereon. The process is continued until the required number of candidates each having secured the quota is elected, or the number of places to be filled just equals the number of uneliminated candidates, in which case they are declared elected.

These processes by which 'P. R.' works itself out may be illustrated by the example of an actual election. For simplicity and convenience we may take a small constituency,—Trinity College, Dublin at the British General Elections in December 1908. The number of valid votes cast was 2954; and as there were only *two* seats to be filled, the *quota* which would secure the election of a candidate was made up in this way: $\frac{2954}{(2+1)}+1= 985$ (fractions being neglected.) Four candidates naturally stood for election—two for each of the seats. At the first count the number of preferences obtained by each was as follows :—

Gwynn, Capt. Stephen—257.
Jellet, Wm. Morgan, K. C.—631.
Samuels, Rt. Hon. A. W.—1273.
Woods, Sir Robert H.—793.

Thus only one candidate, the Rt. Hon. A. W. Samuels obtained the quota. So, he was declared duly elected. But he had more than his quota—a surplus of (1273—985) or 288 votes. So, at the second count, in order to get at the true wish of the voters, Mr. Samuel's whole vote was re-examined and the second preferences on each of his voting papers noted. The surplus of 288 was then distributed among the other three candidates in proportion to the number of second preferences each of them had out of the whole number of 1273 votes. This gave an addition of 14 votes to Captain Gwynn, 179 to Mr. Jellet and 95 to Sir Robert Woods. Even now, none of these had the quota. Sir R. Woods who had the largest number only coming up to 888. So, the other process of eliminating hopeless candidates was brought into operation and Captain Gwynn's votes, being the smallest, were transferred to the remaining two candidates according to the second preference marked on them. Of his 271 votes, 49 were non-transferable because no further preference was marked on them. Of the rest, 16 were found to be in favour of Mr. Jellet, and 206 for Sir R. Woods, who now got 1094 votes as against only 826 for his rival. So Sir R. Woods was declared duly elected for the second seat, and as there were no more seats to be filled, it was unnecessary to deal with his surplus The results may be shown tabulated as follows :—

Trinity College, Dublin (General Election, December 1908)—
Number of valid votes cast—2954
Number of members to be elected—2
Quota for election $\frac{2954}{3}+1=985$

Names of candidates.	FIRST COUNT	SECOND COUNT.		THIRD COUNT.	
	No. of votes for each candidate.	Transfer of Mr. Samuel's Surplus.	Result	Transfer of Capt. Gwynn's votes.	Final Result, showing candidates elected and order of their election.
Gwynn, Capt Stephen	257	+14	271	...271	—
Jellet Wm. Morgan, K.C.	631	+179	810	+16	826
Samuels, Rt. Hon. A.W.	1273	—288	985	—	985 elected (1)
Woods, Sir Robert, H.	793	+95	888	+206	1094 elected (2)
Non-transferable papers	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	+49	49
Totals ...	2954	—	2954	—	2954

In this case, owing to the smallness of the electoral area *i. e.*, of the number of seats, the full application of "P. R." is not apparent, since the final result agrees with the number of first preferences. But the result of the election for the combined universities shows that a candidate who may be at the bottom of the list on this first count may eventually be elected in preference to a rival who was more successful at that stage and who, under the ordinary methods, would have been elected at once.

THE COMBINED UNIVERSITY.

The number of valid votes—1994. Seats 2 : Quota 665.

Names of candidates.	FIRST COUNT.	SECOND COUNT.		THIRD COUNT.	
	No. of votes for each candidate.	Transfer of Mr. Fisher's surplus.	Result	Transfer of Mr. William's votes.	Final result showing candidates elected and order of their election.
Conway, Sir Martion...	303	+ 162	465	+ 312	* 777 elected (2).
Fisher, Rt. Hon. H. A. L.	959	— 294	665	—	665 elected (1).
Hobson, J. A. ...	366	+ 88	454	+ 27	481
Williams, H. G. ..	366	+ 44	410	— 410	—
Non-transferable paper	*Nil*		—	+ 71	71
Total ...	1,994	...	1,994	...	1994

Observation of the actual working of P. R. in the countries which have tried it has amply demonstrated its practical simplicity both for the voter and for the skilled returning officer, and the Royal Commission on Electoral systems which reported in 1910 has also borne testimony to this. Objections based on the alleged difficulty and complexity of the system are therefore untenable. The real opposition to P. R. comes in the first place from the leaders of party-organisation, who are rightly agitated by the fear that it would give no scope for their manipulation. In fact it is this virtue of breaking the tyranny of party organisation that commends P. R. to those who like Mr. H. G. Wells for example, have long protested against this anti-democratic feature of modern representative government. The opposition to P. R. comes in the second place from the scholar in politics, who with an inherent bias towards aristocracy question the usefulness of a system which openly and avowedly proceeds on the assumption that the will of the people must finally prevail in all matters of government. The objection is not without weight, and has been forcibly put by writers like Prof. Dicey who doubts the truth of the fundamental basis on which P. R. proceeds—"that it is pre-eminently desirable that every opinion *bona fide* existing among the electors should be represented in the legislative assembly in as nearly as possible the same proportion in which it exists among the electors, or to use popular language, among the nation." This objection, however misses its mark. In support of it Prof. Dicey mentions first the danger of 'management' of elections under a complicated system, second the need for unity of action and the difficulty of securing such unity in a body elected under 'P. R.', and third the danger that 'P. R.' could split up the legislature into numerous groups and promote 'log-rolling.' The first point has already been shown to be groundless. The second and third—though exaggeratedly stated—point to weaknesses of any form of popular government, and leave untouched the special claims of Proportional Representation.

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* It was unnecessary to deal with this surplus, since the election was completed.

"A Peep into the Ancient World."*

By PROFESSOR J. N. MOITRA.

In my last lecture (published in the *Hindustan Review*) on the dawn of civilisation," I mentioned Babylonia, Egypt, India and China as the places where civilisation first dawned but as it was not possible to give an idea of the nature of the early civilization in all these countries. I confined myself merely to Egypt with incidental references to India. In this paper I give another peep into the ancient world and take up Mesopotamia as the subject matter of it.

"Mesopotamia—the region of the Tigris and the Euphrates—is now a wild and desolate scene. Yet imposing in its sorrowful grandeur and well-suited to be a land which may be called a graveyard of nations and Empires." The monotony of the landscape would have been unbroken but for certain elevations and hillocks of strange and varied shapes—some high, some conical and some pyramidal in form. When the winter rains pour down with violence the sides of these elevations are furrowed in many places with ravines dug up by the running stream of rain water. But the washings of these streams contain not of earth or sand but innumerable fragments of bricks, pottery and stone evidently worked by human hands and bearing inscriptions in complicated characters made of arrow-headed lines. These elevations are not natural ones but artificial mounds, heaps of earth and building materials which at sometime placed by human hands but afterwards collapsed and crembled into rubbishes.

Beneath these elevations were the great cities of antiquity like Babylon, Nineveh, Shirpurla Agade and a host of similar cities. Of these Nineveh shone like a meteor and for centuries became the boasted mistress of the world.

Civilisation in Babylonia is the earliest civilisation and for thousands of years, she shone with unparalleled brilliancy and illuminated the peoples with which she was in contact. Her influence left indelible traces on the civilisation of Western Asia and of the Greek world. It will not be an exaggeration if we state that the Babylonians and Assyrians lived out their national life and vanished from earth before civilisation had its dawnings in Europe. Though the Greek civilisation was the oldest in Europe it was a mushroom growth when compared with Babylonian civilisation. But alas! for two thousand years, the Babylonians were a mere reminiscence, a memory and a tradition. So ephimeral is fame that the region that had been the very heart of the world's civilisation became a barren wilderness and Nineveh and Babylon became mere earth-covered mounds the very location of which was unknown and no traveller even suspected that he was looking upon the site of a city that was once the mistress of the world.

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* A Lecture delivered by Prof. Moitra at the St. Colambus College, Hazaribagh.

Sources :—During the long period of the Arab and the Turkish domination these mounds were superstitiously avoided and we had only the glimpses of these ancient peoples and the state of their civilisation from the works of the classical writers like Herodotus, Ctesias and Berosus. What the Egyptian priest Manetho did for Egypt the Chaldaean priest Berosus did for Chaldaea. But still it was no better than a hazyd uncertain tradition. The real sources of their history are the original chronicles of the Babylonians and Assyrians themselves, inscribed on stone slabs or tablets of clay. The clay tablets after being inscribed were dried in the sun or baked in a kiln, forming almost imperishable bricks. Tens of thousands of these bricks were preserved beneath the ruins of the Mesopotamia cities. Thanks to the excavators and explorers of the 19th century, after 2500 years of entombment and oblivion these mementoes are now brought to light.

The history of this most ancient civilisation is no longer a hazy figment of tradition ; it has become an authentic picture. The names of Sargon and Khammurabi, Assurnazipal and Assurbanopal are now assured a permanency of fame that can defy time itself.

The most important excavation was made Mr. Botta—a French Consul at Mosul in 1842. He first explored the site of Kuyunjık and then that of Khorsabad. His discovery created an immense sensation in Europe. Three years later Layard began his researches in Nineveh in 1845. The name of this famous Englishman will always be indelibly associated with the origin of the Science of Assiriology. To Layard it was chiefly due that the once famous but forgotten city of Nineveh was exhumed and its buried treasures given to the world. Botta and Layard were followed by a host of explorers and interpreters, the most famous amongst them being Oppert and Peters, Meyer and Horumel, Sayce and Rawlinson. From these indubitable movements of civilisation discovered during these excavations we now possess of a true history of its cuneiform writing, monarchical institution, commercial organisation ; systematic canalisation ; art, occupation and culture ; architecture, sculpture and metal working, Society and Religion—all as early as the time of King Sargon whose reign has been fixed with certainty at about 3800 B. C.

The Cuneiform Writing:—The truly intellectual culture of a country is manifested in the possession of a form of writing. The existence of cuneiform writing (that is writing with arrow-heads or wedge-shaped writing) in Babylonia, is proved by documents that go back to the 5th millenium B. C. The writing material was clay and letters were imprinted on clay tablets or clay or stone cylinders. Papyrus was occasionally used but it was expensive while clay literally lay under the foot of everyone. While the clay was soft the wedge-shaped characters were engraved upon it by means of a stylus. The tablet was then allowed to dry in the sun. As it easily crumbled, the fashion grew up of baking the tablet in kiln. As it was necessary to compress a long text within a short space writing became more and more minute and magnifying glass was needed to read it properly. That such glasses were really used by the Assyrians is proved by Layard's discovery of a magnifying lens. The lens which is made of crystal, has been turned on a lathe and is now in the British Museum. Even with the help of lenses the study of the cuneiform tablets encouraged short sight which was very common in Babylonian Schools and King Assurbanipal counteracted it by taking outdoor exercises.

As for the books, the clay tablets had been used for epistolary purposes as well and the invention of letter writing was as old as civilisation itself. It is evident that a postal system was established between Lagas and Agade, the Capital of Sargon's Empire in 3800 B.C. The letter tablets were very light and small and were less likely to be injured, destroyed or obliterated by rain and the cuneiform system allowed a large number of words to be compressed into a small space. The letter was sealed before it was handed over to the postman. Some baked clay envelopes have been discovered into which the letter slipped as a kernel of a nut into its shell. An Assyrian letter of baked clay and a fragment of its broken envelope are preserved in the British museum. During the reign of Khammurabi in 24th century B. C. the orient world was bound together by a net work of postal routes with poststations at intervals.

But the books, inscriptions and letters were meaningless closed books and the cuneiform language was a dead language until the middle of the last century when a clue to its decipherment was obtained to the great delight of the scholarly world. History repeats itself. The clue to the decipherment of the Indian scripts of Brahmi and Kharosthi was obtained from the Bilingual coins struck by the Indo-Greek kings of the N.-Western India. The clue to the Egyptian Hieroglyphics was obtained from the famous Rosetta stone with Trilingual inscriptions discovered by Napoleon in 1798 A. D. In a similar way a clue to the decipherment of the cuneiform language was obtained from a trilingual inscription on the surface of a massive bluff at Behistan in western Persia. The man who copied this wonderful inscription at the actual risk of life and limb was the famous English General Sir Henry Rawlinson. In 1835 Rawlinson scaled the dangerous height and copied a part of the inscription that escaped the ravages of time. The third language of this inscription was ancient

Persian and this gave clue to its decipherment and a great linguistic feat was accomplished.

Family:—To start with the family we find that both the patriarchal and matriarchal principles struggled for recognition. Women claimed rights which placed them almost on a level with the man and married women possessed full rights over her property which she could dispose and bequeath as she chose. Her *dowry* from father was her independent possession like the 'Stridhan' of a Hindu wife. A family could be increased or prevented from dying out by the *adoption* of a child. Testamentary devolution of property seems to be of Babylonian origin and goes back to an early period. Marriage was partly civil and partly religious. No marriage was valid without a contract duly attested and signed. From a perusal of Masper it appears that before Khammurabi's time women held an inferior position, at least the daughter of a poor father. There is mention of a public auction of marriageable virgins. But the statement of Herodotus, that the dowry for the marriage of the ugly girls is provided by the forcible sale of the personal charms of the beautiful unmarried ones is not borne out by modern researches. But as in Egypt girls were consecrated to God Amon, as in Rome there were vestal virgins, as in India there were "Devadasys" there were in Babylon devotees to God Istur but they formed a class, and lived apart from the respectable women. As in the Puritan world the violation of the sanctity of marriage bed was punished with death.

Government:—The conception of state in Babylonia was intensely theocratic. The kings had been preceded by priests. Though King Sargon of Agade and his Son Naramsin called themselves Gods and temples and priests were dedicated in their honour yet at a later period the King ceased to be a God himself and became a mere delegate and representative of God. In Babylonia and Assyria at first there was an aristocracy of birth but later on priests and merchants became members of the aristocracy. The first Babylonian Empire was organised by Sargon and his son Naramsin in 39th and 38th century B. C. and it extended From Elam to the Mediterranean. There was a high state of organisation and civilisation under these two princes. There were judges, musicians, physicians, good roads, regular postal service clayseals in the place of stamps. The seals bearing the names of Sargon and Naramsin are now in the Louvres. At this time the Babylonian art attained a high degree of excellence. The seal-cylinder was a Babylonian invention and they became expert gem cutters. There was Cadestal Survey for the purpose of taxation and there was possibly octroi. The first collection of astronomical observations were made for the Library of Sargon. Both the father and the son were great builders. Sayce has remarked that what Babylonian civilisation was in the latest days of her history was attained in the age of Sargon and his age is known as the culminating point in the history of the old Onait. The date of 3800 has been fixed by Pisaches and corroborated by others.

The Khammurabi Code :—The sense of justice and its administrative play of large part in the history of civilisation of a nation and we are fortunate to possess certain light on the laws and law courts of Babylonia. There are many legal tablets of the time of Sargon but the laws were elaborated and systematically codified by King Khammurabi whose reign has been fixed about 2300 B.C. This code is the oldest known code in this world and it contains 282 Sections touching almost all the possible crimes and their punishments. There are regulations concerning slaves, robbery, canals, commerce, debt, divorce, inheritance, adaption, concerning physicians, veterinary surgeons, concerning building and shipping and other things. Aside from its bearing on Babylonian civilisation this code is one of the most important monuments in the history of human race and it will repay the closest study on the part of any one who takes the slightest interest in the evolution of human society. This code antidated the Mosaic code by at least 1000 years, and the Code of Maun, the Code of Draco and Solon, the XII Tables of Rome by a longer period. The resemblances between this Code and the Hebrew Book of Covenant are so overwhelming that the Khammurabi Code may be said to be the remote or immediate progenitor of the Hebrew legal system.

The Laurels of the discovery of this remarkable code fell to the French. In 1897, the French. Govt. deputed De Morgan to open excavation upon the Site of Susa, the ancient Persian City, for historical investigation. By the December of 1901, Morgan's men came upon a big block of black Diorite 7½ ft. high which was unearthed. The obverse of this stone contains a representation, in least relief of Khammurabi, receiving laws inscribed beneath, from the Ling God Samash seated on a throne and Khammurabi standing in a respectful attitude.

The monument containing the Khammurabi Code is one of the greatest treasures of the Louvre. Thanks to the imperishable nature of the Babylonian writing materials that we can have a precise, accurate and authentic knowledge of the culture of this ancient peoples.

Arts and occupations :—Of all the revelations regarding the Mesopotamian civilisation which the researches of Botta and Layard and their followers have brought to light none is more important than the position which Art attained in those far off and forgotten times. The seals on the cylinders of Sargon must have been very beautiful specimens of workmanship. It displayed a degree of excellence and finish which presupposes a long past behind it. Gem-cutting was a highly developed art as early as the 39th century B. C. Plastic art almost attained perfection in that grey antiquity, carpenter's art is another handicraft that was not confined to mere inartistic work. Before the time of Sargon a carpenter could make furniture which was of a highly artistic description, carving in ivory was another trade highly flourished in Babylonia. Carved ivories found on the site of Neneveh are of great beauty and were used for handles of Sceptors from very early times. The trade of a porcelain maker was as old as that of a carver of ivory, Babylon was the original home of enamelled tiles and bricks and they are the beautiful relics of Babylon in the Louvre.

The occupation of a scribe was very famous. In Babylonia the scribes acted as Librarians, authors, clerks and secretaries. The Libraries were kept in the temples and the work of a scribe was sacred. There was a mention of physicians and a treatise on medicine as early as 28th century B. C. The musicians formed a class by themselves. Money-lending was a foremost profession in Babylonia. The great money-lending and banking firm founded by Egibi became the Rothschilds of the ancient world.

Date palm was the staple of the country. It was almost the only tree that grew there in marvellous abundance and they regarded the palm as the best gift of nature.

Babylonian commerce extended to Mediterranean Coast in the west and to the Indian in the East. Babylonia imported from India precious stones, Indian dogs and Indian cotton. India amongst other things imported from Babylonia her first alphabets called Braheni scripts. Rawlinson, in his " Intercourse between the East and the West " has traced Babylon's trade work Barygaza (Baroach) on Cambay since the 15th century B. C. when a Babylonian merchant imported from India a crow which excited great admiration, on a subsequent voyage they took a peacock and the poor crow was totally eclipsed by the peacock.

Architecture :—Though the Assyrians and the Babylonians did not build anything like the great Pyramids of Egypt they were great builders and they built extensively many great cities enclosed within mighty walls, extended palaces and peculiar temples. Each town had many temples but always only one Ziggurat. The Ziggurats were composed of several immense cubes, poled upon one another diminishing in size up to the small shrine by which they were crowned wherein the God was supposed to dwell. The most remarkable edifice was the temple of Bel now marked by the Babil. It was the most ancient sanctuary of Babylon dating 5000 B. C. It was a Pyramid of eight square stages, the basement being 200 yds. each way and rising up to 625 ft. with a golden image of 40 ft. long.

When the old city of Babylon was destroyed a new city was built by Nebuchadnezzar in the 6th century B.C. with walls of immense height and thickness. Within the precincts of the palace called " The Admiration of Mankind" rose the "Hanging Gardens" consisting of a garden of trees and flowers grown on the topmost of a series of arches built in the form of a square. Each side measuring 400 ft. rising to the height of 75 ft. The topmost roof contained earth enough for trees to grow and water was raised from the Euphrates by means of a screw. Here in the cool shade of the palms and ferns the great king enjoyed his idle hours and looked down upon the splendors of his city. These roof gardens of Nebuchadnezzar's palace are the mysterious "Hanging Gardens" of Babylon whose fame spread far into the west until they were numbered by the Greeks among the 'Seven Wonders of the World.' We hear of a building with 7 stories (Sapta-bhumika-prasad) in Ceylon in Budha's time and Rlys Davids has concluded that the Indians have borrowed the pattern from the Chaldaeurs.

Culture :—In the year 1877 Ernest de Sarzec, the French Consul at Bussorah began his series of exploration and discovered a great temple 175 ft. and 100 in dimension the bricks of which bore the name of Gudea, more important than this was his discovery in 1894 at Tello in South Chaldaca of a Chamber containing thirty thousand tablets still in the order in which they had been placed in the time of Gudeu 2700 B. C. All these have found place in the Louvre.

Literature of every kind was represented. History and Chronology, Geography and Law, Philology and Mathematics, theology and Pseudo-science of Omens, astrology and astronomy—all found a place on the shelves of the chamber. Astrology was intermixed with astronomy of which Babylonia may be considered to be the birthplace. Kalisthenes sent Aristotle, astronomical observations from Babylon which reached back the 24th centrury B. C. The heavens had been mapped out and the stars named. The Sun's course along ths Ecliplic had been divided into 12 Zodiacal signs and a fairly accurate Calender had been constructed. The year was divided into 12 months with 30 days each and an intercalary month was added every sixth year to rectify the error. The month was divided into weeks of 7 days, each of which was consecrated to a particular deity. The Babylonian had some sort of telescope and lens had been discovered in the rains. A few mathematical tablets extant prove their progress in arithmatic and higher mathematics essential for the study of astronomy.

The Babylonian astronomy and astrology were still fresh in the minds of the Greeks of the day of Diodorus. One Egyptian priest told Solon "Oh Solon you Hellenes are but children, you are all young, there is neither old man, nor old opinion nor any science of hoary antiquity" The same may be pronouced by an chaldaen priest. It was gladly admitted by the Greeks that these oriental civilisations flowered while the Greek culture was in the bud and Disdorus looked not upon Green but upon Mesopotamia as the classic land of culture and modern .

researches have proved that the statement of Diodorus was not a myth but a tangible reality.

Religion :—In the work of George Smith edited by Sayce we find two contradictory estimates of Babylonian religion. One estimate is "that their religion was of the lowest and most degrading kind. They had a multitude of gods which could bring any capricious change and misfortune to peoples foresight and medicine were thus neglected and unavailing prayers and sacrifices were offered to propitiate their deities." The other estimate is "that Babylonian religion had a remarkable influence on all subsequent human progress and her religious traditions carried away by the Israelites became the heritage of all mankind." Now which estimate is right ? the first ! or the second ! Probably both are right. It had the elements of both guestness and of degradation and those two phases may be found to pertain to any other religion.

In its earliest phase it was a complicated Polytheism and they had the belief in a great many spirits and demons who could be controlled by magic. Then came period of local cults. Theophilus Pinches compared the several states of Babylonia with English Heptarchy, each of which state possessed its own divinity. Thus the chief divinity of Babylon was Merodach, of shipper the sun-god.Samash, etc. When these cities began to be welded together into a political system and Babylon became the capital of all, the gods were put together into an organised pantheon and Babylon's special god Merodach became the king of all gods. In this organised Pantheon we see faint signs of a conception of one God manifested in many forms, *i. e.* of a tendency to Monotheism.

From a perusal of Pinches we find that in an inscription dated about 2000 B. C., thirteen of the Babylonian deities are identified with Merodach and in such a way as to make them merely forms and representatives of Merodach under different names *e. g.*

Nergal is the Merodach of war
Bel is the Merodach of Domination
Samas is the Merodach of Righteous thing
Addu is the Merodach of Rain
Nebo is the Merodach of Trade
ete., etc., etc., etc.

This was nothing but Monotheism and in the Penitential hymns we find pure Monotheism of an exalted character which runs as follows :—

"First born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity and there is none, who may fathom it,

In Heaven who is Supreme ? Thou alone, thou art Supreme !
On Earth who is Supreme ? Thou alone, thou art Supreme !
My sins are many, my transgressions great,
I sought for help and now took my hand
I wept and none stood at my side,

To my God, the merciful one, Hurm myself and utter prayer
Oh my God, for give my sins !"

On this Hymn, Sayce has remarked—" this is a pure manotheism and the man who could then pray was not far from the Kingdom of God.

I will finish my lecture by giving a quotation from Tiele on Babylonian Religion. He says " The Religion of Babylonia had at an early date attained a comparatively high stage of development. It had not yet crossed the boundary of Monotheism but remained a theocratic and monarchical polytheism. Nevertheless it came very near that boundary. The gods of mythology were treated with great freedom and disgust. A comparatively pure and lofty conception of the highest divinity had already developed. Though many superstitions and magical customs were connected with the divine worship, it was not lacking in deep religious feeling and moral earnestness which is shown in Penitential Psalms."

Babylonianism by its hymns and Epics still lives to-day as an important factor in universal religion. Materially Babylon is but a memory but a delicate part of its atoms passed into the vigorous constitution of its spiritual heir—the sacred book of the Hebrew Monotheism—to become the common property of humanity.

THE
Hindustan Review.
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically, or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever be enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

The Aspect and Feature of the Follower of Hindu Religion.
(Original in Marathi by Mr. B. G. Tilak.)
By Mr. G. B. KHARE.

About 15 years ago (Shake 1822), we defined the Hindu religion thus –

प्रामाण्यबुद्धिर्वेदेषु साधनानामनेकता ।
उपास्यानामनियम श्चैतद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥

"TO regard the Vedas as all authoritative, to admit multiplicity of means for getting absolution, to allow free choice in selecting a special object of worship,—this is the Hindu religion." In the meantime, there has been said and written a good deal on this subject. But as yet none has pointed out the falling short of this definition in differentiating the Hindu religion from others. On the other hand, the late Mahamshopadhya Bhimacharya Zalkikar had assured us that this definition fulfilled the purpose as far as it went. But this differentiating is not sufficient. This does not enable us to distinguish the followers of the Hindu religion from those of others. This would be evident from the following instance. Suppose a European has his convictions like that, and is acting accordingly. Would you therefore call him a Hindu? And if not, we must clearly set forth our reasons; otherwise the answer would be incomplete. It is therefore intended to discuss a little the characteristic features of the followers of the Hindu religion.

This subject was widely discussed at the time of the Hon'ble Mr. Basu's "The Indian Marriage Registration Bill." The *leader* of Allahabad published the views of the various learned and authoritative men on this. These have been now published in book-form by Natesan & Co. of Madras. It contains the views of 25 prominent people—people like Sir Gurudas Bannerji, Hon. S. Subrambanya Ayyer, Hon. Gokuldas Parekh, R. B. Chintamanrao Vaidya and others. But the opinions expressed therein, being merely answers in brief to the points raised at that time, do not go into sufficient depth of the matter and do not seem to be very critical. Naturally therefore they are more or less incomplete, unscientific, and in some cases quite ridiculous. For instance, one defines—"Hindu is that who is neither a Mahomedan, a Christian, or a Parsee". This may appear to be satisfactory, but is highly illogical. Our aim is to define 'Hindu', and that purpose is not at all served by saying 'Hindu is that who is not anything else'. Similarly, 'Hindu is one who has Shikha, or who wears a sacred thread or who lives in India' &c,—all these definitions are faulty. In some cases they are too loose, in others too narrow; because there were and there are many Hindus, who have dispensed with their Shikha or do not live in India. Nobody would at first think this task of defining a Hindu so difficult. But the moment we try to construct such an accurate definition, several difficulties spring up as can be seen by the incompleteness of all the definitions mentioned above. To find a way out, another gentleman defines the word Hindu thus—'He who calls himself a Hindu is a Hindu.' Now what is the meaning of such a definition? This means that the interpretation of Hindu is left to everybody's choice; and the term remains as unintelligible as ever. And there would be no objection, according to this, if to-morrow a European likes to call himself a Hindu. But nobody would accept this. Another solution has been suggested in the following definition—'He is to be called a Hindu whose rights to property and inheritance are decided according to the Hindu Law by the English law-courts' This too is unsatisfactory. Hindus were existing in India before the establishment of these law courts, and instead of a Hindu being determined by the decision of these law-courts, the very decision of these courts are originally based on the principles laid down in the Hindu Dharma Shastras. So that, a Hindu cames first and then comes the Hindu-Law. To determine a Hindu by his being subject to the Hindu- law is like reversing the process of cause and effect. It is like putting a cart before a horse. It at the same time cannot be denied that all these definitions contain truth more or less. In general, it is safe to say that a Hindu keeps 'shikha', but all will insist on having a more broad and rigid definition. But as has been said already, considerations like these involve us into various intricacies; and some even despair of the possibility of arriving at an accurate definition. To us these difficulties do not seem to be insurmountable. We call ourselves Hindus, and thus distinguish ourselves from others. And if on closer scrutiny, we show a lack of ability in framing an intelligible definition of Hindu, we might well be charged with being ignorant of the very fact 'Who are we'? At a time when no alien races inhabited India, this inquiry was of little importance; but such being not the case now, a clear definition of a Hindu is all the more necessary.

In discussions like this, it is necessary to clear all ambiguity of the meanings of words we use, at the very outset. Otherwise misunderstanding is sure to arise. For instance take the Sanskrit word 'Saindhava', which has two meanings *viz.*, 'a horse born in Sindh', and 'mine salt'. In such a case, if the sense is not made clear, one would describe Saindhava as a creature, having four legs, a tail, two ears, and a mane. Another would call this false and would say that it was saltish in taste. Hence it is necessary to specify the meanings of words we are going to define. Hindu is a foreign word and is used very loosely. Etymologists tell us that the word is derived from Persian and was first applied to us by a non-Aryan race, *viz.*, the Mahommedans, in the same contemptuous sense as the word 'native' is used now-a-days by Englishmen with reference to us. The word seems to be a corruption of 'Sindhu', and these non-Aryan races called the people found near or this side of Sindhu as Hindus. We were called before that as Aryans. Hence the word Hindu originally meant that other race of people in India which these non-Aryans found on their coming to India near the river Sindhu. If we go a little into history we shall find that the so called Hindu people were not all of the same sort. Long before the Mahommedans came, the Aryan races had come and settled in India, and had influenced or forced the original non-Aryan races of India to accept their religion. The term Hindu therefore included Aryans, non-Aryans, and the mixed races. So that although distinct in caste and creed, yet coming almost under the Vaidic religion, the people were wholesale styled as Hindus by the Mahommedans. But even at that time and in the same society, there were sects, such as Buddhists and Jains, which followed religions closely resembling the Vaidic religion, and still disbelieved in the all-authoritativeness of the Vedas. Not only that, but later on out of these people some embraced Mahommedanism and some have turned now a days into Christians. But still all these people are called, from one point of view, Hindus even by the followers of Vaidic religion. We treat the Buddhists and the Jains as Hindus, and the term 'Hindu-Christian' has become familiar. Such a meaning of the word Hindu would dissociate it from religion, and would make it mean 'one who lives in India' or 'one who is born of Hindu parents'. Such a comprehensive meaning is seldom referred to either in every day life or in the law courts. It must be made clear that this meaning is not meant here at least. We are going to define it with special reference to a particular religion and not from any other onsideration, such as country, caste, or creed. This does not in any way mean the disparagement of the people of other religions existing in India. Just as the individual description of height, colour, appearance, &c., of the four brothers does not in any way mean inciting hatred among them, similarly defining of the Hindu religion does not mean the belittling of others. It is the out-standing principle of the Hindu religion that one should follow one's own religion. Hence anything that deals with that religion or its followers does not throw any discredit on the other existing religions.

We have made it clear that we are using the word with reference to religion and not in any other sense. Religion means 'Dharma'; and this word Dharma is as comprehensive as the word Hindu—or perhaps more. It is necessary to explain a little the word Dharma, in order to avoid ambiguity. The word is derived from 'Dhra', which means 'to bear or support', and hence 'one that supports'. But what is to be supported and what for?'. The root meaning is unable to tell this. We have to resort to its popular meaning for that, and that refers to 'Things Divine'. It has to do with 'Swarga' or 'Moksha'. All religions believe that this can only be had through Divine grace; and different religions teach different ways of securing it. We have in the very first shloka—**'प्रामाएय बुद्धिर्वेदेषु'** &c., shown how the Hindu religion differs here from other religions. Perhaps it may here be said that this differentiation has been made mainly on this ground. Yet although religion has this element of divinity in it, it does not exhaust it and does not ascertain its nature thereby. All religious books, besides giving rules of morality deal also with social customs and rites and conduct in everyday life. This can be seen from Smriti, the Bible, Koran, &c. All Dharma granthas order 'Do not injure anybody', 'Do not tell a lie.' 'Do not steal' &c.; and the followers of every religion claim themselves to have been the first chosen by God for communicating these truths to the people. But since all such commandments are common to all religions, there is nothing in them to distinguish one religion from other. But as regards other things of daily practice, this is not so. We shall find considerable differences in matters relating to the disposal of property, rules of marriage, &c. And it is owing to this that some attention must be paid to these things, whenever we think or talk of religion. Faith in the Bible and the practice of the rules of conduct laid down therein is not sufficient to make a man Christian. The 'Padree' would refuse to call such a man Christian. So also is the case with Vaidic religion. For the purpose of differentiation we defined Hinduism as **'प्रामाएय बुद्धिर्वेदेषु'** &c. But let us take a case of a man who believes and acts like that. Would that alone make him a follower of the Vaidic religion? Take for instance Mahommedanism. Can a man be called a Mahommedan who has faith in Mahomet and the Koran but has not passed through the 'Sunta' ceremony? No. This law is equally applicable even to the present

Institutions, Assemblies, &c. Such Institutions or Assemblies have some rules, and one who is willing to obey and carry out all those rules is called a member and not anybody else. This has its parallel in commercial matters also. A man who buys a share after paying a certain number of rupees and is willing to bear all the responsibility of the laws of the company, is alone called a share-holder of that company. This obedience to certain rules and regulations, seen in the case of companies etc., applies also to such vastly important and all-embracing thing—Religion. To make a long story short, we can safely say that every religion, be it Hindu, Parsee, or Mahommedan, has certain rules and regulations peculiar to it and unless a man follows them in his conduct, he can never be called a follower of that religion. In such matters outward form and ceremony play the supreme part, irrespective of the individual's culture or attainments. Observance of certain prescribed forms and ceremonies is a necessary condition for being called a follower of any religion. Such ceremonies we perform often in the course of our lives, which in one sense means our constant declaration of the religion to which we belong and which goes to make our attachment to our religion all the stronger by putting before us its ideals. The main utility of all these practices lies in the fact that they fix men's faith in their religion and make them realise this common bond and thus increase their power of co-operation. And it is perhaps this very fact which has made even atheists to give a prominent part to these forms and ceremonies in society. Take for instance the materialistic view of Auguste Comte in which he discards the idea of God and substitutes in its place Humanity. God has no place in his religion, Yet mark in what detail he deals with ceremonies to be performed at the time of birth, marriage, or death. Not only that, but he writes at great length about the things to be said on such occasions and the priests who should conduct them. We have cited this in order to prove how the idea of religion is always accompanied by the idea of the performance of certain ceremonies. If there be any 'religion' in which all such ceremonies and others have been wholly dispensed with, we may say that it would not be called a religion, whatever else it might be. The prevailing and increasing materialistic tendencies have set some people to think that it is perfectly possible for a society to exist in the absence of any such ceremonial bonds. And it is this tendency that makes people belittle these forms and rites, and unwilling to define religion in these terms. By scoffing at or ridiculing these ceremonies, they pretend to follow a purified form of the Hindu religion untainted by any ceremony. But that it is a mistake can be easily seen from the 'religion' preached by Comte. No one will ever become a Hindu or a Christian by a mere study of the Gita or the Bible. To be called either a Hindu or a Christian, a man should observe the respective forms and ceremonies. And it should be borne in mind, that we are attempting to distinguish the Hindu religion not only from a spiritual point of view but also from a practical one. The same is the case with every religion. In Parsee or Mahomedan religions, we shall find the same thing. Reading of the Zend Avesta does not make a man Parsee, nor does the translating of the Gita make one Hindu. On the other hand, a man can be called a Hindu or a Parsee inspite of his complete ignorance of the Vedas or the Zend Avesta. And hence arises the necessity of going further than merely pointing out the theoretical and scriptural differences existing in various religions. We are forced to examine their ceremonies and outward forms. Religion and Philosophy have this important difference. Just as we transform the airy nothing into God by attributing to that all the good qualities, so also we clothe all the abstract philosophy and morality with various forms and ceremonies, and thus transform them into religion. And soon, at least in the eyes of common men, this outward clothing of forms and ceromonies comes to occupy a prominent place. We are treating the subject with the same consideration.

The word Dharma is a comprehensive one. Besides meaning the ways and means of securing divine grace and salvation, it includes the social and moral conduct as well as the various forms and ceremonies one has to performs in the course of his life now and then. These forms and ceremonies, being different in different religions, their consideration, when we deal with the characteristic aspect of the Hindu religion, is inevitable. Just as there are a few common things in all religions, so also there exist always a few specialities with each of them. And these specialities must invite our attention in discussions like these. In Christianity as well as in Hinduism, there are certain ceremonies to be performed at the time of admitting one into religion after birth, at the time marriage, and after death. But they are not the same in both cases. A man is called either a Christian or a Hindu according to the forms and ceremonies administered to him on these occasions. And therefore they are important. In such matters Christians and Mahomedans follow the rules given in the Bible and the Koran respectively; Hindus consult Shruti, Smriti, and the Puranas. Now if we try to trace the origin of such rites in Christianity and Mahomedanism, we shall see that they were not newly invented by Christ or Mahomet, but they were already existing in the society of their time. What they did was to enter them into their 'Dharma-granthas' with some modifications. The moral of this is, that the root of all the forms and ceremonies is to be found in the ancient customs and rites of that particular society. It is said in the Mahabharat.

सर्वागमानामाचारः प्रथमः परिकल्पते ।
आचारप्रभवो धर्मो धर्मस्य प्रभुरच्युतः ॥

'Achar (rites and customs) is regarded foremost in all Vaidic religions; it is the root of religion, and Vishnu is the master of religion.' Smriti also includes Achar in the sanctions of religion. Still even after admitting this, many contend that there are no such rites and ceremonies common to all the Hindus as is the case with the Christians and the Mahomedans. The 'Thread-ceremony,' necessary in the case of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, is denied to women and Shudras; and the same partiality is seen in other cases too. Hence they maintain the impossibility of laying down any religious principle applicable to all the Hindus On our part we do not think this argument sufficiently valid. It is nowhere laid down that all the people of the same religion must follow the same rites, nor can it be maintained that such a practice is necessary. From history we see that the Aryans, who first came to India had in common the same rites and customs. When the aboriginal non-Aryan races in India came in contact with these Aryan races, they began to adopt a few of their customs and rites of the Vaidic religion, and finally came to be included in the term Hindu. It is true that this caused the expansion of the Vaidic religion, but at the same time, it meant an inclusion of the people following different practices and customs. And it became necessary to reconcile all these diversities and still maintain the unity of religion. This reconciliation meant the formation of the four divisions in society. The same Moksha and divine knowledge is promised to all these divisions. This equilibrium in society has been secured by an open acknowledgment of the minor differences creeping in from the abovementioned causes; and it is mischievous to say that this arrangement has been introduced by the Brahmins to lower the prestige of other castes. It is but natural that such distinctions with regard to caste and creed should exist when two different societies are amalgamated into one and are brought under a common religion by the dominating influence of either of their original religions. This difficulty never comes in the way of comparatively modern religions such as Christianity and Mahomedanism. But it is not so with older religions. Their practical side mainly brings to our notice this diversity in customs and rites, and they have to be brought under one common head by means of such broad principle as— 'प्रामाण्य बुद्धिर्वेदेषु'. While dealing with the differentiation of the Hindu religion, we must admit that there exist differences in traditional rites and usages. And 'Achar' means the observances of such traditional forms and usages. One who follows these 'acharas' is alone a Hindu. But it is not that a constant observance of all these traditional rites and customs is necessary in order to keep oneself Hindu. Trespassers of them are sometimes excused or are made subject to some penalty. A man is allowed to remain Hindu if he pays a fine or a penalty for his trespassing. But it is unnecessary to go so deep here. In every community there are certain rites which are obligatory, and some which are not. Sometimes failure of their observance is atoned by small penalty. Such matters strictly concern those who belong to that religion, the intervention of the foreigners is not required here. What we have to see is whether there are any such rites in Hindu religion quite distinct from those of others. It is true that we do not now-a-days follow all these rites ect., of the ancient Aryan religion. Still the root or origin of the present prevailing customs and rites is due to their relation with those ancient ones. Their observance is thus the characteristic of the Hindu religion. These rites have been recorded in Shruti and Smriti; and hence the features of our religion are styled as———"preached by Shruti, Smriti and the Puranas." When Hinduism was no the point of decay, nearly 300 years before in the Mahomedan times, the learned men from a Maharastra family in Benares wrote their 'Granthas' on Hindu religion on the authority of Shruti and Smriti. All the rites laid down in those sacred books are not practised at present; they have undergone, in course of time, a great many changes. In some cases the ancient rites have been supplanted by new ones; yet attention must be paid to the acknowledged traditional forms of conduct at any particular time, although the supreme authority of Shruti and Smriti is never challenged. Therefore in trying to distinguish the Hindu religion, we must include therein such traditional rites, &c. In this present age of transition, the validity and utility of the various rites is often questioned. Suggestions are made to reform some of them and to reject the others.

But such discussions and differences do not in any way interfere with our present attempt of distinguishing the Hindu religion from others. It is the fundamental principle of this religion that the observance of these traditional rites, &c., is a religious binding, and not a legal or a moral one. A Hindu, whether a Brahmin or a Shudra, will have his marriage or death ceremony performed strictly according to the rules laid down in Shruti and Smriti, or their present modified forms; and it is his firm conviction that these being the religious bindings, and not legal or moral, cannot be broken. Such a view cannot be called 'wrong', because even in the most enlightened country, the distinction between religion, morality and law is still to be found and it is doubtful whether this distinction will ever completely disappear.

It is therefore these every day rules of conduct or the practical side which forms the distinguishing feature of the Hindu religion; and the foremost place is occupied by these traditional rites. Even though we may see differences in these rites in difference castes and provinces, yet they do not materially affect the general principles of distinction of the religion. No doubt this task is more difficult than that of Mahomedanism or Christianity. But there can exist in rules simplicity and complexity. And this task of defining is easy or difficult according to the nature of the thing. What we have to see is whether the features laid down are sufficient for distinguishing purpose or not, irrespective of their simplicity or complexity. And we prefer this definition, *viz.*—"प्रामाण्यबुद्धिर्वेदेषु and one who follows the traditional rites derived from Shruti and Smriti is a Hindu" to "Hindu is one who has Shikha", or "Hindu is one who is not anything else".

श्रुतिः स्मृति : सदा चार : स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
एतच्चतुर्विधं प्राहुः साक्षाद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥

Manu says—'Shruti, Smriti, righteous conduct and satisfaction of the inner consciousness—these four are the principle aspects of religion.' In Vishnu-Smriti prominence is given to the respective rules of conduct of the four classes, and it is said—

चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन् देशे न विद्यते ।
तं म्लेच्छदेशं जानीयादार्यावर्तस्ततः परम् ॥

'That country is 'Mlench' where these rites are not followed.' In both these cases, it is intended to lay down the characteristics of the Hindu religion. And along with Shruti and Smriti equal prominence is given to religious conduct and the arrangement of four classes in a society. This does not mean that these rules should never change or do not change; because the writers of Smriti were well aware of the fact that these rites change or undergo modifications in course of time, and they have purposely sanctioned certain omissions in them in Kaliyuga. So also out of the 16 ceremonies laid down in Smriti, many have become obsolete. Yet this does not affect the characteristic aspect of conduct in Hindu religion, because even those which exist still are traditional, and have come down from a remote past.

We have so far shown how it is possible to make a consistent definition of the practical side of the Hindu religion, and how it can be distinguished from other religions. Now this has been also done to a certain extent by ancient writers. Now let us meet some objections that are likely to be raised on this. When we say that these rites are traditional it follows that the forefathers of a Hindu must have passed through them in their days. It will also be seen that before a Hindu comes to birth he passes through one of these ceremonies, *viz.*, **गर्भाधान** by its performance by his parents. And it is said—in **याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति**

ब्रह्मक्षत्रियविट्शूद्रा वर्णास्त्वाद्यास्त्रयो द्विजा : ।
निषेकादिश्मशानान्तास्तेषां वै मंत्रतः क्रिया : ॥

"Out of the four classes—*viz.*, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra, the first three are twice born and all their ceremonies from **गर्भाधान** to death are performed with 'mantras'. Now it may be urged that, according to this, a man who has not gone through them cannot be called a Hindu. It is true that people were allowed to re-enter into Hinduism, who had been converted into Buddhism in the reign of Asoka and after him. But we must remember that originally they were Hindus, and besides these things have happened in the days of religious revolution and not in ordinary times; and therefore they cannot be regarded as authoritative instances. What happens in normal times and ordinary conditions can be seen from the instances of Kabir and others. We honour and revere a foreigner who has accepted our principles of religion and is master of them. If he be a saint, we raise tomb in his honour and even worship him. But inspite of all, we never call him a Hindu. Some may wonder at our making so much of foreigners. But if we honour them, keeping ourselves strictly as Hindus, we display tolerance and equanimity of our temper more than anything else.

Another objection to our definition of the practical side of Hinduism would be raised by the reformers of the present time. They would say that if religion means the traditional forms or rites derived from Shruti and Smriti, then we can not get rid of such practices as are not worthy of being followed. To us this seems irrelevent. Whenever we try to distinguish anything, we consider its present condition only and this rule is applicable in this case too. We are not considering here the ways or means of improving Hindu religion, but we are simply laying down the boundary marks of the Hindu religion of the present day. We have nothing to do with its improvement or whether it is possible to improve it or not. Still a few hints on this point may be given. Besides the characteristics given above, there are a few more also. Such as—'धारणात् धर्म.' or

यतोऽभ्युदय-निश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्म : ।

According to these, the authors of the Dharma-granthas have given a right of making changes in them to competent and authoritative persons. And some competent persons do make use of this prerogative, and change them or modify them when necessary. People follow their example; and in course of time these alterations are duly embodied in the traditional codes of religion. It is out of such authority that Swetketu fixed the marriage limit, and Shukracharya prohibited drinking, in the Mahabharat.

The third objection would be with regard to the present sects such as Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaja, &c. In them some aspects of the Vaidic religion are omitted or altered. Hence it might be said, that we cannot include them in the Sanatan Hindu Dharma. But let us see whether they can be called Hindu in some signification, if not in full. The answer to this depends on the rites and ceremonies observed by them. If they resemble very much our traditional rites, &c., then they may be called Hindu; and in that case, that would be the proper thing. But if that be not the case, we cannot call them Hindu at least from the religious point of view. The reason of the Jains and the Buddhists being called Hindus in a general sense is that they practise many of the Hindu rites, &c., and in some provinces inter-marriages are allowed among the Jains and the Vaishnavas. But it must be remembered that they are called Hindus not with a religious point of view, but because they live in India and are the off-shoots of the same parent stock. We need not enter here into minor or secondary meanings of the word Hindu. Facts of first rate importance need only be considered. How far this term Hindu can be stretched from its original sense depends on the prevailing tendencies and inclinations of the general public; and there is no other way possible. We have already said that in the broadest sense anybody living in India can be called a Hindu—even if he be a foreigner.

We thus arrive at the following definition of the Hindu religion of conduct—

प्रामाण्य बुद्धिर्वेदेषु साधनानामनेकता ।
उपास्यानाम नियमश्चैतद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ।
धर्ममेनं समालम्ब्य विधिभि : संस्कृतस्तुयः ।
श्रुतिस्मृति पुराणोक्तैः क्रमप्राप्तैरथापि वा ॥
स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः श्रद्धाभक्ति समन्वितः ।
शास्त्रोक्ता चार शीलश्च स वै 'हिंदुः' सनातनः ॥

"A belief in the absolute authority of the Vedas, multiplicity of means of absolution, non-rigidity of the object of worship—this is the definition of religion. Having recourse to this Dharma and having purified by sacraments as explained by Shruti, Smriti and Puranas or by those sanctioned by tradition, attached to the performance of respective caste duties and filled with Faith, Devotion, cultivating conduct and character in conformity with the Shastras—such indeed is the eternal Hindu."

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

The Indian Year Book for 1920.

By "A RECLUSE."

WE once more give a very hearty welcome to *The Indian Year Book* as a notable monument of painstaking industry and research. It is a valuable collection of facts, figures and economic data, brought down to meet the latest demands of the day. There are, indeed, few occasions of special reference to which the volume before us will not be found adequate while in selection and arrangement it easily surpasses the *extant a lespota* of elaborate statistics, dainty diagrams and general gentleman-usherings annually put together by well-meaning but woefully misemployed scribes. Pedantry and persiflage in which dullness disports itself are replaced by simplicity and clearness eminently calculated to initiate the earnest student of public affairs into the *anise and cummin* of administration, the supreme concern of the editor being to give Indians a square deal in their struggles for social and political progress. It would, indeed, to find a volume with a wider range of interest, although we would prize it more if Sir Stanley Reed pursues the comparative method so necessary in interpreting the phenomena of human progress. In spite of the Chestertonian gospel of negation, we maintain that the law of progress is not a blank formula, and freedom to develop and opportunities for development *ipso facto* make for progress, notwithstanding the distressing frequency of back eddies. Comparative statements regarding infant mortality, average duration of life, income per head, expenditure per on education and sanitation, and the like, would show whether or not the results achieved challenge comparison with other civilised countries, and if India is still straggling in the rear, Sir Stanley Reed owes it to his Indian readers to examine the conditions that have retarded their national development. We shall now proceed to indicate some of the most salient features of the latest issue of *The Indian Year Book*, which commanded a record sale somewhat similar to that achieved in England by Mr. Keynes' brilliant book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

The most poignant merit of the volume lies in its sections on trade, finance and education, which are judiciously planned and skilfully compressed, although the compiler flinches from conclusions following by syllogistic necessity from the given data. We are asked to regard the year ending March 31st, 1919, as an *annus mirabilis*, because during that year the total value of India's overseas trade in merchandise was nearly Rs. 423 crores as against Rs. 395 crores in the preceding year and against the pre-war average of Rs. 370 crores. There is, however, a fly in the ointment. From well-nigh start to finish, the whole foreign trade of India is controlled by foreign exploiters while the children of the soil are called upon to defray all the attendant charges to the tune of Rs. 21 crores per annum, at a modest rate of five per cent. [illegible] the pence the rise in prices, our exports in 1918-19 amounted to Rs. 239 crores as against Rs. 233 crores in the preceding year and against the pre-war average of Rs. 219 crores, while our imports in 1918-19 worked out at Rs. 169 crores as against Rs 150 crores in 1917-18 and against the pre-war average of Rs. 145 crores. If the mercantilist heresy were true, India must be a veritable El Dorado instead of being a land of the "submerged tenth" and the "depressed classes" born into a condition of economic slavery. The reason for the wide-spread destitution is not far to seek. A glance at her enormous imports of manufactured articles and at her alarmingly heavy exports of raw materials would account for India's squalid poverty while the rise of imports from Japan from the pre-war average of Rs. 3⅔ crores to Rs. 33 crores in 1918-19 showed the unwisdom and impolicy of keeping Indians in the unenviable condition of the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and leaving considerable lee-way to be made good by the Munitions Board, which must be financed as liberally as the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in the United Kingdom, established in war-time with a block grant of £1,000,000, to say nothing of £3,000,000, made over to the Development Fund.

Progress in "foundation" education, scientific training and technical achievement in India goes on halting feet and with leaden step, and Sir Stanley should, in future, include comparative statistics in *The Indian Year Book* if it be only for the purpose of mortifying the flesh by taking the conceit out of cheery optimists. At the last session of the Supreme Council, the instance of Japan was trotted out to justify the staggering military expenditure, in utter forgetfulness of the fact both primary education and military training were compulsory in Japan, which spent eighteen pence per head on primary education alone as against sixpence per head spent in India on education of all grades in 1918-19 and which had a percentage of 6·52 of technically trained students as against only ·27 in India. Futhermore, it is a pertinent inquiry, recently started by *The Indian Witness*, if the Government of the United States was mulcted of one hundred and fifty million dollars per year because one crore and fifteen lakhs of inhabitants were illiterate what a colossal loss must the Government of India be sustaining annually with twenty-eight crores and eight lakhs of Indians wallowing in Cimmerian darkness? The leader-writer assumed the role of Eliphaz and forced on Indians crying for "more money for education and sanitation; less for railways." Some of his coldest consolations in *The Times of India* of April 1st, 1919. He treated us to a pyrotechnic display of figures showing that the outlay on education rose from Rs. 450 lakhs in 1915-16 to Rs. 731 lakhs in the Budget for 1919-20, and went on to state that in Bombay the provision for education rose from Rs. 111 lakhs in 1918-19 to Rs. 132 lakhs in 1919-20; in Madras, from Rs. 108 lakhs to Rs. 128 lakhs; and in the United Provinces, from Rs. 74 lakhs to Rs. 106 lakhs. It did not occur to the sapient writer that with several years of a forward educational policy behind it, British India's percentage of those under instruction to the total population ought not to have been so dishearteningly low as 3·25 as against 19 in England and Wales, Prussia, Belgium, and Canada, or that in India the average duration of school life ought, in all conscience, to have been very much higher than 3·8 years. Proceeding, the erudite critic informed his readers that the expenditure on sanitation rose from Rs. 93 lakhs in 1915-16 to Rs. 122 lakhs in the Budget for 1919-20 and added that in Bombay the outlay on sanitation rose from Rs. 15 lakhs in 1918-19 to Rs. 23 lakhs in 1919-20; in Madras, from Rs. 14 lakhs to Rs. 24 lakhs, and in Bengal, from Rs. 9 lakhs to Rs. 18 lakhs. "For this relief much thanks" we might say in the words of Francisco, but would the leader-writer assign adequate reasons for the appalling mortality of 7,33,000 in India in 1917? Could he possess his soul in patience at the reflection that out of 7,33,000 deaths, as many as 3,89,000 where children, 2,17,000 of whom were under one year of age? India wants a generous State subvention to train students in the departments of anatomy, physiology and pharmacology; institutions like the Rockefeller Institute at New York, which has an endowment of £ 3,000,000 to promote research in the prevention and treatment of disease, and large benefactions like that recently made by the Rockefeller Foundation, which offered England a munificent donation of £ 1,205,000 for the endowment of medical teaching, training and research, and for perfecting the "unit system" of training, particularly in obstetrics.

The position taken up by Indians as regards the railway policy is grievously misunderstood by Anglo-Indian critics, who are apparently unaware of the means by which the convenience of the travelling public is ensured since 1907 when Japan took over the railway management from private ownership. In India, on the other hand, the words uttered by Sir Frederick Lely a few years ago have lost none of their melancholy interest down to our own day : "The Traffic Manager wields an irresponsible power over the country commanded by his railways, which should not be entrusted to any man, and, least of all, to one who, rightly from his own point of view, regards nothing but his masters' dividend." A casual glance at the freight-schedules would show the supreme indifference to India's own industrial requirements. Could not the State manage the railways more economically than private companies ? The financial results attained in the working of the State Railways quoted in *The Indian Year Book* show a growingly progressive rise in the percentage of returns on capital at charge from 5·06 in 1915-16 to 7·07 in 1918-19.

The Indian Year Book starts many hares and to pursue them all, if only to clear the air and lead to clearer thought, would take up more time than the long-suffering reviewer can spare. Suffice it to say that the latest issue is not only immeasurably superior to the mass of dreary and indefinite generalities with which we are deluged, without the saving grace of timeliness of information, furnished in a manner, which is an apotheosis of the *lucus a non lucends?* principle of exposition. In his preface to "Lives of the Chief Justices," Vol. III, Lord Campbell says : "I proposed to bring in a bill into Parliament to deprive an author who publishes a book without an index of the privilege of copy right." We suggest to Sir Stanley Reed to agitate for a bill to enjoin punctuality on the compilers of hardy annuals rather than keeping his readers on the *quivive* of expectancy by the belated issue of *The Indian Year Book*. Again, the entries regarding the Indian States should be made more illuminating as regards the outlays on education, sanitation, etc. and the proportion they, bear to total revenues. Lists of books on Indian problems and of newspapers and magazines published in British India and the Indian States should be brought upto-date and the outstanding activities of Indian Universities, the percentage of passes in various examinations, the names of vice-chancellors and other office-bearers should be surveyed to enable the readers to arrive at a comparative estimate of the progress achieved and the standards set by the different Universities. Many readers would have been sorely disappointed at not finding in *The Indian Year Book*, a summary of recommendations made by the Calcutta University Commission, and the minutes of dissent concerning the Reform Scheme, the Industrial development and the Exchange Problem. Finally, we would suggest the desirability of adding a list of special references at the end of every important section for the benefit of earnest students of public affairs curious to supplement the information provided in *The Indian Year Book* by more detailed studies. A country is in a parlous condition where the average duration of life is only 23·5 years as in India and Sir Stanley Reed would be rendering a public service if he furnishes data concerning the average income per head, the relation which the rise in wages during the last decade bears to the rise in prices ; the index numbers giving the cost of living, supposing for the while that consumption has remained the same in quantity and quality and a tabular statement showing the distribution of ages—under 20 years ; 20 to 60 years and over 60 years—per 1,000 inhabitants, so that we might ascertain whether, relatively to other countries India possesses less human material at ages between 20 and 60 to account for her backwardness in important spheres of human activity.

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* Respectfully from Professor Keshav Lal, L. Oza, Bahauddin College, Junagad.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Literature of Sociology.

Democracy at the Crossways. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M. A., LL. D., (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1919.

Outlines of Social Philosophy. By J. S. Mackenzie (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London) 1919.

The Idea of Public Right. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London) 1919.

Social Progress. A Contribution to a Philosophy of Civil Society. By H. J. W. Hetherington, M. A. and J. H. Muirhead, LL. D., (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London) 1919.

Social and International Ideals. Being Studies in Patriotism. By Bernard Bosanquet (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1918.

The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice. By Stephen Leacock (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London) 1920.

Community—A Sociological Study. Second Edition. By Dr. R. M. MacIver. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1920.

At a time when the Indian political atmosphere is surcharged with the germs of democracy, a critical and comprehensive study of the subject in the light of western experience, such as is offered by Dr. Hearnshaw in his *Democracy at the Crossways*, is all the more welcome. The learned author's main object—in which he has been pre-eminently successful—has been to help the practical politician, the man-in-the-street, and, above all, the new electorates in the United Kingdom. He does not disguise the faults and dangers of democracy; indeed, many will regard him as a somewhat harsh critic of what is regarded as a political panacea. He holds, however, that democracy is the only form of State ultimately tolerable, and that it must be representative democracy for the practical working of which he considers the two-party system essential. The first part of his book is a study of democracy in theory and practice; the second is a criticism of the crossways—sectionalism, socialism, syndicalism, anarchism; the third describes the Straight Way, the National State, the Rule of the Majority, Discipline and Duty, Reform. The goal is indicated in two chapters on The Federated British Commonwealth and The League of Free States. The work is thus comprehensive and traverses the entire ground. The author is a master of his subject and has brought to the discussion of his complex theme a well-trained mind and a ripe experience. We unhesitatingly recommend Dr. Hearnshaw masterly work to Indian constitutionalists who may desire to grasp the various ramifications of democracy as a political system of government.

Dr. Mackenzie's *Introduction to Social Philosophy*—published some thirty years back, when Sociology was much less advanced than it now is—was for years the student's favourite text-book of the subject. But it has been long since out of print and the author has been well-advised in not reprinting it even "revised and enlarged" but rather replacing it by a new work called *Outlines of Social Philosophy*, which is not only more comprehensive than its predecessor but is fully abreast of the latest developments in Sociology. This treatise is divided into three books. The first deals with the foundations of Social Unity, the second is on National Order and the third is on World Order. There is also an Appendix, containing comments on the leading ideas of Plato's "Republic." Though, there are several excellent American text-books of Sociology, there were few good ones that were British. Dr. Mackenzie's work will, we have no doubt be the student's favourite elementary manual. It is lucid in exposition and systematic in its treatment.

The Idea of Public Right, is a collection of the first four prize essays in each of the three divisions of the *Nation* competition, with an Introduction by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Asquith, M. P. The subject they all deal with is the idea of public right as the governing idea of European politics and how it can be translated into concrete terms.

There are altogether sixteen essays published which not only represent very different points of view but many of which sketch out ideals and theories which deserve earnest consideration. Written while the war of nations was still going on, the majority of the writers have accepted its necessity as resulting from the political conditions of Europe in 1914. Mr. Asquith justly points out that "the suggestions, both critical and constructive put...forward in some of the essays.. ...merit, discussion and sympathetic consideration." A student of Politics will rise from a perusal of these essays with a broader outlook on public affairs and a keener appreciation of the problem of public right in its practical application to political conditions.

Professor Hetherington and Dr. Muirhead's *Social Progress: A Contribution to a Philosophy of Civic Society* is a volume of "The Library of Philosophy," of which the second author is the editor. The authors while defining as accurately as possible the character of various institutions and bringing out their mutual relations, have tried to demonstrate that however manifold the forms in which social purpose expresses itself, yet its nature and principle are one and indivisible. The authors have successfully attempted to show in greater detail than is usually done, how social structure shares in the purposefulness and moral values of individual life; and to define as accurately as possible typical social institutions and to indicate the problems which the future has to face in adapting tehm to the ends of a truer civilization. Whatever the reader's view of the soundness of the author's philosophic theory, there can be no two opinions that their work is thought-compelling and deserves earnest consideration.

Dr. Bernard Bosanquet's *Social and International Ideals* is a collection of fourteen essays connected with the common idea that the nature of our patriotism is what creates the peaceful or warlike atmosphere, and that the nature of our patriotism is displayed and operates primarily through the degree in which the rights are organised within the social and the political community. All the essays deal in one form or another with this central idea and elucidate it from various points of view. The essays which are "studies in patriotism" would no doubt to some extent offend against our popular notions associated with that much-abused word; but those who would care to grasp the philosophic ideals and implications of it, would be immensely benefitted by a careful perusal of Lr. Bosanquets learned and luminous treatment of a subject in which all citizens are interested.

Mr. Stephen Leacock has so far enjoyed such immense popularity as a humorist—the best-known from Canada—that it is something of a shock to a reviewer to find him dabbling in the abstruse subject of Sociology. But a perusal of his *Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice* has satisfied us that he is as accomplished a writer on it as he is in the handling of humorous situations. Mr. Leacock comes to the conclusion—which we share with him—that "the principle of selfishness that has been the survival instinct of existence since life first crawled from the slime of a world in evolution, is as yet but little mitigated." For his reasoning, we must refer the reader to his very well-written, and stimulating book itself, which will amply repay perusal.

Important revisions have been made in the second edition of Dr. R. M. MacIver's work, *Community : a Sociological Study*. Recent events gain vast significance on the world stage of social evolution, and opportunity is taken to suggest their significance. More particularly, the emphasis falls on the great questions of political sovereignty in view of the remarkable development of powerful non-political associations; of economic competition in view of the new strength of anti-competitive forces in and beyond the State ; of social harmony in view of the growing manifestation of the class struggle ; and of international stability where the Peace Treaty marks the faltering compromise between two ultimately irreconcilable principles. The nature of that conflict set against the background of the whole process of social life, was examined in the first edition, and the conclusion is here reinforced by this latest and greatest of illustrations. The book is one of the most important contributions to Sociology and deserves the earnest attention of all students of the subject.

Our Library Table : Miscellaneous Literature.

THE fifty-seventh issue of *The Statesman's Year-Book* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) for the year 1920, embodies the changes throughout the world which have come about as a result of the Peace Treaties. The new States are dealt with in the same fashion as the old, and special Sections have been added for Arabia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Esthonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, and the Ukraine. The Introductory Tables contain the usual general surveys (world production of gold, silver, coal, silk, sugar, etc., etc.) ; a list of the Treaties of Peace ; and particulars as to "Summer Time" in many countries. Two maps accompany the volume, one showing the changes in the Near East, and the other some rearrangements in Colonial Africa. It need hardly be repeated in the *Hindustan Review* that the *Statesman's Year-Book* is the one indispensable *vade macum* which no Indian publicist or politician can do without.

We noticed in terms of appreciation the opening volume (*London and its Environs*) of Dr. Muirhead's "Blue Guides" series for travellers. (Macmillan & Co., London) The second volume is *England*—a work of some 600 pages and compiled with great care, with the result that it is alike comprehensive and accurate. Like its predecessor the new volume is up-to-date. The many distinctive features of the first volume have been repeated in the new work, and these will be fully appreciated by the public. The present work contains 75 maps and plans; and attention may also be drawn to the exhaustive Index, which occupies 34 pages. We may here announce that the third volume is in the press. It deals with *Belgium and the Western Front*, it will have 61 maps and plans. The fourth volume will deal with *Paris and its Environs*.

Having exhausted as an anthologist the field of English poetry, Mr. Theodore Dunn has now turned his attention to English prose and has put together—for the special behoof of the Indian student—his *English Prose for Indian Readers* (Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay and London). The selections have been mainly made from the writers of the last two centuries and even "current literature" is represented by four writers, two of whom are Anglo-Indians (old style). The introductory essay by the editor is instructive, while his notes are really helpful. The book should appeal to young Indians desirous of being introduced to modern English prose.

We congratulate Professor Amarnatha Jha, M. A. of the Muir Central College, Allahabad, on his *debut* in the literary world as the editor of *Selections from the Writings of Lord Morley* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London). The extracts are well chosen and betray a judicious and cultured mind. They cover a very large range of subjects of great interest. The book should have a large circulation in India where Lord Morley is held in great regard. In the next edition the editor would do well to improve the usefulness of his work by prefixing a biographical and critical sketch of Lord Morley, indicating the sources of the extracts and appending elucidative notes.

Sir Jagdish Bose is perhaps the most prominent Indian at present in the scientific world and Messrs. Ganesh & Co., (Madras) have done well to place before the public a collection of his popular speeches on scientific subjects with a biographical and critical sketch under the title of *Sir J. C. Bose: His Life and Speeches*. The biographical sketch presents within a small compass an exceedingly well-written account of Sir Jagdish's researches, investigations and discoveries, while the speeches are alike informing and illuminating. The book should appeal to Indian readers in general and the distinguished scientist's admirers all over the world.

In his interesting work—*Human Life and How it May be Prolonged to 120 Years* (Grant Richards, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) the author, Lt.-Colonel F. F. MacCabe, maintains that the allotted span of human life is six scores of years, and that in order to reach that age and enjoy every hour of waking life we have only to obey implicitly Nature's laws, which are unfolded by him in the work under notice for those who want to know and observe them. The author is not a faddist,' his style is lucid and his language free from technicalities. On the whole, it is a book which deserves careful attention at every one's hands.

It is no disparagement of any other translator of the Greek dramatists to say that the renderings of them by Professor Gilbert Murray are almost ideal translations into English. The latest addition to the series is the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus and it brings out into striking relief the grandeur of the original. The Introduction and notes are all that they should be. Every lover of good literature should possess the whole series of Professor Murray's translation of the Greek dramatists.

Mr. Phanindra Nath Bose's *Sir P. C. Ray: His Life and Mission* is an exceedingly interesting sketch of that great Indian chemist. It is second in the series of "Indian Thought Leaders" which is being published by the Modern Publishing House (College Street Market, Calcutta). The foreword by Sir Asutosh Chowdhury adds to the value of the booklet. Other volumes promised are those dealing with Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Jagdish Bose and Mrs. Naidu. The series deserves large circulation.

Literary Essays (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) edited by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson is chiefly interesting by reason of the selections having been made from the works of the modern essayists—Mathew Arnold, Myers, Pater, Green, Froude, and Stevenson. The editor has enriched the volume with an instructive Introduction on the development of the essay as a branch of English literature and the notes he has appended are thoroughly elucidative. Altogether an excellent selection.

TOPICS OF THE DAY.

Recent Official Appointments.

WE offer our respectful congratulations to the Rt. hon. Lord Sinha of Raipur on his appointment as the first Governor of Bihar and Orissa under the new Reform Act. The first Indian to be Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, the first Indian to be a King's Counsel, a member of the Privy Council (not on the Judicial side), a member of the Peace Conference, a peer of the realm, an Under-Secretary of State, Lord Sinha is also the first Indian to be appointed the Governor of a province. The papers in Bihar have all welcomed his appointment and we wish our distinguished countryman all success. It is needless to say that the interests of India generally and Bihar particularly will be safe in the hands of Lord Sinha. We endorse every word of the following paragraph which appeared in the *Times* of London: "He will be the first Indian to rule a British province, and his remarkable success in the various offices he has filled, no less than his high and transparent character, afford the fullest promise of the exercise of his new responsibilities in the spirit best calculated to secure the hearty co-operation of Indian and European alike."

Mr. B. N. Sarma is the first Indian Revenue Member of the Viceroy's Council. By his work as non-official member of the Imperial Council, his indefatigable energy, his transparent earnestness, his unquestioned ability and untiring industry, Mr. Sarma had already made his mark and his appointment is very welcome. He gave signal proof of the courage of his convictions at the Amritsar Congress where he opposed the resolution about the recall of Lord Chelmsford.

Our Law Member-designate is the hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru. A happier selection could not have been made and the appointment has been welcomed throughout the land by papers of all shades of public opinion. A keen debator, a skilful advocate, a great lawyer, a profound scholar, Dr. Sapru may be trusted to hold his own in any company, and even on the giddy heights of Simla, we have no doubt that his countrymen will have in him as persuasive, ardent and influential a representative as they can desire. So far as this journal is concerned, it is a matter of great pride and pleasure to us, for Dr. Sapru has always been very closely connected with it and during the early years of its existence he constantly wrote articles, signed or otherwise, for the *Hindustan Review.* His appointment is a great loss to the public life of India but we are glad he has been transferred to a sphere of greater usefulness. We have no doubt that when the time comes for him to put off his armour he and his countrymen will be able to look back with satisfaction on his work as the successor of Mill, Maine and Stephen.

MR. TILAK.

We have to record with grief the sad death of Mr. Tilak. He was easily the greatest political personality in modern India. We may have differed from him in the past, we may have regarded him as not sufficiently advanced in his views on social reform, we may also have at times thought him obstinate and autocratic, but now that all controversies are hushed, we are able unhesitatingly to say of Mr. Tilak what he himself said of his life-long opponent Gokhale—'the ship of his life was steering towards the star of national emancipation.' A great Indian is dead and the nation mourns his loss.

THE SPECIAL CONGRESS.

The Special Congress, held in Calcutta during the first week of September and presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai, had chiefly Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme to discuss. Lala Lajpat Rai is a veteran Congressman, who has grown grey in the service of the country. He has suffered for it as few have, and it was only proper that he should have been invited to fill the presidential chair of the Congress when a question of such grave importance was to be discussed. His address is longer than the longest address delivered by any Congress President and it mainly deals with the Punjab affairs. Mr. B. Chakravarti, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered an important address. Opinion on Mr. Gandhi's resolution was sharply divided. The main items of his non-co operation programme are boycott of councils, renunciation of titles, suspension of practice by lawyers, and withdrawal of students from Government—managed institutions. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal proposed a more moderate amendment which was lost by an overwhelming majority, though Mr. Gandhi's resolution was opposed by such tried and experienced leaders as the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mrs. Besant, Mr. Jinnah, Sir Asutosh Chaudhry, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, the hon. Pandit Gokarannath Misra, Munshi Iswar Saran and many others. Even the President, Lala Lajpat Rai declared himself to be against that resolution. But it was practically a Gandhi Congress and the personal popularity of that great man guaranteed the success of any resolution moved by him. The majority of delegates had, however, left the Congress before the resolution was voted on and we have for that reason our doubts how far the vote recorded represents the true opinion of the country. We have not seen any newspaper that has wholeheartedly and completely associated itself with that movement and the resolution on it. We hope we shall have a better opportunity of judging the feelings of the country during the winter session of the Congress.

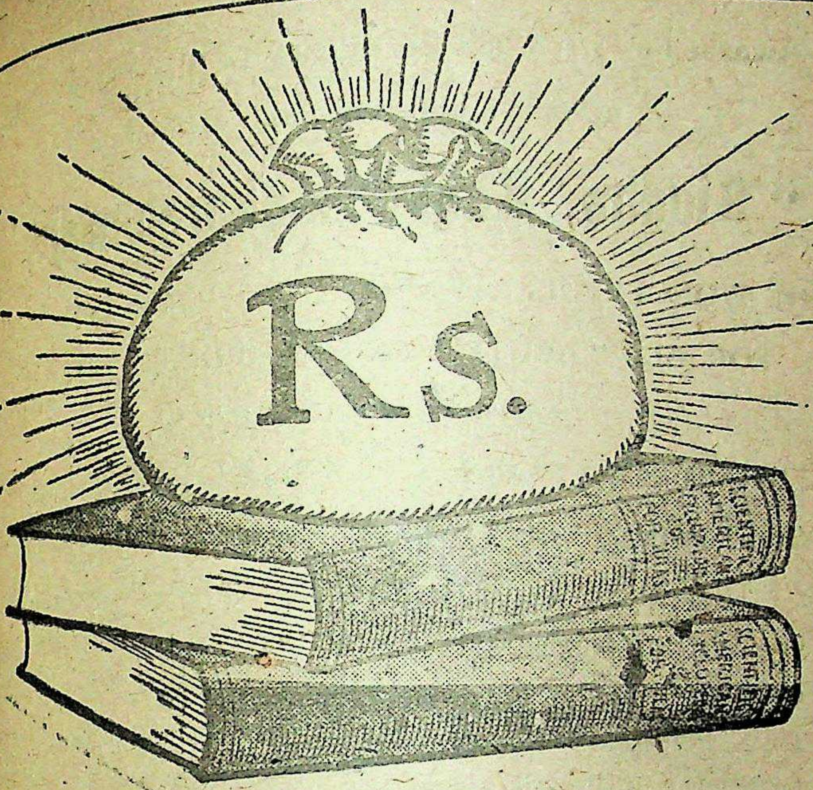
We are glad that in his concluding speech, the President referred to the disorderly manner in which the delegates behaved whenever a speaker, not of the Gandhi camp, stood to speak. The Congress should be a common platform for Indians of all parties and of all creeds; it should not be allowed to degenerate into merely a party organisation. It should respectfully, or at all events patiently, listen to the minority. There is no slight danger that the majority may become intolerant of all opposition and impatient of all criticism.—

THE MUSLIM UNIVERSITY.

We congratulate the Musalmans of India on having a University of their own at long last. It was, as the hon. Mr. Shafi, the Education Member, pointed out from his seat in the Viceroy's Council, the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who first thought of a denominational institution. Later on, side by side with the M. A. O. College, several other institutions grew up, notably the D. A. V. College of Lahore, and the Central Hindu College of Benares. Thanks to the devoted zeal and persistent energy of the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other Hindu leaders and to the sympathy and support of Lord Hardinge and Sir Harcourt Butler, the Hindu University was established in 1915 and is now a flourishing institution. The Muhammadans at that time refused to agree to the conditions of the Government of India and were content to go without a University than with one under so much official control. The present Aligarh University Bill is a much more liberal measure and we wish the University a glorious career. The Musalmans have a glorious tradition to maintain; the past inspires them but does not impede their progress. The inaugurators of the new University are 'architects of fate' and they should start in the spirit of the ancient builders, and the good wishes of all Indians will be theirs. "*Fiat pax in virtute tua ; et abundantia in turribus ui.*"

THE KHERI TRAGEDY

We regard with feelings of shock and grief the outrage committed by a fanatic at Kheri. The grief is enhanced when we remember that the victim of the dastardly crime was Mr. Willoughby, who from all reports was an exceedingly popular Deputy Commissioner. It is only proper that numerous meetings should have been held to express the public sense of sorrow and indignation at the crime and of sympathy for Mrs. Willoughby. It is said that it was in a fit of Khilafat frenzy that the murder was committed. The case is subjudice and we reserve further comment. Our warm sympathies go to Mrs. Willoughby, in her irreparable bereavement.



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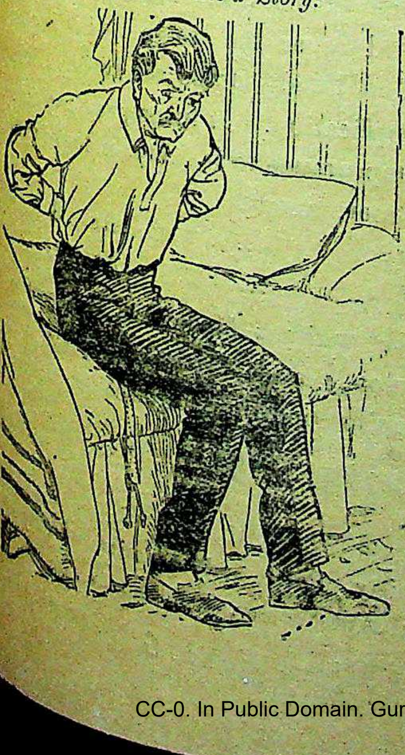

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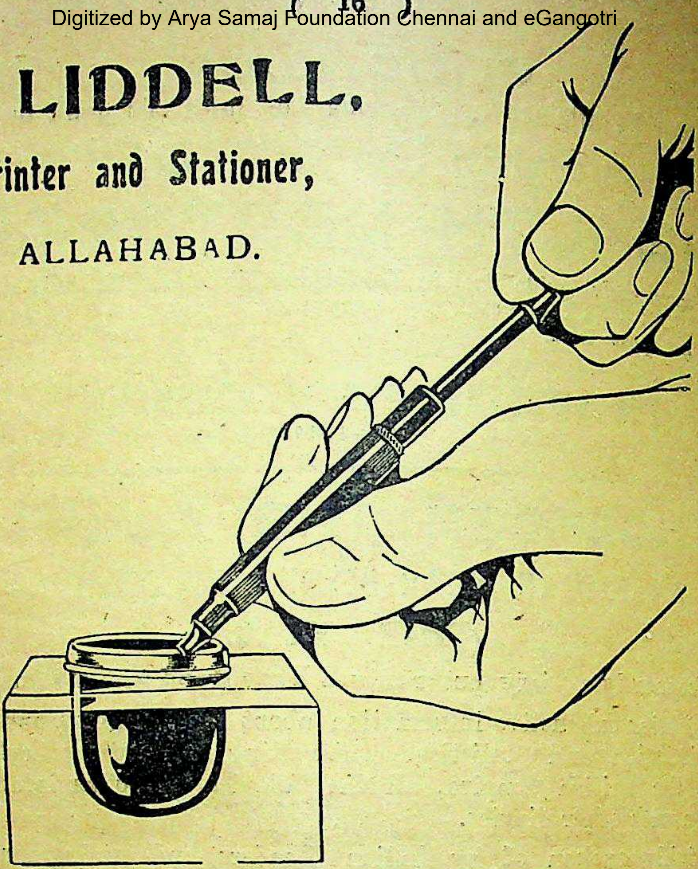

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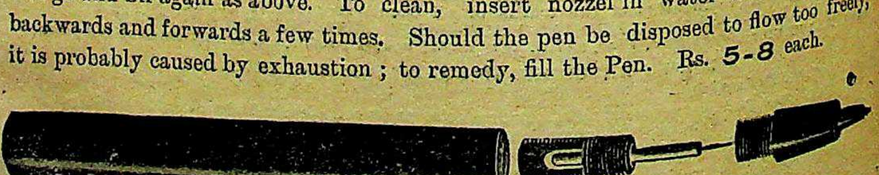

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Volume XXIX. Whole No. 173. | JANUARY, 1914. | Old Series Nos. I—X. New Series No. 163.

IS CASTE ESSENTIAL TO HINDUISM?

By "A BENGALEE BRAHMAN."

HINDUISM has been variously defined, but no definition is entirely satisfactory, and it is difficult to lay down precisely what constitutes Hinduism and distinguishes it from other religions. And yet the distinction is quite obvious, and can never be mistaken or lost sight of. It is well known, for instance, that Hinduism is not a religious organisation, but a social system; that it allows the most complete tolerance in the domain of thought, and that one may be an atheist, an agnostic, a deist, a monotheist or a polytheist, without losing one's character of Hindu, so long as one conforms to certain social rites and observances. It is not even essential to subscribe to the divine revelation of the Vedas, though to do so would undoubtedly argue one a Hindu. One thing, however, has been regarded by all writers and thinkers as being of the essence of Hinduism, and that is the caste system. Hindus must belong to one or other of the recognised castes, they must be members of a well established hierarchy with Brahmans at the top, and no one who is not affiliated to a particular caste can be a Hindu. Though even this definition cannot be regarded as universally valid—for example, in the case of the order of Hindu Sannyasis—it may be said that it is the most accurate attempt at analysing that subtle and elusive bundle of attributes which goes by the name of Hinduism.

That caste has so long been the sheet-anchor of Hinduism being readily admitted, the question which we propose to discuss in this paper is, whether its continuance is necessary for the preservation of Hinduism, *i. e.* of the racial and national culture of the Hindus as distinguished from those of the followers of the other world-religions, such as Christianity, Muhamadanism, and Buddhism.

We assume that caste has rendered great service to the Indo-Aryan race by preserving and perpetuating its racial characteristics through dangers and difficulties of all kinds. Other civilisations—Graeco-Roman, Egyptian &c. —have come and gone, but the civilisation of the Hindus goes back to hoary antiquity, and its vigour has not yet been exhausted. The chief attribute of caste, according to Auguste Comte, is stability, for it takes all sorts of precautions against attacks from within and without. In the opinion of eminent Indian thinkers caste served to maintain the isolation of the Hindus in old times and preserved their civilisation from being overthrown, by barbaric hordes. "It preserved the Hindu name under a foreign yoke. It has prevented India from being Mussalmanised. If the Hindus could, without incurring the strong censure of their people which loss of caste implies, marry into the conquering race, they would do so, and their distinct existence as a people would have ceased."(G.P. Sen, *Introduction to be Study of Hinduism*) "Hindu culture not only presented an impenetrable front of opposition to the disintegrating influences of Mahomedan invasion, but in course of time it captured the Moslem mind and largely influenced Moslem culture and Moslem administration"(P.N. Bose, *Epochs of Civilisation*). "Caste is race-continuity; it is the historic sense; it is the dignity of tradition and purpose for the future" (Sister Nivedita, The *Web of Indian Life*). Caste has, therefore, been a valuable factor in the survival of Hindu civilisation, and those who, like ourselves, value that civilisation as one of the highest and noblest that the world has ever seen, are naturally loath to do away with an instrument which has rendered such excellent service to Hindu society.

But there is another side to the shield, and let us look a little on it. Caste, by confining intellectual culture to a certain section of the people, has made Hindu civilisation unprogressive beyond a certain stage. Hindu civilisation has lost its mobility and become unproductive owing to the rigidity of the caste system, which has set up impenetrable barriers between the different castes and divided the various sections of the race into water-tight compartments, from which there is no hope of escape. We have now lost national efficiency, and our political subjection is, in no small degree, due to caste, which made fighting the profession of a single section of the community with which the other sections were supposed to have no concern. "The arts being relegated to the low castes and the professions made hereditary, a certain degree of fineness, delicacy, and deftness in the manipulation was, no doubt, secured, but this was done at a terrible cost. The intellectual portion of the community being thus withdrawn from active participation in the arts, the how and the why of phenomena, the co-ordination of cause and effect, were lost sight of, the spirit of enquiry gradually died out among a nation naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical subtleties, and India for ever bade adieu to experimental and inductive sciences. Her soil was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Des Cartes, or a Newton, and her very name was all but expunged from the map of the scientific world." (Dr. P. C. Roy, *History of Hindu Chemistry*).

Caste in ancient times was not the rigid, inflexible thing it now is. There was then some correspondence between caste and merit, and the higher castes were really worthier than the lower. There were no hard and fast boundaries between the different castes; intermarriage between the high and the low—both *Anulom* and *Pratilom*, marrying above and below one's own caste—was allowed, and all descendants from the early Aryan stock, Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, possessed the status of *Dwija* or twiceborn. Sea-voyage was permitted, and to quote Mr. Radhakumud Mukherji, author of the *History of Indian Shipping*: "the East and the West became the theatre of Indian commercial activity and gave scope to her naval energy and throbbing international life." Now, however, all this is changed—Hindu society is divided into a thousand castes and subcastes, and there is little sympathy between one caste and another in social matters. Dr. U. N. Mukherji calls Hindus a dying race, and there is much truth in this description. In Bengal, some of the depressed classes are on the point of breaking out in open revolt against Brahmanism; they are no longer content to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the injustice which is everyday perpetrated towards them leaves little room for surprise at the attitude which they have now chosen to take up.

With the influx of western civilisation, on the other hand, caste restrictions are being considerably relaxed in certain directions. In the matter of eating and drinking, for instance, we are no longer as conservative as we used to be; the higher castes are no longer confined to their traditional occupations, and the functional castes are taking to other professions. But in one respect—intermarriage—the line is being drawn tighter than before. Formerly, the paucity of the members of a particular caste in a locality led to their intermarriage with lower castes in the same neighbourhood, but now, owing to the rapid means of locomotion and the consequent annihilation of distance, intercaste marriages are growing rare. The law courts do not possess the legislative power of the ancient Hindu sages, and by a rigid interpretation of the rules of succession and inheritance, have helped to perpetuate caste divisions. A modern Jajnavalkya or Jimutvahan would have given a more elastic interpretation to the rules to suit modern conditions, but our Anglo-Indian courts dare not do it. The renewed caste consciousness which is manifested in so many caste-conferences and associations also tends to strengthen the barriers and has even led to the formation of new castes, and it would thus appear that the caste system of the Hindus has still a pretty long lease of life before it.

An institution of so many centuries' growth is not likely to tumble down like a house of cards, and those who expect this are more impetuous than wise. But we are firmly convinced that caste will disappear from India, in spite of the above signs to the contrary—for what does this caste-consciousness indicate? It shows that the lower orders are profoundly dissatisfied with their lot, and the place which Hindu society has allotted to them. So almost every caste in the land, during a census, strives to make out that it is entitled to *brevet* rank, a rank, that is to say, which is higher than that which general social opinion accords to it. The Baidyas of Bengal adopted the sacred thread—the hall-mark of respectability—long ago, and the Kayasthas, who occupy the same intellectual and social status as the Brahmans and Baidyas, have now followed suit, without waiting for the sanction of the Brahmans, who constitute the premier caste. It would be a mistake to suppose that the movement in favour of wearing the sacred thread which has now extended even to Namasudras and Yogis and some of the other low castes of Bengal is a sign of the spread of orthodox doctrines in Hindu society; it denotes rather the contrary, for the adoption of the sacred thread by these castes is really a revolt against the pretensions of Brahmanic supremacy, and means that the lower castes are no longer disposed to regard themselves as inferior to the Brahmans. Some of them are trying their best to attain intellectual and moral equality with the Brahmans, but in the meantime, they have adopted the outward symbol of equality, both because it is easier, and also because once the spell of Brahmanic superiority is thus broken, and the lower castes have learnt to regard themselves as the equals of Brahmans, the moral improvement will be quicker. The sacred thread movement, in short, indicates the upward economic movement of the lower strata of Hindu society. Already in Bengal some of the lower castes, *e. g.*, the Agarwalas, Subarnabaniks and Gandha-baniks have attained intellectual equality with, and the Sahas and the Mahisayas and others are rapidly lessening the distance which separates them from, the higher castes. The instinct of self preservation draws together the members of each caste, and in order to make the bond of union as close and strong as possible, the features which differentiate the members of a particular caste from the others are dragged into prominence, and thus the line of cleavage becomes sharper. But this sharper antagonism which is so conducive to internal solidarity, is only the precursor of a higher synthesis. Once the lower classes, by caste conferences and the like, succeed in generating strong *esprit-de-corps* among their caste-fellows for the betterment of their lot, educational and social progress among them will, in course of time, bring about such a transformation that they will attain to the level of the highest castes. When that day will have dawned, the barriers which separate caste from caste, and which are now sought to be justified, to some extent, by the degraded position of the lower castes, will disappear of themselves, and there will be such a fusion of castes that all artificial distinctions of birth will be swept away.

We do not mean to say that the natural inequalities among individuals will be ground down into a monotonous sameness, but intermarriage will be established, for all the castes will be on the same, or nearly the same, social and cultural level, and the Brahman will cease to enjoy any special advantage by reason of his caste and birth. We observe the same tendency in the relations between the two great religious communities of India, the Hindus and Muhamadans. So long as the latter were sunk in ignorance, all attempts at political unification failed. But now that education is making rapid progress amongst them, the Hindu-Moslem *entente* has come within the range of practical politics. Again while the Indian National Congress is both the result and the cause of the feeling of political unity which is visible among the various races that inhabit the Indian Empire and is gradually leading to the evolution of a common Indian Nation, it has not displaced but rather strengthened, the spirit of provincial solidarity and exclusiveness which is illustrated in the common cry "Assam for the Assamese," 'Behar for the Beharees' and so on, and this spirit is stronger in proportion as the province is weaker and less advanced than its neighbours. The two tendencies, one making for provincial and the other for national unification, have in fact developed *pari passu*, and the provincial consciousness will be merged in the national, in so far as it is capable of being so merged, only when all the various provinces have attained the same or nearly the same standard of progress and efficiency. So it has always been, and so it will be in the future. The only lasting union exists among equals. So long as there are glaring inequalities—social moral and intellectual—between the higher and the lower castes, their union cannot be complete—when all castes occupy, on the whole, the same platform in these respects, the distinctions which now keep them asunder will vanish. We know that even then the millenium will not have come, for there will continue to be, as now, an aristocracy of intellect, but its members will be drawn from all quarters irrespective of caste; new classes will be evolved which will take precedence in particular walks of life, and the distinction between the classes and the masses will not be obliterated; but the formation of these classes will not follow caste lines, and all the castes will freely contribute to their ranks.

The cheap retort that class-distinction in Europe is as rigid as caste-distinction in India and is even worse than it, inasmuch as it is founded on a pecuniary and not a religious basis, will not alter the radical difference that exists between an immutable and impassable gulf and one that is fordable by wealth or ability, the former often implying the latter. But caste-lessness should not be regarded as a new idea in India. The Muhamadans, who are our next door neighbours, do not observe caste. The great religion of the Buddha was a revolt against the inequalities of caste; the Varnadharma of the Hindus had for its obverse side the law of the Asramas, and the Sannyasis to this day are free from the yoke of caste; in some sacred places, *e. g.* the temple of Jagannath at Puri, the pilgrims disregard caste rules in the matter of eating and drinking, and the Vaishnavs, the followers of the great Chaitanya, a recognised caste in Bengal, themselves observe no caste distinctions. We have already said that interdining is practically allowed now-a-days, among educated men at any rate, and foreign travel is all but sanctioned in many Hindu communities and will soon be completely tolerated. When men educated in foreign countries return to India and are taken back into their respective castes, the disruption of the caste system will be a matter of years, for they will bring back with them ideas which strike at the root of the system. The Arya Samaj, the most potent of modern reforming sects, permits considerable laxity in caste practices, and even allows non-Hindus to be converted to Hinduism. Thus the upward economic movement of the lower castes, assisted by the prevalence of more enlightened views in Hindu society generally, will hasten the day when intermarriage—in favour of which a large volume of opinion was found to exist when Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's Bill for legalising inter-caste marriages among Hindus was before the Imperial Council—will be regarded as not only proper but perfectly just and natural, and the last stronghold of caste will be overcome.

The fusion of castes to which we are looking forward at a no very distant date will, we believe, not be Pan-Indian, but provincial, in character. For we must remember that Hindu society in India is really a congeries of many communities, each practically independent of the others and autonomous within its sectional, communal and caste-life, but combined with the others in the pursuit of a common ideal. Different customs and practices, prevail among the same castes in the different provinces and what is permissible among Hindus of one part of India is considered objectionable among Hindus of another part of the country. Hindus of different provinces form distinct ethnic, linguistic and social groups, which differ widely from one another, though they have a common background of culture Thus, the Hindus of one province can combine with their coreligionists of another province only on a federal basis, and it may well be that, owing to variations in the rate of progress, the fusion of castes may go on more rapidly in one province than in another. But however that may be, our reading of history and of the time-spirit convince, us that such fusion is only a question of time. But when such a day arrives, will it also bring about the disintegration of Hindu society and the breakdown of Hindu civilisation ?

To the obvious argument that the system of caste is one peculiar to India and that its absence in other civilised countries proves that it is not indispensable, the reply would be given that it is precisely this feature of Hinduism which constitutes its distinctive character, and without which Hinduism would be like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet's part left out. But let us see if this is really so. All the other world-religions have definite creeds grouped round a central personality. Christianity, Islam and Buddhism all answer to this description. Hinduism, on the other hand, has no cut and dry formulae, dogmas or creed to offer to its votaries, and no single Messiah or Prophet to whom one is bound to owe allegiance. Its sacred books are many, the paths to salvation are diverse, and besides the ten Avatars or Incarnations—all or any of whom you may or may not believe in just as you please—there are the innumerable gods and goddesses of its pantheon. Hinduism is not a credal religion at all. It connotes the culture and discipline and practices common to the whole body of Indo-Aryans, who, after various degrees of admixture with the non-Aryan races, are now known as Hindus. Hinduism not only denotes a religious denomination, but also a country and to a certain degree a race. "This triple meaning or connotation of the term Hindu shows the complexity of its origin, shows how Hinduism is twisted deep among the roots of Indian society." Hinduism "has been incessantly conquered politically, but never overpowered or subdued spiritually; it has expelled Buddhism, successfully resisted Islam, and has been very little affected even by Christianity." It is "not yet dead, nor dying, nor even dangerously ill" (Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies.*) Two among the causes of the vitality of Hinduism mentiond by Sir Alfred Lyall, *e. g.* the elasticity of its social system, which permits of the expansion of its dominion and the modification of its inner structure without any violent social revolution, and its indegenous origin, which gives it a tremendous advantage over exotics like the Cross and the Cresent, are sure to operate with still greater force with advancing social and political education. Historically, Islam is related to Christianity as Buddhism is related to Hinduism. Jesus is one of the prophets of the Mussalmans, just as the Buddha is one of the Incarnations of the Hindus. Islamic theology is based to some extent on Christian theology, just as Buddhistic philosophy is a fine product of the Hindu philosophic systems. But this historic correlation did not lead to the absorption of Islam in Christianity or of Buddhism in Hinduism. Even if caste be abolished, the Hindu race-culture, its spiritual tendencies, and the grand philosophical systems of the Hindus will remain and they will constitute the Hinduism of the day. Our awakened race consciousness will prevent all risk of denationalisation. Intermarriage between Hindus of different castes will not make the children born of such union less Hindu than we are now.

Such intermarriage prevails in certain parts of the country, *e. g.* between Baidyas and Kayasthas of the easternmost districts of Bengal, without affecting the religious status of the progeny. Even if men professing Hinduism marry non-Hindu women, as men of all other religious denominations can and do, the children born of such marriage will be as good Hindus as their fathers, in the sense that their religion and nationality will be the same as those of their father and distinct from those of their mothers. The admixture of blood which will result from such mixed marriages cannot reasonably be objected to, for, in the first place, such matrimonial connections will always be rare, and in the second place, there has been enough of such admixture in the past—no race in the world is absolutely pure—and the Indo-Aryans are not ethnically the same as the primitive Aryans who came from beyond the north-west frontiers of India. Nor will Hinduism lose, but gain in strength, by opening its doors to converts, as it did when the Sákas were transformed into Rajputs, and as the Arya Samaj does now, for we all know that converts are usually more zealous adherents of their adopted faith than those who have been born into it. Hinduism will then be the most catholic among the world-civilisations, but we have no reason to fear that the fusion of castes will sound the death-knell of the Hindu race. This might have been the case if caste had been abolished during the Mogul regime, or even during the early period of British rule. As we have said before, caste was then a national bulwark against the militant and aggressive foreign conquerors of India. But a new and all-important factor has since then entered our lives, and coloured them at all points. It has vitally affected our out-look on life and country. It is the national self-consciousness, the patriotic feeling. As Comte says, when caste was a useful institution, "the sentiment of partiotism did not as yet transcend love of caste, which narrow as it appears to us, was a necessary preparation for the higher attachment." Formerly the nearest approach to the patriotic feeling was the clannish loyalty of the Rajputs, but the feudalism of the Middle Ages took an extremely narrow view of one's duties to the State, which then meant little more than the personality of the chief, whereas love of country as we know it now was almost unknown. So recently as in the year 1800, Sir Arthur Wellesly, (later the Duke of Wellington), wrote of India thus from his own personal experience gathered during many wars with Indian princes: "As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country. I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that I have ever met with—if indifference constitutes that character." When the people were so utterly disorganised, so thoroughly devoid of the sentiment of national unity and racial kinship, there was some justification for the prevalence of a social system which in spite of its many faults, made for coherence and integrity. But caste is now a drag on the wheel of progress. Somebody has said that it is equivalent to a standing army of a million foreign soldiers, so great is its disintegrating influence. It keeps brother from brother, and has introduced a thousand artificial distinctions between members of the same race to the same community. It is a mighty engine of disunion and discord. There is no other force in society which militates so powerfully against the establishment of concord and amity as the system of caste. You can shake hands with a Christian or a Muhamadan who may himself be a convert from one of the lower Hindu castes, but the latter are simply untouchable. You cannot take a glass of water at their hands; even the shadow of a pariah is contaminating. No wonder that contact with the democratic spirit of the West has taught the lower orders to resent this inhuman treatment. Reason and justice are on their side, and they are bound to prevail in the silent but grim contest which is now going on in the bosom of Hindu society. Thus caste has to go if we are once more to take our rightful place among the civilised nations, and go it will, but it will not leave us the weaker for that. The dawning national consciousness will be a more powerful factor than caste is in welding together the vast Hindu population. What an accession of strength the liberation of the submerged millions will mean to Hinduism! The p riotic feeling of the Hindus is nurtured and strengthened by being confined within the four corners of the Indian peninsula; it is not a diffuse, extra-territorial sentiment like that of the Moslems or the Jews. The history of the Hindu race goes back to dim antiquity and the theatre of its glorious activities has always been the sacred soil of Hindustan. The Shastric text for the purification of water covers the entire riparian system* of India along whose course the sacred stream of Aryan culture flowed over the whole continent. A study of the main tendencies of modern civilisation shows that there are two currents, somewhat conflicting in their nature, which run through the socio-political movements of the age. One flows outwards, and makes for international amity, the other flows inwards, and makes for national solidarity and efficiency.

While, on the one hand, efforts are everywhere being directed towards drawing the whole of the civilised world into a common bond, the smaller states, which were previously quiescent or ready to merge themselves within their more powerful neighbours, are betraying a strong consciousness of individuality, and an ardent desire to perpetuate their existence. A quickened vitality, the stirrings of a new life, a strenuous endeavour to save themselves from extinction and preserve their racial and national characteristics intact, are to be observed among the smaller nations of the world. Alsace and Lorraine, Poland, the Balkans, all feel this national impulse and are influenced by it. Crozier compares this tendency to the instinct which makes the tiniest flower turn its face to the sun through every chink and cranny of the hillside. The same race-consciousness has now permeated the Hindu mind, and will not permit them to be absorbed by any other nationality. Such absorption would have been difficult at any time, for Hinduism counts many millions of votaries, and is now absolutely unthinkable. The freer admixture of blood within the charmed circle of Hinduism itself will stir up a vigorous manhood, with the sentiment of racial solidarity strongly ingrained in it. We find people who are nominally Christians and Muhamadans, who do not really believe a word of Christian or Islamic theology, but are yet strongly permeated by the spirit of race, and full of pride for the particular form of culture represented by Christianity and Islam. We find an entire nation—the Japanese—projecting their strong national individuality over the whole eastern Asiatic stage on a purely patriotic basis without any aid from the consolations of religion or the ardour of faith. We find a growing tendency among Brahmos and other reforming sects to call themselves Hindus, and take pride in the traditions of the ancient Hindu race-culture. Hindus cannot be Christians, Muhamadans or Buddhists, as they cannot subscribe to the fundamental doctrines of those religions. Therefore, by a simple process of reasoning, known in logic as division by dichotomy, we conclude that Hinduism will for ever remain distinct from all other religions, and that there is no reason to fear that but for the caste system Hinduism would be effaced from the globe. Just as the bosom of Hindu society is being agitated by two cross-currents, one making for greater solidarity among the various castes, and the other drawing the cord on tighter round each separate caste, so also, as we have seen, is the case among the various races and nations of the civilised world. And just as these two movements in Hindu society are ultimately bound to coalesce and evolve a united Hindu nation in which all the castes will be fused into one all-embracing caste synonymous with the nation itself, so, in the fulness of time, the different civilised states of the world will be united into a Parliament of Nations. When this federation of the world, of which poets have sung and philosophers dreamed is established, the Hindu nation will not object to join hands with the other civilised nations and add its special cultural contribution to the common stock. But till universal humanity supplants national individuality, the abolition of the caste system will not retard or prevent the evolution of Hinduism along national lines; rather, by shaking off the trammels of caste, the Hindu nation will become fitter to take its proper place in the line of progress, and to protect itself against adverse forces in the struggle for national efficiency. First, internal improvement among the different castes, then their union into an united and federated Hindu nation, next its advance as a distinct civilising agency in honourable competition with the other great nations of the world, and lastly, if we dare to peep into the dim future, the federation of all the nations into a mighty state co-extensive with the entire civilised world—this seems to be the goal of the socio-political evolution towards which we are moving.

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*The rivers mentioned are Ganges, Jamna, Godavari, Narbudda, Indus, Cauveri,

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE.

By SAHEBZADA ABDUL WAHID KHAN.

THE Code of Criminal Procedure is likely soon to be on the legislative anvil. It might, therefore, be opportune to examine the lines which the proposed amendments might follow.

Confessions.

First of all there is an idea that the Code would be amended so as to modify the procedure with regard to confessions. Certain interpellations in the House of Commons would lead one to believe that confessions might be ruled out of court altogether. For a purpose of this kind, however, an amendment of the Evidence Act would have to be necessary. It is nevertheless worth while to examine this question seriously.

In *R.V. Baldy*, Erle J. said:—"I am of opinion that when a confession is well proved, it is the best evidence that can be procured." The maxim of the law is "Habemus optimus tertea confidentum reum." The guarantee of truth in such cases is that the admission is against interest. Confessions however are rarely motiveless. The object of the prisoner is generally to save his own neck at the expense of another, and this interest in his own safety is the weak point which leaves him open to inducement accompanied or unaccompanied by coercion. It is because of this universal human weakness that the courts are universally suspicious of confessions. There is however, another side to the shield. Police investigations are not beds of roses, not all plain smooth sailing. First and foremost, like everything else in India, crime also claims a caste. There are tribes in India whose sole occupation, from father to son, is theft and robbery—who are organised, so to speak, co-operatively for crime. Thieving has become with them a fine art, and about them it may be truly said "that their left hand knoweth not what their right hand taketh." So clever are they in destroying clues and disposing of property. Even if the prisoner does not hail from a criminal tribe, the Police is confronted by a public extremely shy of all that savours of the "thana." One might be an eye-witness or have good information, but he does not want to set his foot in it, lest he may unwillingly be regarded as accessory or abettor or some such thing. The eye-witness and the clue failing the prisoner is the natural resort of a bewildered Police officer. What is reprehensible is that the prisoner is treated with in the first instance—before other means are tried or exhausted—but then it is human nature to take short cuts and in detection time is of great consequence. Confessions therefore play an important part in the unravelling of crime in India, and it would sensibly cripple detection if they are done away with. It would perhaps close an avenue which led to much suffering but it would also close an avenue which in many cases led to the discovery of truth. It is humane to remove all possible causes of suffering. But it is worth remembering that in this category comes not only the suffering of the tortured offender but of the widow and the orphan who are deprived of the savings of a lifetime, all at once. Thus, removal of suffering of one sort might lead to increase of suffering of another sort. Under these circumstances, when the advantages and disadvantages are not wholly on one side, would it be wise to get rid of a useful aid to the discovery of truth? Would it not be wiser to find out other ways by which the evil may be diminished, if not avoided. In a majority of cases confessions are recorded by magistrates, often possessing only 2nd or 3rd class powers, who have no jurisdiction to try the case. Such officers feel no responsibility with regard to the case, nor is the Police officer much concerned or troubled about the behaviour or demeanour of the confessing prisoner before a magistrate who has not the facts of the case in his hand. It might therefore improve the present condition of things if the power of recording confessions were vested in trying magistrates alone. If this however were found not to have the desired effect then the magistrates may be divested of this power altogether and it may be vested in the Court of Sessions alone.

If, however, the zeal of the reformers would not be satisfied with these short steps, then let the elimination of confessions be counterbalanced by giving a right to the prosecution to cross-examine the accused. This might be regarded as or perhaps more revolutionary than the abolition of confessions. It must, however, be borne in mind that the privilege of the accused to be safe from adverse questions is not a divine right—but very mundane and must be subject to the ordinary tests of expediency. The object of investigation is to discover truth and who is more likely to know the facts than the accused himself. In the hands of the Police such investigation has led to corrupt or wrong practices—this does not condemn the principle. If the accused was protected from all questions outside the court, it is fair that he should not bear the same protection inside. It is not generally known that the right of the accused to be safe from cross-examination is not, of very old standing in England. In France an accused person has no such right. A lawyer of such eminence as Sir James Stephen supports the French practice. In his *General View of the Criminal Law of England* he says: "I think the counsel for the Crown ought to interrogate the prisoner at the end of the case and before the prisoner's defence. I would allow him to ask leading questions—and I would allow the counsel for the prisoner to re-examine and the judge and jury to interpose any questions they pleased. The examination of a bankrupt whose discharge is opposed would furnish a good precedent and the practice of the Bankruptcy court shows not only the utility of the process but the propriety of conducting it with humanity."

The Panchayet System.

So much for confessions. In overhauling the Procedure Code it might be worth while to consider whether some small devolution of criminal powers may not usefully be carried out in respect of communities modelled on the Panchayet system, such as sweepers, water carriers etc. These communities already exercise considerable powers of coercion by means of ex-communication known as "hukka pani band." Cases of simple hurt, assaults as between members *interse*, could be safely entrusted to Panchayet courts. The Panchayet courts need have no office or record or fixed procedure. All that may be required of them is that when the case has been decided one way or the other a recognised Panchayet Mukhia or chairman should come accompanied by the parties to the court and should certify the result to the magistrate who would forthwith record it. There would be no appeals from the decision of a Panchayet. Even quarrels between members of two different communities might be settled by means of Joint Community Boards. Communities which are not organised on the Panchayet system at present might as soon as they became organised, be vested with powers similar to those conferred on communities already so organised. The Panchayet would be a representative body with a fixed number to form a panel, and the parties to the suit might have the same right to challenge the panel as is the practice in case of the jury system. Perhaps it would not be fair to give powers of imprisonment to Panchayets. "Hukka pani band" may be recognised as a form of punishment. In addition the Panchayet may also inflict small fines. It would be competent for the magistrate to reserve the trial of a case to his own court if he thinks that owing to its complicated nature or other sufficient reason it may not be fairly given over to the Panchayets to try. The educative value of such a reform would be great—and it would pave the way to the extended and real use of the jury system in India.

Bail.

The next point in procedure which requires consideration is the law of bail. The Code has classified certain offences as non-bailable and unless the prosecution fails to put up a *prima facie* case which it seldom does, 'the prisoner cannot be enlarged as the hands of a magistrate are tied up by S. 497 C. P. C. There are many non-bailable cases in which owing to a long adjournment or other sufficient cause it would be equitable to release the prisoner on substantial surety forthcoming, but the criminal courts are helpless. S. 498 of course, gives ample powers to a Sessions or a High Court, but the fear that the disposal of the application under S. 498 may take as much time as the disposal of the case itself, acts as a great deterrent to any large use of S. 498. In practise the magistrates do defy the law and enlarge prisoners even in nonbailable cases in spite of a existing *prima facie* case. Such an exercise of power is however *ultra vires.* The law should come to the help of the magistrate and make valid what has been so far invalid. The general prohibition contained in S. 497 may remain, the amendment proceeding by way certain exceptions being inserted at the foot of the section.

Youthful Offenders.

Some time back attention was invited to the law on this subject in the pages of this *Review* and it was urged that S. 562 C. P. C. might be usefully extended to offences over and above those already enumerated therein. The operation of the section has led to certain anomalies. A first offender, if he is a thief, may get the benefit of S. 562—but if he has the misfortune of being a receiver he cannot—for S. 562 C. P. C. does not extend to S. 411 I. P. C. It is also not very clear why a youthful offender who betrays one's trust or deceives one out of property, should be treated worse than a thief. There are no doubt other cases which equally cry out for S. 562—and a cautious extension of this section to offences other than those already specified may be considered to be the need of the moment.

THE DATA OF ANCIENT INDIAN ZOOLOGY.—I *

By Prof. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M. A.

SECTION 1.

The Veterinary Literature of the Hindus..

THE very definition of the scope and province of Ayurveda*(a)* given by Charaka (Sutrasthana, Ch. XXX) "covers not only the Medical Science in its widest aspect including the Veterinary science—specified as *Sahihotra*, and subdivided into *Gajayurveda* and *Aswayurveda*, but also certain ephases of Psychology and Ethics on which long philosophical and instructive discourses are found in ancient Ayurvedic works."

The importance and antiquity of Veterinary Science in the scientific literature of the Hindus have been noted by Gondal (*b*) also: "Hindoo Medicine was at the acme of its glory in the time of Ramayana and the Mahabharata. To the court of every Chief, great or small, was attached a physician. There were Army Surgeons and Court Physicians * * Veterinary Science seems to have been highly cultivated long before that period. Nala, a remote ancestor of the Pandavas, is described as a most accomplished horse-trainer, and as possessing a thorough knowledge of all matters relating to the horse. Nakula, one of the five Pandavas, was an expert in the Veterinary Science on which he has written several works, his *Aswa-Chikitsa* being still extant. The science of treating elephants, bullocks and other domestic animals was and is still known in India. * * * Buddha established hospitals for men and beasts all over the country; and the institutes of Pinjrapoles (Animal Hospitals), so peculiar to India, owes its origin to him."

The existence of treatises in Hindu literature specially addressed to the needs of the animal creation is the strongest evidence of Zoological studies in ancient and mediæval India. It is quite natural that a Veterinary Science should have come into being as a differentiated and specialised branch of the general Ayurvedic literature of those days, since agricultural live stock, drought cattle, cavalry, camel-corps, elephant-corps etc. were the common features of the domestic, economic and political lives. Some idea of the secular activities and nature-studies of the Hindus will be obtained from an account of their treatises on elephants and horses.

(*A*) PALAKAPYA, OR THE SCIENCE OF ELEPHANTS.

Treatises on elephants are known to be *Gajachikitsa*, (*c*) *Gajavaidya*, *Gajayaurveda*, *Hastyayurveda*, *Hasti-Vaidyaka* &c. The sage Palakapya is by tradition known to be the originator of this science which is not infrequently named after him. The antiquity of these works is to be inferred from the following note in Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* Vol. I (1891) (*d*); "Palakapya is quoted by Kshiraswamin on *Amarakosha*, Hemadri in *Vratakhanda*, *Sarangadhara-paddhati* (p. 99) (*a*) and Mallinatha.

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* A chapter from the author's forthcoming work "*The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*" being Introduction to his translation of Sukraniti in "The Sacred Books of the Hindus Series."

(a) Lecture delivered by Dr. Gananath Sen on *Medical Science in Ancient India* at the Sahitya Sabha of Calcutta in 1906.

(b) *History of Ancient Aryan Medicine* pp. 187—189.

(c) A fanciful name is *Gudhaprakasika*, see Aufrecht I—140.

(d) P. 336.

The volume of literature on the subject would be apparent if we mention the various manuscripts referred to in the above alphabetical register (*b*) of Sanskrit works and authors. The following account is culled from that work.

A work called *Gajachikitsa* or "Treatment of Elephants" is to be found in the Catalogue of Manuscripts belonging to the late Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore who was famous not only for his enlightened views but also for his great knowledge of Sanskrit lore.

Gajadarpana and *Gajasastra* are quoted by Hemadri and Dinakara respectively on Raghuvansa. *Hasjivaidyaka* is a work by Virasena, (*c*) quoted by Bhattotpala on *Brihatjataka.*

Gajapariksha is the name of a work in Oppert's List of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries of Southern India (Vol. II, Madras, 1885) *Gajalakshana* or 'Characteristics of Elephants attributed to Brihaspati, is also to be found in Oppert's List, as well as in the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaneer compiled by Rajendra Lal Mitra(*d*), and in the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in Oudh compiled by Pandit Deviprasad (*e*). A copy of *Gajayurveda* is to be found in the Supplementary Catalogue of Sanskrit works in the Saraswati Bhandaram Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, signed by F. Kielhorn. Aufrecht (*f*) mentions also such names of treatises on elephants as *Gajadana*, *Gajadanapaddhati*, *Gajanirajanavidhi*, *Gajasanti*, *Gajarohanaprayoga*, *Gajavarnalakshana*, *Gajendra mokshana* to be found in Catalogues of Lahore, Benares, Madras Tanjore and other places.

Treatises named after Palakapya, the first promulgator of the science, the Charaka of Hastyayurveda, are to be found in the following catalogues:

(1) Report on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts on the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880—81 by Kielhorn.

(2) Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of the Benares Sanskrit College—Published as a Supplement to the "Pandit" Vol. III-IX (Benares 1864—74.)

(3) Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaneer compiled by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra (*g*) (Calcutta, 1880.)

(4) Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Private Libraries of N.-W. Provinces (Allahabad 1877—86.)

(*a*) Aufrecht's analysis of the work in Vol. 27 of the Zeitschrift of the German Oriental Society. Palakapya has been quoted in *Agnipurana* also (Chapter CCLXXVI). See Sivadatta's Preface in Anandasram Edition.

(*b*) First volume published at Leipzic in 1891, Second volume in 1896, Third volume in 1903.

(*c*) Aufrecht I. p. 765.

(*d*) Published in Calcutta 1880.

(*e*) Vol. XVI (1883.)

(*f*) Vol. p. 140.

(*g*) On the merit's of Mitras works Prof. Aufrecht says:—"The copious extracts are very useful, and enable the attentive reader to judge of the contents of a work, even where he is deserted by the English Text. The indefatigable industry of the Editor deserves every kind of commendation."

(5) A classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore by A. C. Burnell (London, 1880.)

(6) Detailed Report of operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle (1882—87.)

(7) *Suchipustaka* or a list of the MSS. of Fort William, the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, etc. (Calcutta 1838).

The second volume of Aufrecht's monumental *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions (1) a *Gajapariksha* in Peterson's Fourth Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle (1894) (2) a *Gajayurveda* or *Hastyayurveda* &, (3) a *Gajendramoksha* in Stein's Catolague of Sanskrit MSS in the Raghunath Temple Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, (4) a *Gajayurveda* printed at Poona in 1894 by the Anandasrama Publishing House, (5) a *Gajendramokshana* said to be taken from the Santiparva of Mahabharata (where however it is not found,) in the catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Ulwar, and also (6) a *Hastyaryurveda* by Palakapya in the last list.

The third volume of Catalogus Catalogorum published in 1903 adds to the above list the following names:—

(1) *Gajavaidya*, with a commentary in Telugu, in the collection of MSS. belonging to the modern Sanskrit literature presented to the Library of the India Office by A. C. Burnell.

(2) *Gajendramokshana* in Reports on Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India by Hultzsch.

(3) *Hastyayurveda* by Palakapya in the Catalogue of printed books and MSS. in Sanskrit belonging to the Oriental Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal compiled by Pandit Kunja Bihari Nyayabhushana under the supervision of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri.

The information contained in these treatises is more or less the same as given in such works of modern times as *Elephants and their Diseases* (*a*) by Lt. Colonel G.H. Evans, Superintendent, Civil Veterinary Department, Burma, as a cursory glance at the table of contents in the *Hastyayurveda* (*b*) published by the Anandasrama, Poona would indicate. The work, attributed to Palakapya Muni, has been edited by Pandit Sivadatta of Jeypore, Professor of Sanskrit in the Government Oriental College, Lahore. In the Sanskrit Preface to his edition Sivadatta says that those branches of Ayurveda concerning elephants, horses and other lower animals which were created by such master-minds as Palakapya, Salihotra and others have become almost extinct and are remembered only by the frequent quotations of latter-day commentators, and that no other Sanskrit treatise on Elephants has been printed and published before his.

The work before us is based on four MSS., two belonging to Jeypore, one to Poona and one to Calcutta. It is a huge treatise consisting of 727 pages of royal octavo size. It is divided into four Books and contains 12,000 slokas. Book I is divided into 18 chapters, and is called the *Maharogasthana*; Book II is divided into 72 chapters and is called *Kshudrarogasthana* ; Book III called *Salyasthana* (Surgery) is divided into 34 chapters. The last Book has 36 chapters.

(*a*) Published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1910.

(*b*) No. 26 of the Anandasrama Sanskrit Series—Sivadatta's *Palakapya* (1894, Poona.)

The book has been composed in the form of a conversation between King Romapâda of Champâ in the Anga territory and his preceptor, the sage Pâlakâpya. The first four chapters of Book I may be taken to be introductory to the whole work. We are told how the King of the Angas was to have the elephants of the forests tamed for his State, how the animals are brought from the quarters of the country indicated by Lauhitya River (Brahmaputra) and placed under the care of Palakapya the expert in the theoretical as well practical sciences regarding elephants, who condescend to live with the King and be his 'guide, philosopher, friend', in the training and management of elephants. The fourth chapter gives a preliminary survey of the subject matter treated in the whole book.

Besides all topics connected with anatomy (*a*), physiology, surgery, food, medicines, diseases, treatment, poisons, etc, the work deals incidentally with the relations between teachers and pupils in Book I chapter VI, toxicology in Book II chapter VI, the seasons in Book IV chapter XV, the leeches in Book IV chapter XXXIV, the superstitious and religious observances in Book IV chapters XXXV-XXXVI. In the 4th chapter of Book I there is a distinction (*b*) drawn between exclusively theoretical and exclusively practical knowledge in *Hastyayurveda*, and the advice to rulers is that they should appoint such men only, in charge of the elephants, as combine both theoretical knowledge and practical experience, for each alone is quite useless.

(B.) SALIHOTRA, OR THE SCIENCE OF HORSES.

Treatises on horses are known to be *Aswachikitsa*, *Aswasastra*, *Aswavaidyaka*, *Aswâyurveda* (*o*) &c. The father of the science of horses and the first promulgator of the veterinary art concerning them is the sage Salihotra after whom also all these treatises are generally named. It has to be remarked that Salihotra stands often for all the veterinary sciences of the Hindus, not necessary those relating to horse-life. In fact Salihotra Sâstra is divided into two branches (1) Gajasastra and (2) Aswa-sastra.

We have seen that besides Pâlakâpya, tradition ascribes treatises on elephants to one Virasena and to Brihaspati. Similarly besides Salihotra, Hindu tradition knows of several works authors (*p*) of on horses, *e.g.* Nakula, Bhojaraja, Joyadatta, Garga Rishi, Gana, Jayadeva, Sarangadhara, Nalarâja, Vâhâda, Dipankara and others.

The antiquity of treatises on horses is to be inferred from the following facts. The work of Jayadatta, called *Aswavaidyaka*, has been quoted in *Sarangadhara Paddhati* (*c*), Salihotra has been quoted by Hemâdri in *Vratakhanda* (2,982). The *Hayalieavati*, also a work on horses, has been quoted by Mallinatha (*d*).

The volume and importance of Hindu literature on horses would be evident from a glance at the references in the three volumes of *Catalogus Catalogorum*. The first volume (*e*) mentions :—

(1) *Aswachikitsa* or *Aswavaidyaka* by Jayadatta in Oppert's lists.

(*o*) Book III chapters 9,29.

(*p*) *ib*. 106—122.

(*a*) A fanciful name is *Siddha yoga Sangraha*, cf. Aufrecht I, p. 34.

(*b*) Aufrecht I. pp. 34—35, see the useful Sanskrit Preface to *Aswavaidyaka* by Pandit Umeschandra Gupta Kaviratna, Librarian, Sanskrit College, Calcutta (1887).

(*c*) Aufrecht I. p. 199. Vide also. Pandit Gupta's Sanskrit Preface, p. 6; where he discusses the identity of Jayadeva.

(*d*) Vide Gupta's Sanskrit Preface. p. 2.

(*e*) pp. 34—35, 273,644.

(2) *Aswachikitsa* or *Aswasastra* or *Salihotrasastra* by Nakula in notices of Sanskrit MSS. by Rajendralal Mitra (1871—90), Kielhorn's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the C. P. (Nagpur 1874), the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. contained in the private libraries of Gujrat, Kathiawad, Kutch, Sindh and Khandes compiled under the superintendence of Buhler (1871—73, Bombay), Mitra's Bikaner Catalogue the Catalogue, of Pandit Radhakrishna of Lahore, Deviprasada's Oudh Catalogue (VI, XVIII, XIX), Catalogue of N. W. P. (v) and Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue.

(3) *Aswadâna* in Oudh and Burnell.

(4) *Aswadânapaddhati* in Radhakrishna and Peterson.

(5) *Aswadânaprayoga* in Burnell.

(6) *Aswadânavidhi* in Oudh.

(7) *Aswalakshana* in Oppert.

(8) *Aswalilâvati* or *Hayalilavati* in Oppert II.

(9) *Aswavaidyaka* by Jayadatta in Mitra's Notices (1871—90), and Oudh (VI, XI, XVIII.)

(10) *Aswasastra* in Burnell.

(11) *Aswasara* in Buhler.

(12) *Aswayurveda* or *Siddha yoga Sangraha* by Gana, son Durlabha in Weber's Berlin Catalogue (1853) and in Peterson; by Garga Rishi in Kielhorn.

(13) Nakula's *Aswachikitsa* quoted in *Sarangadharapaddhati*. (*a*)

(14) *Salihotra*, "the general name for veterinary art, (*b*) ascribed to Salihotra Muni, for whom Nakula creates a father Aswagosha (Sarangaghosha)," in Benares Catalogue, Radhakrishna, Oppert II, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1883—1884; *Gajalakshana* in Oppert, by Bhojaraja in Buhler, and in Sridhara R. Bhandharkar's Catalogue of the collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College (1888).

(15) *Salihotrasara* in Radhakrishna.

(16) *Salihotronnaya* in Burnell.

(17) *Hayalilavati* (quoted by Mallinatha) in Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. (Oxford 113*b*).

The second volume (*c*) of Aufrecht mentions:—

(1) *Aswachikitsa* by Nakula in Stein.

(2) *Aswadana* in Oudh (XX, XXI.)

(3) *Aswaparikshana*, attributed to Nalaraja in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Lists of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency.

(4) *Aswavaidyaka* by Jayadatta in Peterson.

(5) *Aswadigunah* in Peterson.

(6) *Aswâyurveda* by Gana.

(7) *Aswayurvedasarasangraha* by Vâhâdá, son of Vikrama in Stein.

(8) *Sálihotra*—"veterinary, art, ascribed to Muni Salihotra in eight sthánas. These are called Unnaya, Uttaraa, Sâriraka, Chikitsita, Kishorachikitsa or Sisubhaisajya Uttarottara, Siddhisthana and Rahasya" in Stein.

(9) *Aswavaidyaka*, by Jayadatta, in Ulwar.

(a) Aufrecht's Analysis of the work in Vol. 27 (1873) of the Zeitschrift of the German Oriental Society p. 43.

(b) Aufrecht I, p. 644, vide also Pandit Gupta's Sanskrit Preface to *Aswavaidyaka*.

(c) pp. 7,158,188.

Aufrecht's third volume (*a*) mentions.

(1) *Aswachikitsa* by Nakula in Burnell's collection presented to India Office, in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report (1887—91); by Sâlihotra in Bhandarkar.

(2) *Aswavaidyaka* by Jayadatta in Hrishikesha Sastri and Sivachandra Gui's Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of Sanskrit College, Calcutta (1898); by Dipankara, son of Nánákara, grandson of Nidánakara, in Haraparasad Sastri's Report (1895—1900).

(3) *Aswayurveda* by Gana in Haraprasad Sastri.

The Hindu treatises on horses treat of almost the same topics as are dealt with in modern works on the subject, *e.g.* Lt.-General Sir F. Fitzwygram's *Horses and Stables* (*b*), Hayes' *Training and Horse Management in India* (*c*), etc. The 68 chapters in the *Aswavaidyaka* of Joyadatta, and 18 chapters in *Aswachikitsita* of Nakula, both edited by Pandit Umeschandra Gupta, Librarian, Sanskrit College, Calcutta for the *Bibliotheca India* (1887) deal, among other things, with their anatomy, and good and bad signs, as indicated by their colour, feathers, etc., age, growth and development, classification according to mettle, their movements, paces &c., and usefulness as drought-animals or to cavalry etc., embryology, articles of food and nourishment according to seasons, the various ailments and remedies etc.

The origin of the science of horses is thus described by Gupta in the Sanskrit preface on the evidence of Nakula's treatise: The winged horses of Indra could not be controlled. So Salihotra was requested by Indra to lop off the wings. This was done, but the poor animals waited in deputation upon the powerful sage who had brought them to this plight. He was moved, and the result was the composition of treatises to heal the wounds of horses and minister to the needs of their proper develooments.

(*a*) *p.* 8.

(*b*) Longmans Green & Co., London, 1911.

(*c*) Longmans Green & Co., London, 1905.

EDUCATION IN JAPAN.

By Mr. LEOPOLD KATSCHER.

A considerable time had elapsed before Japan took any steps to promote popular education. It was only the privileged few who had received instruction ere she came into closer touch with the West towards the middle of the nineteenth century. This brought a radical change in educational matters, so rapid and far reaching in its effects, that, already in 1868, at the commencement of the period of reform, there existed in Japan a number of well equipped schools quite good even according to the then European standards. For some time past the feudal lords had been endeavouring to found medical, chemical and other institutions on European lines, and to appoint a staff of German, English and French professors. Even the lower classes, at least the men and boys, had been taught to read and write, but it was not until the comparatively recent era of reform that we can speak of any real important improvement in Japan's educational system. The principles which guided the Government were conveyed to the nation in the following Imperial words in 1872 :—"In future education shall be within reach of everyone, there shall not be one ignorant family in any village, neither shall there be an ignorant member of any family."

No pains were spared to attain this end. But the difficulties were very great, especially in the first years, and many vain efforts were made to secure a suitable organisation and system of public instruction. School-boards were established and abolished, directions and plans for the school curriculum were worked out only to be soon replaced by others.

These arduous endeavours on the part of the Japanese Board of Education were the outcome of their desire to combine into one efficient working-whole the best of the educational methods of the English primary schools, the American secondary schools, the German universities and the French "normal" schools. Free education, one of the basic principles of modern educationalists, has not yet been carried out in Japan, only the poor being exempt from school fees ; on the other hand compulsory attendance has been enforced, though perhaps not very strictly. In 1910 the register showed that no less than 99% of the boys and 97¼% of the girls went to school. The legal age for leaving school is 14.

The following are the five principal types of educational institutions in Japan : the Kindergarten, the primary school, the secondary school, the special schools, and the university. The Kindergarten is for children of from three to six years old, and their numbers show a steady increase, as no child under six years of age is allowed to be drafted into the elementary schools. These Kindergartens are worked on Froebelian lines.

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* Author of "Japan, the Mikado's Empire," "Industrial Policy and Social Reform in Japan," etc., etc.

There are three kinds of primary schools in Japan : (*a*) the general ; standard schools ; it is for children of from six to ten years of age, and an attendance of 32 weeks in the year is compulsory. The curriculum comprises: reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, moral instruction, drill, handwork (sewing for girls), and sometime drawing and singing.

(*b*) The "higher grade" school, which supplements the instruction– given in the general schools. The subjects taught are : geography, history, physics, English, agriculture and commerce. (*c*) The 3 standard "Ragged School"; these are found in very remote districts, where the population is too poor to support the (*a*) type.

The school hours are from three to six hours a day—five on an average and commence at 8 in the winter and at 7 in the summer. There is a quarter of an hour's interval after each lesson, a half-holiday on Saturdays, and no school on Sundays. The greater number of the schools in the larger towns have separate rooms for drawing and needlework, gymnasiums, kitchens, playgrounds and a so-called "Hall of Ceremony", where instruction is given in deportment and manners—a characteristic feature in Japanese schools. No class may have more than 70 scholars, and corporal punishment is forbidden by law. There are also a number of special schools for apprentices where writing and manual work are taught, and several private elementary schools, mostly run by foreigners, especially English and Germans. Before opening a school of this kind permission has to be obtained from the Governor of the Province, whose duty it is to arrange the curriculum of the elementary schools in his districts in accordance with the plan set out by the Minister for Education.

In all public schools (except the Ragged Schools) there is a fee of 6d or 1/- monthly, the rest of the expense if any, is borne by the ratepayers. In 1909 there were 26,386 elementary or primary schools, 7⅓ million scholars, and about 100,000 teachers.

The two types of secondary schools are the "Intermediate Schools" and the "High Schools." All pupils seeking admission to the former must have completed their twelfth year and be furnished with a leaving certificate from the "higher grade" elementary school. Failing that, an entrance examination is required. These "Intermediate" schools have five classes and the curriculum is a wide one : Japanese, Chinese, English, French (or German), chemistry, nature study, physics, agriculture, geography, history, ethics, mathematics, etc. The Intermediate schools prepare their scholars for some practical occupation as well as for college. They are supported partly by the school fees and partly by contributions from public bodies, notable the town councils and provincial administrations, only very few being kept by the State or by private individuals. In 1909 there were 278 such institutions, 113,000 scholars and 5,500 teachers.

The Kindergartens, elementary schools and Intermediate schools are under the municipal and provincial authorities, who in their turn are controlled by the Minister for Education. The "higher grade" secondary schools, the special schools and the universities, however, are directly under state supervision.

The "higher grade" 2 standard secondary schools (="High Schools") correspond roughly with the so-called "academic sections" of the modern universities of the United States. Admission is granted only to those who have completed their 17th year ; they must also produce a leaving certificate and have passed through an Intermediate school ; if they do not possess these qualifications they must submit to an entrance examination. The course is continuous with that of the Intermediate school, with the addition of some new subjects, such as philosophy, mechanics, geology, mineralogy and geometry, and recently facilities have been granted for future medical students. There are also lectures at some of these institutions on law, literature and technology. The cost of the upkeep of the eight existing "High" or "higher grade" Intermediate schools is shared equally by the Board of Education and the respective towns. The training period lasts five years. The chief object of the eight "High Schools" proper is to prepare youths for the Universities, but they are also regarded as institutions in which men of talent are trained to become efficient civilians. Such importance is attached to the teaching of languages that more than half the time is devoted to their study. Boarding-houses are officially provided to protect the pupils from noxious influences, and they are kept under strict supervision. Gymnastics are taught throughout the whole course, and altogether much attention is devoted to their well-being. The authorities are bent on fostering a manly character in the students. The best of the latter are granted certain privileges by way of recognition as well as encouragement. Competitive entrance examinations are held in order to limit the number of admissions.

The Imperial University of Tokio consists of 5 colleges : for medicine, law, technology, literature and philosophy, and natural science respectively. The medical and law courses cover five years, the others three. The object of the sixth department, the "University Hall", is to give a thorough theoretical and practical training in various technical branches ; this course lasts five years. The graduates of the various colleges obtain *per se* admission to the "Hall". If any other student, not a graduate, wishes to be admitted to it, he must pass an examination at the College devoted to his special branch of study. At the end of the five years at the Hall a thesis has to be prepared ; if it passes a degree is conferred upon its writer. In the different colleges the number of courses varies. In the Law College there are four : law, politics, economics, commerce ; in that of Medicine two ; in Engineering eight, etc.

The University year begins on September 11th and ends on July 10th. The year is divided into three terms. In imitation of the American universities, those of Japan have each a President, under whom is a Council, consisting of the Directors of the Colleges and one professor from each college, elected by vote. There is also a Committee for the financial affairs, and there is a faculty-meeting in each College attended by its special professors. In 1909—10 the University was attended by far more than 5,000 students, and the staff numbers at present 337 tutors and professors; of these 20 are foreigners, who lecture in their own tongue—English, German, or French. The young men matriculate either from the "higher grade" secondary ("High") School or after an entrance examination. The expenses for board and lodging, fire, lighting and books are comparatively small and there are a great number of scholarships or impecunious students. The University Calendar, compiled on the Harvard University model, reckons the minimum cost at 7½ yen, the maximum at 12 yen a month. The State gives an annual grant of 1,300,000 yen.

The discipline is more rigorous than at any other university in the world, stricter even than that of Oxford and Cambridge. The undergraduates have rooms either in college or out; in the latter case they are bound to go to lodgings licensed by the College authorities. They have to be in by 7 o'clock every evening except before a holiday when the hour is extended to 10 p. m. The prescribed dress is the semi-military student's uniform and grey cloth cap. Both smoking and drinking are prohibited in the study-bedrooms, and the undergraduates are only allowed to receive visitors in the College Hall. Each student must furnish two references of people who will vouch for his good conduct, and more particularly are held responsible for transgressions of the "gating" rule. In such cases they are obliged to hand in a personally signed letter to the college authorities before ten the next morning.

The results of this strict discipline are not pleasing: it cuts the young men off from the rest of society except for an occasional clandestine visit at a tea-shop. The natural consequence of this is that they are apt to conceive rather curious notions about Japanese society and to hatch all kinds of adventurous plans for reforming it. Their manners are not of the best and specially towards strangers their behaviour is often extremely rude and *chauviniste*.

It is not to be wondered at that the young men found these monastic restrictions and military discipline extremely irksome, and when these rules were first enforced there were many open revolts, as a consequence of which more than 100 students were 'sent down.' It would seem a wiser plan to inculcate self-reliance and independence rather than demand such a humiliating submission, for the steady ones do not need such rigorous measures and the undesirable element will always find ways and means of evading them.

Besides the University at Tokio there is one at Kioto and another at Tohoku. They are subsidised by the State with 1 million, and 250,000 yen per annum respectively. The 200 special schools are attended by about 20,000 students and have a staff of roughly 1,000 teachers. Some of these institutions are supported by the State, many by local bodies and the majority by private individuals. The following have the highest standing in the, capital; the industrial school, the schools for foreign languages, for law and commerce, the gymnasium, the art school and the school of music. The old fashioned and inefficient "mixed" schools, where Japanese and Chinese literature were the only subjects of instruction, are steadily decreasing in number and will soon have disappeared altogether. According to Mr. Arthur Diosy ("The New Far East") the school of commerce is the best of its kind in the world. About 12 years ago Count Okuma, Minister for Education, founded an International School of Commerce.

Let me now pass on to the education of women. In the beginning of the "era of reform" the adoption of Western customs soon gave rise to the recognition of the principle that woman was entitled to no lesser a degree of instruction than man. One of the first reforms enacted by the late progressively-minded Emperor was to send a large number of native women to the United States for purposes of study. But naturally it was not possible to immediately, or even soon abolis the ancient traditions regarding marriage and the home. Therefore the new education began by giving women a better training as future mothers and housewives. It was only by degrees that the woman's movement in Japan on the one hand, and the Civil Code of 1890 on the other which conferred undreamt of privileges on the female sex, led to a more liberal system of education one which was to meet the needs of the new age. How urgent this innovation was became more and more apparent with the increase of western culture, which rendered it essential that girls should receive an efficient training for earning their livelihood.

In the "Land of the Rising Sun," as elsewhere, the teaching profession was considered of prime importance in this respect, because many experts pointed out that it was essential to the welfare of school children to be under the guidance of well-trained women teachers. Hence the ever increasing number of training-colleges for future elementary and secondary school teachers, and, as a natural outcome of this, the establishment of numerous secondary ("normal") schools for girls. Since 19 7 the latter have been divided into two courses, the first of which covers four years and only admits girls who are at least 15 years of age, and who can show, either by a leaving certificate or by an examination, that they have a good grounding in elementary subjects. Admission to the second course is only granted to girls who have completed their sixteenth year, and their period of instruction lasts two years. The curriculum of the "Normal Schools" comprises: ethics, pedagogy, Japanese, history, geography, natural history, physics, chemistry, mathematics, writing, drawing, music, Chinese literature, drill, sewing, and domestic economy. The hours per week amount to 31. English may be taken in the first course if desired, while in the second domestic economy and writing are omitted. The latter course may be completed in one year, in which case the number of hours is raised to 34, and history and geography are struck out of the time-table.

Up to 1895 there were only private "High Schools" for girls; the public ones were not started until after that date, and the course lasts either five or six years, as desired. The girls pass straight from the elementary schools into these secondary schools. The following subjects are taught: Japanese, English, history, geography, algebra, natural science, sewing, domestic economy, writing, drawing, music, drill, and, if desired theory of education, manual work and the Chinese classics. The hours per week are 28-30. An Imperial Edict of 1899 directed that every prefecture should have at least one such institution, and that the course should last 3—4 years. According to the last annual report (1909) there were 159 public "High Schools for Girls" with 46,582 pupils, in addition to about 100 private ones with roughly 13,000 scholars. The three-year course was abolished in 1907, and a minimum of four years made compulsory.

As since the beginning of this century a large proportion of girls have been employed in the Post and Telegraph Offices and the Railways, an urgent need was felt for an adequate training to prepare them. So far this has been done by private special schools, but the Government is contemplating taking over this work and is, meanwhile, doing its utmost to encourage a more liberal education for girls. Japan's victory over China in the war of 1894 was to a certain extent thought to be due to the influence of the wives, and mothers, and the time was considered ripe for granting them greater facilities in matters of education. A "university" was therefore opened at Tokyo in 1901, the scheme for which had been laid down by the famous educationist Naruse in the year 1897. His aims were: (i) To develop the intellectual and physical powers of the girls as well as to form their character, all with a view to training them for practical life. (ii) To foster all womanly virtues, to bring out the individuality of girls, and to give them all necessary knowledge for their future calling as the wives and mothers of the nation. (iii) To stimulate their patriotism and train them to be useful members of society.

In reality, however, this "University" is, at least at present, nothing more than a "college," consisting of four separate divisions and providing a three years' course. The subjects taught are: theory of education, English literature, general literature, domestic economy. There is a preparation class for each division, lasting one year. A six-standard secondary school, resembling the English Grammar Schools, is worked in connexion with the college proper, as well as a practising school and a hostel. All the pupils are obliged to live at the latter, with the exception of those who reside with their parents in Tokyo; they have themselves, gradually to perform all the branches of household work in order to become proficient in these matters. Great importance is attached to this system, for it is thought to go for towards developing in the girls the moral qualities of self-denial and a friendly spirit, as well as a sense of social obligation and responsibility, independence and self-reliance. In 1909 there were 383 women students, of which 157 were married. These are most astounding figures.

"Special" schools for girls have also begun to play a very important part in educational organisation of Japan. According to the newest official statistics there are 300 such institutions with 10,000 pupils. There are cookery, needlework, silk-weaving and dyeing schools, as well as a medical college with about 300 students, an Academy of Music, a midwifery course, one for nurses, etc.

The "Peeresse's school" is a remarkable institution; it was founded by and is under the control of the Dowager-Empress. Daughters of wealthy and respected citizens are also admitted. In the year 1910 out of the 614 pupils 277 were of the middle class, and 8 were Imperial princesses. Instruction is provided for all ages; thus there are a Kindergarten, a lower school a middle school, and an upper school course. Mention must also be made of the "Issen Yogakko" (practical school). This is a private establishment for 800 girls, and the principal is Mrs. Shimoda, a former mistress of the "peeresses' school." It consists of three divisions: a high school, an art school, and a school of domestic economy. Recently a special department has been added for Chinese pupils who are trained as teachers for Chinese schools at the expense of the Chinese government.

It will be clear that, considering the short time, a great deal has been done for the education of women and the State would have accomplished even more, if many of the educational authorities did not look askance at the rapid evolution in their special sphere. They do not at all approve of the assurance and assertion of the new generation; the bygone modesty and reserve was more to their taste. Curiously enough it is just the younger authorities who, though holding radical opinions in other matters, take up this old-fashioned standpoint, whilst the older statesmen, like Okuma, Shibusava, Morimura, etc., strongly advocate a higher education for women. They admit, it is true, that the modern girls' schools are often superficial in their teaching, and are apt to leave family life out of account; but their opinion is rightly that the remedy lies, not in limiting and hindering, but rather in expanding, improving and deepening the schemes for women's education. And indeed, the fact that the emancipation of Japanese women is showing such rapid progress, will make it imperative for the Board of Education to do all in their power to assist the women by granting them greater and greater educational facilities.

In 1909 Japan had roughly 36,000 schools of various kinds with a staff of 120,000, and 8 million scholars of both sexes. A number of public libraries have been opened in various towns; the largest in Tokio has 360,000 books. The Government takes a special interest in furthering the technical branches of instruction. It is worth while remarking here that no religious teaching of any kind is given in Japanese schools; a system of "Bushido" (ethics) forms the basis of all intellectual and spiritual teaching.

The plan of sending students over to European and American colleges for the purpose of studying western customs and conditions, for which Government pays the expenses, is an excellent one.

As regards the control of educational matters, this is managed by the Minister for Education assisted by a Committee ; the latter is composed of presidents of the universities, headmasters, and several doctors. Since 1890 every district, every large town and every province has had a school inspector. They are appointed by examination and are obliged to have taught three years at a Government school. Every community has its own schoolboard.

At the commencement of the "period of reform" the Government was naturally obliged to solicit the services of a large number of foreigners to organise the new schools. Thirty years ago the proportion of Japanese to foreign teachers was still about equal. But at the present time the latter are seldom found on the staff of a Japanese school, as the numerous "Normal Schools" *i. e*, training colleges (80 in 1911, with 17,000 men and 7,000 women students), established by the Government turn out a sufficient number of competent native teachers of both sexes to supply the need. The training period lasts four to five years. The students on entering must be 18 years of age ; they are supplied by the State or province with board and lodging, books and so on, and even with pocket money. In return they bind themselves to teach at Government schools, the men for 10 and the women for five years. There are two residential institutions at Tokio, each consisting of three divisions, where the staff of the above mentioned training colleges (Normal Schools) are prepared for their work; the one is for men and the other for women. A practising elementary school and Kindergarten are attached to them, as well as a splendidly equipped educational museum. This latter building contains some 16,000 objects, is visited by over 70,000 persons annually, and costs the State about £300 per annum. It is the most remarkable institution of its kind in the world.

In order to appreciate fully the magnitude of the task of building up a Japanese system of modern Education it must not be forgotten that the modern educational organisation of European nations is the outcome of a gradual development, which has covered a period of several centuries and is based on the varied and wide experience of many generations, whereas Japan has accomplished the same thing in a remarkably short space of time through the intelligence and sheer force of will of her statesmen. The loving care and unflagging energy displayed by this eastern nation in that undertaking and the financial sacrifices made for this purpose are a shining example to many a great western nation.

It is a severe tax on the children having to learn Chinese writing as well as Japanese ; for Chinese writing is very intricate, and there is the additional complication that written Japanese and the current speech differ very considerably, the former having become largely Chinafied. Three societies have been formed to try and mitigate these difficulties: the first advocates abolishing the Chinese writing and retaining only the Japanese; the second wishes to replace the Chinese and Japanese alphabets by the Latin, whilst the third would remodel Japanese writing by way of reforming the decadent language of the country. It is impossible to say which of these three methods will attain the desired end; meanwhile a Royal Commission has been appointed by the Government years ago to inquire into the matter.

In conclusion we would add a few words from an educational standpoint, of a very instructive Japanese children's game, called "i-ro-ha karuta" (a game of proverbs with cards). Whilst western children gain a merely incidental knowledge of proverbs from hearsay, without as a rule understanding their real meaning, and often apply them in a very naive and comical manner, the children of the East become acquainted with their proverbs in their games. The favourite one for children of from 4—8 years of age is "i-ro-ha karuta", whilst the older children prefer "Hiyaku-ninshu" (100 selected cards of poetry). This latter game, played mostly at New Year, affords the youngsters above eight years much pleasure and mental stimulus. Two packs of 47 cards each are necessary for the "i-ro-ha karuta" game, for the Japanese alphabet has 47 letters The one pack consists of artistically illustrated proverbs and each card bears one letter (kana) of the "i-ro-ha" (alphabet) in the corner; the proverbs themselves are printed on the other pack. I-ro-ha karuta can be played in two ways. According to the rules of the first the cards must be laid in alphabetical sequence on the table or on the floor; the children sit round in a circle, and the most intelligent of them, or an adult, shuffles the other pack well and then reads out the 47 proverbs. Every player then tries to get hold of the corresponding picture cards. Whoever has the most cards at the end of the game is the winner and gets a prize of fruit or a piece of cake. The second method is as follows: the picture cards are dealt out equally amongst the children, then the proverbs are read out, and the player who gets rid of his cards first is the winner and gets the prize.

The first way of playing this game causes much merriment. Laughing and shouting the little ones try to grab the picture cards, and it all depends on the skill of the players as to whether they get hold of the right one or not. This is a pleasant way of teaching even the tiniest children both the alphabet and the best-known proverbs. It must have been a Japanese Froebel who invented this charming and instructive game, and it could only be to the advantage of our children if we were to introduce it into our occidental kindergartens and nurseries. It should not be difficult to adapt it to our own alphabets, and proverbs, and all parents who desire that their children should be intelligently and pleasantly occupied, should do so. Good illustrations on the cards would do much towards developing a taste for art in the children.

REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE AND ROMANTIC REVIVAL.

By Mr S. AMBRAVANESWAR.

AT the threshold of the period of Romantic Revival in English Poetry the majestic figures that meet us are those of Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley and Keats—poets whose life-story is as romantic in one sense as their poetry is in another. It is alien to our purpose hero to examine the abundance of romance or the intensity of tragedy in their lives. Who does not know the romance of their life and death ? Moreover, did not one of them express a conviction born of personal experience when he wrote.

> Most wretched men.
> Are cradled into poetry by wrong.
> They learn in suffering what they teach in song.

But it is not as men but as *poets* that they concern us and as poets of an age exceptional alike in character and achievements.

The Romantic period, we are considering, comes in point of the freshness and fervour, the vigour and variety of its literary output next only to the great epoch which lies between the youth of Shakespeare and the age of Milton. Both periods alike were the products of historical circumstances acting on the intellect and imagination of great thinkers ; both periods alike witnessed momentous national upheaval. The sublime flight of Elizabethan poetry was sustained by an age when sectarian conflict was hushed, as it were, into patriotic combination against Spanish aggression. The Second Romantic period was shaped above all by equally tumultuous circumstances ; for, it was the outcome of the French Revolution, rather of the thoughts and sentiments which precipitated that revolution. Unbounded hope was inspired at the commencement as unutterable despair created at the close of the revolutionary movement in France. The minds of thinkers on the other side of the Channel were anxiously set on the progress of the ferment and the effect of the ultimate reality which belied the ardent expectation, varied in its manifestation with the temperament of the poets we are studying.

But similarity of the two Romantic periods in these respects need not delude us into a conception of their complete identity in all respects. There is all the difference in the world between the Elizabethan Age of action, freshness and enthusiasm and the

Words-worthian Age of introspection, self-consciousness and revolution. Before entering on an estimate of the work and influence of the great poets of the Romantic Revival it is important to define Romanticism itself and distinguish it from the other literary tendency classicism.

Generally speaking, Romance is associated in our mind with something unreal or exceptional, with richness of colour and wide reach of imagination. It is thought of as producing an illusion by the artistic exercise of inventive faculty and as depicting the larger, nobler and higher aspects of humanity. Romance has exercised and will exercise subtle fascination on our mind so long at least as human nature remains what it is. The romantic element is wrought into a vehicle for the perceptions of poets and novelists and the excellence of the vehicle depends on the temper of the material. The *true* poets or novelist detaches us from the real world in order to restore us to reality at a higher point and we have heard it said that the romantic world is in a sense a world of reality. The glory of placid lakes and vernal woods, the dignity of childhood and manliness, the play of bright unfettered fancy, the presence of a sense of delicious mystery, the conception of Nature as the voice of God ; these are some of the characteristic subjects of Romantic poetry which stands in sharp and striking contrast to Classical Poetry with its artistic sobriety, exquisite harmony, chiselled grace and eclectic glamour.

Throughout the course of English Literature there can be discerned the supremacy of the one or the other literary spirit. The Classical School habitually regarded the Romantic Poet as a breaker of the golden image of Poetry, while the Romantic writer accused the Classical poet of mistaking a rocking-horse for Pegasus. But this difference in the choice and conception of subjects can by no means help us to determine precisely the close of one tendency and the commencement of the other. It is almost a truism to say that in the light of Evolution it can not be decided where definitely the mineral life ceases and the vegetable begins, or the vegetable ceases and the animal begins. So is it with the development of Literature ; sharp divisions have no place in it for the thoughts and sentiments of one period pass into those of another and attain fulness of expression only long after the stage of transition. Thus had the dim twilight of Romanticism been more or less fully reflected in the poetry of Thomson, Cowper and Burns before the effulgent Sun of Wordsworth appeared clearly above the horizon.

Let us now consider the one circumstance which above all else induced and explained the marvellous fertility of the Second

Romantic Period. As an illustration of French influence on English Literature, the share of the impulses and aspirations of Revolutionary France in moulding the course of English Poetry can hardly be over-estimated. The atmosphere of France was seething with revolutionary elements; the apotheosis of the Past proceeded from an abhorrence of the Present; Rousseau's conception of a State with the watchwords of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality found a wide and deplorable acceptance. The English spirit caught the contagion. It was not, however, social or philosophical ideas that were transformed through the influence of the Revolution; the swelling tide of the modern mind which elsewhere toppled down the time-honoured edifice of political institutions could only serve to bear aloft—so to speak—a class of "dissenters" in English Poetry who discovered truths, committed exaggerations, allured and alienated thoughtful minds by the novelty and audacity of their theories. English revolutionaries in the realm of Poetry detested the insipidness and conventionalism to which the literature of the previous age had descended—They advocated "A return to Nature" and asserted the freedom of individual imagination. To them the ferment in France was not merely *territorial*; it represented the aspiration of humanity itself for peace, equality and brotherhood. The French Revolution, they fondly believed, would open up a new heaven and a new earth and bring them nearer the realisation of the glorious millennium.

How far the issue fell short of these expectations, it is the painful duty of the historian to indicate. The French Revolution proceeded apace ; it passed through many phases ; it saw the reign of terror and the horrors of the guillotine ; it ended in blood and smoke ; it raised military despotism on the ruins of monarchy—the golden vision disappeared; thrilling hearts were cooled into despair. This disappointment in its effect on the poets of the Romantic Revival displayed itself in diverse ways ; it converted Wordsworth into a philosopher, Byron into a rebel against Society, Shelley into a revolutionary idealist and Keats into a sensuous materialist. Again, the disenchantment brought about the divorce of poetical imagination from political action and the assertion of the rights of individual will and opinion. In short, the French Revolution was the melting-pot of Romantic Poetry which took the shape of the mould into which it was poured and the mould in this case was the individual temperament of the English Poets.

In the realms of Poetry and of Politics, novelty and naturalness were exalted to the dignity of a creed and the spread of these new ideas favoured the experiments of poets and politicians. The classical principal lost its hold on the Art of Poetry; Wordsworth's theory of poetical creation marked the new lines of departure; the Lake School preached a crusade against poetic diction and pretentious subjects; "Peter Bell" and the "Idiot Boy" were to supersede kings and queens as subjects of poetry; there was to be no timid regard for finished structure and felicitous phrase. True sentiment and not sham respectability should make the beauty of a subject; noble emotion, not notorious rhyme, should make the beauty of poetry. Great ideas, it was forgotten, should be enshrined in words as great as they; "a mould of common clay can not finely hold a glowing precious metal." But such were the doctrines and standards placed before the Lake School of Poetry. No wonder that there were found some writers who vehemently denounced the new school and resented the vandalic mutilation of the golden statue of Poetry. The Lake district was considered an appropriate quarter for the so-called poets who diluted their poems with plenty of water.

But this decrial need not blind us to the merits and services of the poets who led the way back to Nature and freed poetry from the trammels of convention. Wordsworth, the head of the Lake School, was among those ardent spirits whose imagination was fired by the glorious possibilities of the French Revolution. He described amid the blood and smoke of that revolution principles and aspirations which filled him with the enthusiasm of humanity. But when the Revolution issued at last in a tyranny worse than what had preceeded it, Wordsworth, like his own "Solitary," retired from a world not moving to his mind and sought in Nature a source of power, strength and consolation. Wordsworth, the revolutionary, became Wordsworth the philosopher to whom the world turns not for frivolous amusement or aesthetic satisfaction but for contemplative quiet and spiritual comfort. He found in the ordinary language of men a medium for the expression of deep truths suggested by the meanest object that existed in this planet; Nature he conceived to be a *living* influence calming and inspiring us every moment of our lives. To him, as he says,..........................

"The meanest flower that blows can give thoughts.
That lie too deep for tears."

The controversy raised by Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction and treatment has not yet been fully allayed and it is extremely dubious whether critics of Poetry can ever be brought round to the belief that there is no essential difference between the language of

Prose and metrical composition. The mission of Wordsworth consisted in the interpretation of Nature and the exposition of the poetic philosophy of religion. To Wordsworth Nature was Thought; to Scott Nature was Landscape ; to Byron Nature was a mirror reflecting his own moods; to Shelley Nature was Love ; and to Keats Nature was Beauty. And this love of Nature nourished in Wordsworth the love of Man so much so that he regarded poetic faculty as the essence of human nature. Every man then was a Poet !—This sounds strange indeed ; for, have we not been educated into the belief that Poets are *born* and not *made*, that if we are not poets, well our fathers are to blame?—The Poet may not be expected by us to possess all those qualities and qualifications claimed for him by Imlac in *Rasselas* ; but he represents to us a being gifted with a vision denied to average humanity. If to be a poet means to be a Homer, a Virgil, a Kalidasa, a Bhavabhuti, a Shakespeare, a Milton, then assuredly poets are *born* and not made. But we can all be poets in a greater or lesser degree according to the conception of Wordsworth to whom the poet is a person that understands the life of Nature. And we have and are free to have our own view of Nature as of human life.

Again, Wordsworth derived lessons of hope and strength from the very silence of Nature ; to him sight was sound and silence was speech. A "noiseless" noise is unthinkable even in the most delirious moments of our prosaic lives. But not so with poets, prophets and philosophers. We need not be shocked to think that sound could be generated in the heart of solitude. Did not Keats refer to

A little noiseless among the leaves.
Born of the very sigh that silence heaves ?

Did not the cynical Byron feel it when he wrote :—

Not a breath crept through the rosy air
And yet the forest leaves seemed stirred in prayer.

Man, then, to Wordsworth was an index of delight and Nature a living force whose impulse could be communicated by lovely hills, valleys, star-bespangled heavens, vernal woods and even the meanest flower. There is in his poetry nothing of the fine etherealism of Shelley, nothing of the passionate intensity of Byron, nothing of the lyric sweetness of Keats, but there is in it a haunting persuasiveness, a subtlety of thought, a gentle flow of poetic philosophy like that of the rippling summer-wave.

The next figure that emerges is Byron to whom English Literature indirectly owes a debt for having given Scott the signal to retire from poetic pains and pursue fame in the field of fictions. Matthew Arnold, the great poet-critic and critic-poet, made of him the interesting prophecy that "when the year 1900 is turned and the nation recounts its poetic glories in the century just ended, the first names will be those of Wordsworth and Byron." More than a decade has passed since the close of the century and it may reasonably be doubted if the prophecy has been or will be fulfilled and if indeed Byron can occupy the pedestal of which he was deemed worthy.

Whether, after all, the anticipation will be realised or not, it is remarkable that the few admirers of Byron should find in it a matter for jubilation, while his many luke-warm readers should be confirmed in their belief that prophets are the most misleading of mortals. The platitudes of criticism are common and plentiful and the literary Mrs. Grundy is not always impartial in the distribution of her favours. It is a tremendous saying of that tremendous man in Literature—Walter Savage Landor——"We admire by tradition, we criticise by caprice". Moreover, there is another factor to be reckoned with. Great are the changes wrought by the whirligig of Time. It would be unnecessary to mention any names which, once honoured, are now relegated to oblivion; it is easy to make a catalogue of books which, once eagerly read, are now suffered to encumber the dusty shelves in public libraries and to ruminate in solitude over the untoward fate that has overtaken them. It was this fact that Lord Roseberry had in view when he propounded the astounding suggestion that the "dead" books in libraries should be buried for the peace and happiness of the literary world. Obscuration is the Nemesis of reputation easily achieved. Byron is less esteemed by posterity than he was by his contemporaries and even in life he enjoyed greater celebrity on the Continent than in his own country.

Lofty contempt, intense passion and obtrusive personality were the sources alike of Byron's strength and weakness; he was essentially a poet of conflict who becomes an anachronism in times of peace; he was in truth a Catiline who dashed himself against national sentiment and shared the miserable end, if also the marked heroism, of the great Roman. It is interesting to remark that early in life Byron introduced into his conduct the violent imagination and rebellious spirit which characterised the man and his work. While still in his petticoats, he was scolded by the nurse for having soiled a new frock whereupon the young Byron got into a frenzy, seized and tore the garment into shreds and, like a rock, stood gloomy and motionless before the storming nurse so as to set at defiance her wrath with more effectiveness and greater pertinacity. No wonder that in maturer years Byron's literary judgment shrivelled up into a depreciation of all living critics and his politics simplified itself into a detestation of all existing governments. Byron must be regarded as indeed the illustrious representative of the Romantic School in English Poetry, though he had little sympathy with the relentless monasticism of Wordsworth or the lofty idealism of Shelley. He did not join the Lakists in their abhorrence of classical grace; he was, on the contrary, imbued with a partiality for beauty and elegance of language. His poetry is transfigured by the blending of thought and action, of conflict and contemplation. An intolerance of existing society, a revolutionary craving for independence, an ardent imagination subdued to intellect, the Napoleonic element in his nature; all these personal characteristics are mirrored in his poetry with the same clearness and perfection as are his pictures - brilliant pictures—of Man and Nature, calm and tempest of Ancient Greece and fallen Greece, of alternate gleam and gloom, of the majestic peak and the mysterious ocean.

If Byron in his utter dissatisfaction with existing society represented the destructive side of a revolutionary movement, there was another poet, rather, a spirit untrammelled by flesh who like Ariel loved to soar in regions far removed from the strife and turmoil of the sordid world. In one of those singularly happy comparisons which touch the imagination and linger in one's memory, Prof. Dowden speaks of the literary movement in England mingling with the current of revolution that rolled onward from France and likens the poetry of Byron to the dark and hissing crest of the tumultuous waves over which hangs in unruffled majesty Shelley's poetry as an iris, a foam-bow of beauty, peace, promise and inspiration. Shelley was the true child of an age of revolution; to his vision there was ever present the rainbow of faith in future possibilities. The failure of a thousand French Revolutions could not damp his enthusiasm nor could it make him suspect that he was pining for Utopias existing only in a glowing poetical imagination. This transcendental nature of Shelley is conceivably the cause of much of the injudicious criticism passed on his poetry. No wonder that to some Shelley seems "an ineffectual Angel beating in the void his luminous wings in vain," while to others he appears a perfect singing god—a poet beloved beyond and above all others. The kindly tribute which the, *Gentleman's Magazine* could pay to his memory was thus ingenuously expressed "Concerning the talents of Shelley, we know no more than that he published certain convulsive caperings of Pegasus labouring under colic pains: Shelley is a fitter subject for a penetentiary dying speech than a landing elegy, for the muse of the rope rather than of the laurel", while to some it seemed that, so long as mankind survives, Shelley also will survive; for his voice is of the winds and waves and perhaps more deathless than all these and perishable only with the perishing of the human spirit.

Can opinion be more sharply divided, can extremes of criticism proceed further? Matthew Arnold attributes to Shelley the incurable fault of *unsubstantiality*; he presumably finds in his poetry no "criticism of life" according to his favourite criterion of literary judgment. Criticism of life in his poetry, there is indeed none; and Shelley may well remain a poet despite this drawback; for, we shall be quite content to seek elsewhere for a criticism of life, if indeed life is in so sore a need of severe criticism. "Other poets may have equalled Shelley in many qualities of lyric poetry, in tenderness, in poignancy of pathos, in mastery of the elegiac note; but for exuberant splendour of imaginative diction, for the flight of the Eagle as distinguished from that of the Lark, where else in all poetry shall we find his peer unless we hark back to the Theban Eagle and the crowning glory of Greek Song". As long, then, as idealism is of the essence of human nature, as long as noble thoughts moving harmonious numbers can exercise any fascination, so long will Shelley be loved and admired for the ebullience of his enthusiasm, for the ethereal quality of his imagination, for his melody melting with emotion, for his idealisms of moral excellence and, above all, for the glimpse the millennium which he afforded to humanity—a millennium to which he himself looked forward with courage, confidence and optimism. Never was a greater truth enshrined in nobler harmony than when Shelley says :—

The One remains, the many change and pass.
Heaven's light for-ever shines, Earth's shadows fly—
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity
Until Death tramples it into fragmen

With what striking vividness and resistless force, with what poetic witchery and prophetic fervour is the truth brought home to us that the human colouring distorts the divine image and that *Unity* persists amid the phantasmagoria of mortal experience. It is sad to reflect that in the elegy on Adonais, called forth by the untimely death of Keats, Shelley with prophetic instinct expresses a deep consciousness of the doom that was awaiting him.

Let us now pass from the writer of the "*Adonais*" to the subject of it. The grave of Keats bears the inscription. "Here lies one whose name was written in water." Is it not rather that his name was written in the water of Life, his fame carved out in the rock of Eternity? His untimely death was supposed to have resulted from the rancorous severity with which his "*Endymion*" was criticised in the "*Quarterly Review*." Whatever the cause—and we need not enquire into it now—it is certain that through his early death English Poetry sustained a loss well-nigh irreparable. Keats was an inspired and inspiring poet—a true romantic in his love of Nature through which he discovered the principle of Beauty. If Wordsworth derived lessons from the meanest flower, it may be said that to Keats every object embodied beauty of some kind. Keats brooded over Beauty; he exalted it into religion; to employ a figure, less poetically superb but more mathematically precise, his formula was the Equation of Truth and Beauty. Nowhere is this principle more clearly set forth than in the concluding lines of his "*Ode to the Grecian Urn*."

"Beauty is Truth; Truth Beauty—that is all ye know on earth and all ye need to know." With him poetic imagination and artistic insight are supreme. His poetry forms the meeting point of the Celtic and Hellenic elements in Literature; knowledge of the inmost workings of Nature crystallises into the personification of her forces. To Keats the song of a Nightingale shows how unchanging Beauty is in the midst of ever-changing human conditions and the fine, familiar lines expressing this "vast" idea bear witness to the deep insight and delicate imagination of the poet:—

Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird,

No hungry generations tread thee down.

The voice I hear this passing night was heard

In ancient days by Emperor and clown,

Perhaps the selfsame song that found a path

Through the sad heart of Ruth when, sick for home,

She stood in tears amid the alien corn.

The same that oft-times hath charmed magic casements, opening on the foam
of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn.

We have thus seen how on the eve of the French Revolution the ideals of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality were abroad, how the love of simplicity, of Nature and of Man was intensified, how the atmosphere of unbounded hope affected great thinkers on the other side of the Channel. The Revolution indeed ended in blood and smoke without inaugurating any era of freedom, peace and brotherhood. But the disenchantment produced by its failure worked on the minds of the English poets of the Romantic Revival with results which varied with their temperament but which had one main feature in common, namely, the desire for novelty and naturalness, the assertion of independence of imagination and the dissociation of poetical creations from political conditions. The disillusionment drove Wordsworth to communion with Nature from which he derived his poetic philosophy. It stirred in Byron a contempt for existing social conventions which found expression in his intensely passionate poems. It fired the idealistic imagination of Shelley who, scanning the horizon, saw the first gray streaks of the dawn of a Happy Future for the world. It strengthened the faith of Keats in a principle of Beauty ruling and regulating all Nature. Such was the result on English Poetry of the French Revolution, or preferably of the ideas and sentiments that produced it, or still more preferably of the failure that attended it. In conclusion, this period of Romantic Revival must be reckoned among the most fertile in English Literature coming, as it does, next only to the glorious Age of Spencer, Shakespeare and Milton.

WOMEN AND HINDUISM.—II.

By Mr. E. M. WHITE.

THUS from these varying scriptures, which have been reflections and moulders in turns, can be gathered something of woman's position in Hinduism; the Epics give us ideals, while Manu depicts custom. For side by side with expression in words there grows expression in attitude, manners, institutions, customs, not only with regard to religion *Per se*, but also with regard to every province of life, and "It is done" is as valuable and vital as "It is written." Therefore the customs of a nation manifest its soul, and, in the wider sense, its religion. Throughout India the supremacy of the mother is the dominating factor in the value of womanhood. Sasthi, the goddess of mothers, is worshipped, and the worship passes to the mother. She is head of all and rules a home that contains many families, for the sons bring their girl-wives to their own homes instead of forming a separate one. The mother is head, and this in virtue of service to all. The tie between mother and son is a beautiful and strong one; there is no other to be compared with it. He renders her obedience and reverence even though he be a grown man. Of course the mother's authority is sometimes abused and in her hands lies the happiness of the sons' wives. But her influence extends far beyond the walls of her home though she herself seldom leaves it. What that influence will be when the woman is educated and realises her wider responsibilities is incalculable; and it may come about that India, in that land of thought and feeling, whose very plants breathe out devotion, women will awake to a consciousness of their present position and pass on to the realizing of a nobler one, without the transition stage when all the talk is of wrongs, and all the blame is placed on men. There *are* wrongs but the blame, if blame can be attached to conditions that are fought as soon as realised, is to be shared between man and woman, on the one for not wanting more from woman than the satisfaction of his desires and the keeping of his home, and on the other for yielding to that demand without withstanding the loss of her own individual qualities. It is not a question of blame, but rather of taking up new duties, and developing sleeping powers. In the gradual age-long evolution of the relationship of the sexes, the various aspects emerge slowly and it is waste of energy and time to blame or grumble. Let us *go on* cries the awakened womanhood, learning from the past, but looking to the future.

Wifehood is almost a religion in itself to the Hindu woman, involving the greatest love and self surrender. Young girls worship Siva and Krishna, and pray for a worthy husband and for the gift of sons. Supreme devotion to her husband is the first duty of a wife, but *his* first love is given to his mother. To his wife he owes tenderness and protection, but there is no equality between them. He is literally her lord and master (*a*); she prostrates herself before him, prepares his food and waits on him while he eats, but touches nothing herself until he has finished. The ultimate harm resulting from such an unequal relationship comes to both of them, man and as well as woman. Master and servant cannot be companions nor reach the full rapture of union which two souls, equal and akin, can

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(*a*.) Yet their marriage service has no promise of obedience from the bride. "Let us live together and take counsel of one another," says the bridegroom; and "By taking these seven steps we become friends."

attain. The man cannot realise all that a woman's friendship in addition to passion, all that her mind in addition to her heart, can give ; the woman's innate capacities are crushed down by the false idea that man needs but one thing from her, and it is her duty to supply that and no more.

But in many ways the Hindu wife shows independence of character, courage and firmness ; her subjection to her husband does not necessarily imply weakness. Her economic status is fairly independent, for her marriage portion is her own, as are gifts from kindred and ornaments and jewels. None of these may her husband touch (a). But wifehood in India is thought great according to its giving, not to its receiving or possessing. In fact the wife is sometimes asked to give even a share of her husband, for if she is childless for seven years he may *with her permission* legally take another wife in order to leave a son to succeed him. The sense of family obligation often causes the wife to agree, and even to help to choose the second wife. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald quoted the instance of the present Maharani of Gwalior who is childless ; whether her husband will ask, or she will give, permission for another wife is unknown, but it is a living instance of a sorrow peculiarly Indian whichever course is taken.

The practice of early marriages and female infanticide are closely connected, for each is adopted partly on account of the disgrace attaching to parents whose daughters are unmarried. There are usually rejoicings at the birth of a son but condolences when a daughter appears. A son can conduct his parents' funeral ceremonies and thus give their souls' entrance into heaven, and he is a promise of support for old age ; but a daughter has to be married and much expense is laid out on the ceremony. The reverence paid to mothers and the comparative indifference to sisters and daughters is a curious contradiction. Early marriages are responsible too for some of the woman's subjection, for the girl has no time to realise herself or think out any problems either in her own life or the world around, before she is immersed in a household where all her duties are ready, and little initiative is required. To love her husband, whatever he is, is her vocation, and if she loves it is fatally easy for her to obey, and so she falls into the sin of yielding to the greatest pressure and stifling any dawning instincts of unconventionality. This may account for the pathetic look in the features of Indian women.

But in considering the relative positions of girl and boy, husband and wife, mother and son, man and woman, only a very general conclusion can be given. The play of character must be allowed for, as individuality can always make itself felt, and the subjection of woman in India, as indeed everywhere, is due as much to her acquiescence as to man's domination. Rebels have suffered, but the great mass have followed the line of least resistance, and their condition will continue until they themselves resolve it shall cease.

It is the widow whose position is of most interest and tragedy, and whose fate in the future will be most changed. A widow may not marry again (b) even if she has never seen her husband before he dies. All her ornaments and jewels are taken from her and she is expected to live henceforth a life of self-denial and asceticism. The widow's sad life shows in a concrete form the underlying idea as to woman's use in the world ; she is there to satisfy a man, she cannot marry again, therefore why be beautiful, why dress well, why indeed live at all ? A modern Indian poet, Sarojini Naidu, has a pathetic lament in her last book of poems.

(a) Compare the position of the Englishwoman before the passing of the married Women's Property Act.

(b) According to Tacitus widows were forbidden to remarry in early Teutonic tribes.

> What longer need hath she of loveliness
> Whom death has parted from her lord's caress ?
>
> ... ...
>
> Shelter her shining bracelets, break the string
> Threading the mystic marriage beads that cling,
> Loth to desert a sobbing throat so sweet.
>
> ... ...
>
> Divest her of her asure veils, and cloud,
> Her living beauty in a living shroud. *(a)*

And the same sweet singer, in a lament voiced by Lilavati causes her to say :—

> For my sad life is doomed to be a lay
> Ruined and sere like sorrow-trodden grass
> My heart hath grown plucked by the wind of grief,
> Akin to fallen flower and faded leaf
> Akin to every lone and withered thing
> That hath foregone the kisses of the spring. *(b)*

But strangely enough it is in this condition of widowhood that many a woman finds scope for her energies, and an outlet for activities that might be stifled in a home. The widow turns her thoughts and powers to things unknown and uncared for by a wife and mother. Several become nurses or teachers ; those who become regents of property on the death of their husbands show such great business capabilities and practical ability, that a saying has grown to the effect that an encumbered property "needs a widow's nursing" in order to relieve it. Nearly all the Indian women famed in history have been widows : Lilavati, a famous mathematician of the 12th century to whom her father, Bhascara, dedicated the first treatise on Arithmetic possessed by the Hindus ; Chand Bibi who defended Ahmednagar against Akbar and was killed in 1599 ; the Ranee of Jhansi fought against the British in defence of her State during the Indian mutiny and was the only native ruler who defeated them, though she was finally killed in battle ; the Mahratta Queen of Indore—Ahalya Bai noted for her public works ; and the list might be extended indefinitely. As intellectual centres for women some widows might be compared to the abbesses and nuns of mediæval Europe ; while as teachers, nurses, helpers of various kinds they correspond to a certain degree with the unmarried "citizen" woman of our own times. But one tragic result of the enforced isolation of widows, many of the young, must not be overlooked. The death of a husband does not permanently atrophy the power of loving, and it does often render the widow economically dependent, as well as without interest in life if she be childless. Such circumstances as these are not seldom the cause of the woman either forming relations with another man, that are legally wrong but may be morally right ; or earning her livelihood by prostitution. And for this the system is to blame more than any innate depravity, for could the women remarry their lives would run in very different currents.

(*a*) From The Dirge, a poem in *The Bird of Time.*

(*b*) From Vasant Panchami, a poem in *The Bird of Time.*

It may be concluded that widow re-marriage and the abolition of child-marriage (a) are two of the coming reforms in India; they will come gradually through the changing ideas and desires of both men and women, through rebels and struggles, as well as through the quiet growth of a different attitude attending a wider education. At present it is but rarely that companions in age and education come together, at present a cultured man can only find his peer among widows, and marriage with one means social ostracism, for a widow may not breathe the name of another man. As the girl becomes more educated, however, her girlhood will of necessity extend itself, which will be to the benefit of herself and her future husband.

The practice of Sati (b) (Suttee or widow-burning) needs some consideration, but its origin is unknown. There is no mention of it either in the Vedas or Manu, though the story of Madri, wife of Pandu, who became a Sati (faithful or devoted wife) is given in the Mahabharata. The custom may have been borrowed from the Scythians, by whom it was practised, according to Herodotus (c). It seems to have prevailed in India as early as Alexander's invasion (about 325 B. C.) from the accounts of Strabo (d) who speaks of a tribe in the Panjab which made a law that wives should be burnt with their husbands in order to prevent the men from being poisoned by the wives! The underlying reason is probably a nobler one, and might have arisen through the idea that there is a mystic union between the souls of husbands and wives (e), and therefore the wife follows her husband into the unknown in order to continue her devotion to him; and imbued with the idea that she lived only for him, the widow would feel her life was ended with that of her husband. The first authentic account of Sati in Hindu writings occurs in the early part of the 12th Century A. D. The daughter of a king, and wife of the last Hindu king of Delhi followed her busband, who had been slain by Mussalman invaders, through this fiery gate; and this in the days when princesses chose their own husbands.

It has been supposed that the intense hold of the practice on the Hindu mind is due to the misinterpretation of a phrase from the Rig-Veda; and to the perpetuation of the idea in later sacred writings. Max Muller says "This is perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood," and he regards it as a *wilful* mistranslation. The whole elaborate funeral ceremony seems to bear out the hypothesis of mistranslation, *e.g.* when the wife lies north of the body of her husband she is raised up by a relative who says: Rise up, O woman, come back to the world of life; thou art lying by a dead man, come back. Thou hast sufficiently fulfilled the duty of wife and mother to the husband who wooed thee and took thee by the hand.

(a) Mrs. Besant made a powerful plea against early marriages at the Universal Races Congress held in London, July 1911.

(b) The name is that of the wife of Siva who burned herself at Jvala-Mukhi in the Panjab. It is one of the four Hindu places of pilgrimage.

(c) Herodotus IV 71. He also describes a similar practice among the Thracians V. 5.

(d) Strabo XV, 30 & 62.

(e) Cf the story of Brynhild who lay down beside the body of Sigurd on the funeral pyre, saying "Nor shall the door swing to at the heel of him as I go in beside him."

But previous to this the officiating priest repeats the following words as the widow walks round the pyre :

Om ! let those women not to be widowed, good wives adorned with collyrium holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire. Immortal, not childless, not husbandless well adorned with gems, let them pass into the fire whose original element was water.

But the correct version should be :—

May these women who are not widows draw near with oil and water. Let those who are mothers go first to the altar, without sorrow but decked with fine jewels.(*a*)

The passage—Anasravo namivah su-ratna a rohantu janayo yonim agre (*b*) (without tears without sorrow, let the wives go up to the altar first) is the one where the mistake occurs ; the word " agneh " (of fire) was substituted for " agre " (first) (*c*). On that slender foundation the subsequent admonitions to widows were written (*d*). Thus in the Brahmi-purana can be read the following instructions :

While the pile is preparing tell the faithful wife of the greatest duty of woman; she is loyal and pure who burns herself with her husband's corpse. Hearing this, fortified and full of affection she completes the burning of herself with her husband and ascends to Swarga (bliss).

But it must be remembered in this, as in other cases where much seems to depend on a text, that no texts are sufficient as impulsions to conduct unless there is a corresponding chord in human nature to respond ; and here the chord is woman's instinct of self sacrifice. The importance to her husband's well-being after death, is another incentive to the widow's sacrifice of herself, for it expiates all her husband's sins. It was believed that though her husband had killed a Brahman, broken the ties of gratitude or murdered his friend, her death atoned for any such deed, and she resided with him in happiness for thousands of years. Even comparatively modern Hindu writings urged the practice of Sati, and the priests always recommended it. The relatives considered themselves disgraced if the widow refused, and often resorted to drugging an unwilling woman and binding the hapless widow to the pile. If she had consented, and then in fear and regret receded from the pile, she was considered accursed and defiled ; and the sight has been witnessed of the frightened woman being compelled, by priests or relatives, to complete the sacrifice.

Hindu legislators encouraged widows to burn themselves, though they allowed the alternative of a life of privation. The revival of the custom seems comparatively modern and seems less evident in South India than in Bengal, where, as late as 1817, 706 cases were reported in one year. Perhaps the comparative freedom of Southern India from this form of woman's subjection is due to the fact that here had flourished the old Dravidian civilisation, which was characterised by

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(*a*) Vedic Religion p. 32.

(*b*) Rig-Veda X. 18-7.

(*c*) According to Dr. F. Hall, Raghu-Nandana was responsible.

(*d*) Of the mistranslation of the text Isaiah III—12 " Children are their oppressors and women rule over them" implying that Israel is at a low level because " women rule over them." The correct translation is " Exactors glean them, and extortioners rule over them" and this is given in the Greek Septuagint.

a matriarchate in contradistinction to the Aryan patriarchate. Woman here in by-gone ages was in the ascendant, and the right of inheritance was through the mother. This spirit apparently filtered through to the Aryan invaders.

The English Government practically connived at the practice, for in the Code of Hindu Laws before quoted (*a*) the following passage occurs :—

It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse ; every woman who thus burns herself shall remain in Paradise with her husband 35,000,000 years by destiny. If she cannot burn she must in that case preserve an inviolate chastity ; if she remains chaste she goes to Paradise ; if she does not she goes to hell.

Even years later the Government hesitated to interfere, as widow-burning was enjoined in the Brahma-purana, the Codes of Vyasa, Angiras etc., writers (*b*) who know the country advised a passive permission. However in 1829 Bentinck's law, known as the Sati Act, put an end to the custom under British rule. This Act was passed through the active exertions and moral influence of Ram Mohun Roy, and in spite of some petitions against it (*c*). At the time the Act was passed the average annual number of widows burned in India was 1200, but since 1829 the practice has only been carried on in native states and the last case occurred in about 1880. Thus this strange, inhuman custom has died, though the inner motive spirit which caused it to arise and live, still remains in the heart of the women. But it may be seen that the conception of woman's sphere and purpose had widened when Dayananda Sarasvati (*d*), one of India's later prophets, and a product and exponent of Hinduism, forbade child-marriage and allowed the re-marriage of widows.

One other aspect of womanhood must be dealt with, and that a painful one. The problem of prostitution is more acute in India than anywhere else, and in considering it attention must be given to the different attitude of Hindus towards sexual life. The custom, still continued, of the worship of symbols of the sexual organs is incomprehensible to Western peoples, who fear to face facts unconventionally and openly, and who perhaps do not realise the wonderful spiritual significance that can be given to all the acts dealing with reproduction. Hence it is that the temple prostitution of India and other parts of Asia has received no understanding from most of those who have written on it. But there is an instinct at the back of it, which probably is never felt now either by the women dedicated to the various deities or by the men who visit them, an instinct that realises the pathetic and sometimes tragic helplessness of man in the grip of natural forces, and that desires to serve by relieving him. Perhaps some spirit of this kind originated the custom, which at least has an element of religion, in the offering up of the women of themselves, primarily to a god, secondarily to a pilgrim, and which is not wholly composed of the "wickedness" that shocks disappointed missionaries. This opinion is not an attempt to extenuate or uphold the terrible custom but simply to suggest an explanation of its origin and continuance, beyond the merely economic one.

(*a*) Drawn up for the guidance of judicial officers by the Government in 1776. See p. 17.

(*b*) H. T. Colebrooke and H. H. Wilson. The latter strongly disagreed with any interference, as late as 1828.

(*c*) Of the petitions of some slaves against the abolition of slavery, and later, the anti-suffrage leagues.

(*d*) Died in 1883. He was a monotheist and discarded caste traditional mythology, and orthodox idolatry, was hostile to Christianity and declared the Vedas to be the sole authority of Truth. He founded the Arya Samaj.

One result of the frank facing of sexual facts by all the Indians, has resulted in a total lack of the prudery that is so objectionable in the West. The girls and women of the East do not coquette with men, nor is there any regular "play" between girls and boys. The West can well take a lesson from the East in naturalness and sincerity in sex matters.

Other causes of prostitution in India are the worldwide economic one, due to woman's dependence and underpayment; the many hopeless lives among widows; and the cantonment system where large numbers of unmarried soldiers are supplied with women who are recruited from Indian girls by fair or foul means. This system, directly connived at by the British Government, is a terrible violation of the Hindu spirit towards womanhood, which regards woman as more sacred and secluded than does Western thought.

The seclusion (*a*) of Hindu women dates from the times of the Mohammedan invasions, extending from the 6th to the 9th centuries A. D. It was adopted partly as a means of protecting women from the invaders and partly in consequence of the Moslem rule and influence which restricted the sphere of women. In Vedic, Buddhistic or Puranic periods there was no seclusion of women, and Islam in general has been detrimental to women. In Bombay and Madras where Moslem dominion was not so strong women have more freedom than in other parts of India, while in the Malabar district, where Mohammedanism scarcely penetrated women's power is much greater, and the regents during the minority of certain kings have often been women. The throne of Bhopal, though an Indo-Mussulman one, is not seldom held by a woman, for the eldest child of the ruler, irrespective of sex, succeeds; the present ruler has written an interesting account of her life,(*b*) and was present at the King's Coronation Durbar, though heavily veiled! A symbolic figure was she, of the progressing woman spirit still fettered by the past.

For countless ages the conditions here sketched have obtained, modified slightly now and again, but in effect the same yesterday and to-day. But to-morrow they will change for the ancient Hindu ideal of womanhood, though beautiful and delicate, is, for the present and future not the highest and best since the environment is changing. The main characteristic of the Hindu woman, her devotion, will always be of vital value to the race, but it needs expanding to their objects without excluding the one now benefitted. Let her but see that social affairs and the nation *needs* her qualities and she will give them freely. Her attitude towards her husband must change; not less of love is required but less submission and loss of her own personality; he should not be her lord but her comrade. Let her but see that this will be to his advantage and still more to that of her children, and she will rise to her full nature. Her subordination is due partly to her own consent; her emancipation will be due chiefly to her own efforts. Her ignorance must cease, and the idea that learning is a disgrace has gradually been crushed. But formerly it was said that only courtezans and prostitutes were at all cultured, and this because they wished to attract men (*c*)! But now there are many high schools for girls, and the B.A. degree has been granted to several women students in Calcutta.

(*a*) The seclusion refers merely to the upper and middle classes. The Indian working women are even less covered than Western women.

(*b*) *An account of My Life* by Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, G. C. S. I., G. S I. E., Ruler of Bhopal. Translated by O. H. Pavne.

(c) Cf. the Greek Heteræ, and the prevalent notion in Greece that a "respectable" woman was ignorant. It is probable that the education possessed by a "free woman" was prior to her "free love" and only in that condition could she find scope for her nature.

There have been signs of change for some years in India and the deeper study of the religion, e. g. in the Vedanta, is synchronous with the stirrings among Hindu womanhood. The causes and needs of change are many, and some of them due to British rule. There is a change in the social sphere somewhat similar to that in England on the introduction of machinery for the carrying on of various industries. A great deal of the Indian woman's occupation has gone; the spinning and weaving is now rendered unnecessary by the importation of ready-made goods from Manchester and Glasgow. This has led to a certain loss of simplicity, beauty and dignity in the homes and dress of Indian women as well as a loss of employment. Loss of employment is leading, as it did in England in the 18th and 19th centuries, to the search for fresh outlets for women's activities, and an ever increasing number of women are aspiring towards more scope for their sex. They do not seek to give less love, but to expand and develop their nature. Thus education is being sought after and obtained slowly and gradually. So far this refers to the middle classes, and great difficulty is experienced in obtaining teachers, and scholars do not remain long for many leave on their marriage. The Seva Sadan Sisterhood of Bombay is also a significant feature for it unites Hindu, Parsee, and Moslem women in philanthropic work, and heralds the union of all India's daughters for the purpose of India's welfare.

There is nothing in Hinduism itself to forbid women from embracing more of life than before, or from influencing the development of their country; for Hinduism becomes what its followers make it. And the spirit of the religion of India, intuitive, brooding, waiting, has much of the essential feminine in it. The very goddesses worshipped in temples, and loved in legends, embody the dream of India's future womanhood, and reflect her aspirations. Ushas, the dawn, gives life and health to all things, and the hymns addressed to her are among the most beautiful passages in the Vedas. Sarasvati, wife of Brahma, the Creator, patronises wisdom and science, and learning is dedicated to her service. Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu, the preserver, is the goddess of fortune, and to her are prayers for happiness addressed. Uma, wife of Siva *(a)*, the Destroyer, represents the energy or active power of the God. Aditi is the only goddess mentioned in the Rig-Veda as mother of any of the gods, and she is the impersonation of infinity. She is the universal all-embracing Nature or Being, and connected subtly with this idea is that of the forgiveness of sins. "Whatever sin we have committed" pray the Hindus, "may Aditi sever us from it." From this picture of Hindu womanhood, embracing all and forgiving all, bestowing life and health, encouraging the growth of knowledge, bringing happiness, and directing energy—doing and being in herself what the goddesses of old symbolised—the individual woman of India can gain inspirations and hope, and bring to her awakening country qualities meet for the vastness of its needs of its future. As the mother in India gives the name to the child so will the woman-spirit of India give the land its ideals of nationality and religion. The future lies in her hand as much as in the hands of men. And we may echo what was read at the first Universal Races Congress (*b.*)

"Whatever new developments may now lie before the womanhood of the East, it is ours to hope that they will constitute only a pouring of the molten metal of her old faithfulness and consecration with the new moulds of a wider knowledge and extended social function."

(a) See note 2 on p. 31.

(b) Held in London, July 1911, in a paper on *The Position of Woman* by Margaret Noble.

A CHAPTER IN INDIAN ECONOMIC HISTORY—I.

By Mr S. RANGANATH.

"A man is what he eats," said a German economist. Is it a wonder, then that the Indian is such a poor specimen of humanity? With an annual income of thirty Rupees on the average—it was Lord Curzon who put it at that, and his lordship would not willingly exaggerate the misery of India,—and with the growing demands of the Government and the merchants upon it, how else will it be ? If he is a peasant, he has to pay a land-tax which in most parts of India is as high as can be, and in the face of a prospective settlement may become even exorbitant. He goes to his shopkeepers and is told that he should pay more for the necessaries of life. The grain merchant says that there is famine in the land and the price of grain has risen. The clothier complains of a falling off in the profits of his trade—yarn costs more than it used to do and the Sirkar takes away a portion of his produce. Why, he cannot say. He resigns himself to the will of Heaven, which to him is expressed in the demands of Mr. Thomas Browne or Mr. John Jones. And so it runs from mouth to mouth, everybody feeling that the Government could mend matters if it liked.

Vox populi, vox Dei, they say. Even the masses of India speak truth sometimes. No doubt, the voice of God is expressed through other instruments as well, and in these days, often through the mouth of English Civilians. But does it justify such a statement as Mr. Whitby Stoke's, when he said, speaking of the effect of the removal in 1879 of the import duty on cotton. "Of course, the people of India will be wrong; they always must be wrong when they impute false motives to the ruling race ?" On the other hand, if they were right for once it was on this very question. At a time of grave financial crisis and in the throes of a famine, the Indian Government advised by (now a baron) Sir Edward Strachey sacrificed the trade of the country, and in particular, the cotton industry of Bombay to party politics in Lancashire. There exists documentary proof to show that this step was not approved of either by the Council of Lord Salisbury the then Secretary of State for India or by that of the Viceroy. Sir Erskine Perry, Sir Henry Montgomery and Sir Frederick Halliday in the former and Mr. Rivers Thomson, afterwards Lieut-Governor of Bengal, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot and Sir Andrew Clarke in the latter have recorded their objections to it in the plainest terms.

It is a long story this—the attitude of our rulers towards our industries. It is a story, too, that few have written about here or in England. And those who have done so are consigned to the limbo of oblivion with a pettishness which itself invests their writings with an air of truth and justice. The historian Mill, Dr. Buchanan the statistician, Mr. Montgomery Martin and others who let in light upon the doings of the East India Company in Bengal and elsewhere are not read at all in these days. Truth has always been unwelcome; and as in ancient Greece the cup of hemlock was pressed to its lips, in the modern world social and official ostracism is used with equal effect in the work of its repression. One can well imagine the bitter grief and despair of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and the late Mr. Dutt in trying to persuade their generation to read the truth written in letters of fire on our national industries—the truth that no sophistry be it even from Sir John Rees, no tongue even of Lord Curzon can controvert. But the days are gone when the people of India were content to live in ignorance of the doings of their Government. There is a melancholy interest attached to our blue-books and reports even though they remind us only of commissions that sat in vain and of intentions that came to nothing.

An article in one of the recent issues of the *Hindustan Review* spoke of trades unions as they might affect the Indian labourer. Did the writer see that he was unconsciously penning the keenest satire on poor India? Trades Unions! Why not old-age pensions, syndicalism, strikes and the millennium? They are equally easy to attain. It is more profitable to inquire what has made these remedies necessary. What brought poverty to the land that from ancient days to those of our great-grandfathers was known to be wealthy and prosperous? Writers from Bernier downwards have testified to the riches of India. Where are they now?

Without blaming the Government too much one might say that they disappeared through the jealous economic policy pursued by it for the last 150 years. From the time when Clive and Warren Hastings fought to found a British Empire in India, "unconsciously though" historians say, the same ideas have dominated the rulers. To the directors of the East India Company as well as to their modern successors, Britain has been of prime and India of only secondary importance. Their object in the 18th century frankly avowed and carried into practice survives to this day in the economic policy of the Government. It is not so clearly stated. But that is the fault of an age of which it may be said that plain speaking is not among its virtues. For 150 years then, the English Government have viewed with more or less hostility the industrial activities of our countrymen. No doubt there have been variations in the degree and extent of this hostility, but still it is there. Let us examine this more closely.

At the very threshold of our inquiries it would be better to throw away all mistaken impressions about India. That India is poor and is growing poorer is admitted by all except those who visit our country in the winter, drive about in broughams sight-seeing, dine and loll and sleep in some Anglo-Indian Club and then go home to write a book on India, abusing us poor Indians and cursing us for our 'ingratitude.' We only know where the shoe pinches. What do *they* know of Indian conditions? Do they know that India has been visited by a dozen famines during the last 30 years? Do they know that 20 millions of poor, suffering humanity have been carried off the face of our land? Do they know that millions more are even on the brink of starvation?

There has been much controversy about the causes of this poverty. It is not due to the growth of population for population in India increases far less rapidly than in many western countries. Further, there is famine and plague lying in wait to restore the balance. Nor is it due to any grave fault in the methods of cultivation, nor to the ryot's carelessness and imprudence. We do not indeed claim for our peasants the resource and pushfulness of the westerner, but Dr. Voelckar has said that all in all they are inferior to none in the world. The Indian peasant is frugal and thrifty and simple and has the accumulated skill of centuries. And surely no one will accuse him of not using better tools and instruments of production; for he pleads poverty. Poverty is indeed the cause and effect of the famine. But such a statement does not in any way help us in our inquiries.

We have often heard from English writers endowed with more imagination and sympathy than shrewdness that the poverty of India is due in great part to the extortions of her moneylenders. We know Shylock. We know enough to vote him an evil and a nuisance when he demands repayment of his loans. But he has his task to perform in the modern world; and if in the performance of it there is much evil mixed with the good, we should, still philosophically endure it. The Indian Shylock is not more usurious than his western brother. But he is of greater importance. Without his help in money or in kind as in the form of seed-corn or drought bullocks, cultivation in India would be at a standstill. Let us not, then condemn the Mahajan unheard.

Another explanation, too, has been sometimes offered—*viz.*, that the area of cultivation has decreased of late. If there is any fact which is most plainly contradicted, it is this. The average revenue-returns of the Government for the last five years and a comparison of the area cultivated at present with that in 1900 will convince anybody of the absurdity of it. Moreover, the high prices of agricultural products prevailing to-day can have a decided tendency only in the very opposite direction.

The real explanation, then, is not increase of population or the imprudence of ryots or the usury of moneylenders or again diminution of cultivation, but something quite different. *The staying power of the Indian peasant has considerably fallen, because the sources of national wealth in India have been narrowed under British rule.* Let us treat the question in greater detail.

The sources of our national wealth are agriculture and manufactures. India in the 18th century had both; to-day she has less of the former than before, and very little indeed of the latter, in proportion to her population and advancement.

That India in the 18th century and for centuries before had been famed for her wealth and prosperity is attested to by the relics of the old regime. Temples and palaces with works of art adorning them arose in all parts of India under the Hindu and Muhammadan rulers, yea, even under the worst of them. Muhamad Tughlak lost a tooth and built a mosque over it. It might have been eccentric, extravagant and even wasteful. But still there it was. Then came the live of the great Moghuls, Akbar, and Jehangir and Shah Jehan and their names live in the works of art they left behind, and shall live as long as and even beyond them, for people will not willingly forget its great benefactors. When shall we see again another Akbar? Never, though the sands of time run back to the primeval gold. For as the poet has it

> "Quo nihil maius meliusve terris fatar donavere bonique divi nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum tempora priscum."

"Nothing more great or good than him have fate and Heaven's grace bestowed on earth, nor will they ever give, albeit the ages return to the primeval gold."

So they went their way acting up to the words of an old Sanskrit poet. "The King is like the sun. He draws from his subjects as the sun draws up moisture from the ocean but only to give it back a thousand-fold." Our critic might point out that they were wasteful and that even under them there were famines and loss of life. To this we shall answer. Yes, they wasted much; but they wasted it in the country itself. The wealth did not go out of it. Famines no doubt there were, but the loss of life was less; for people could save more in those days rough as they were.

Now it might be easily seen that we have in the above statements anticipated two of our problems. They are the famous economic drain and the system of land-revenue administration which is rarely conducive to saving.

To say that men could save more in those might seem paradoxical, but will cease to be when we remember the difference between the British and the Muhamadan Governments. The former is a steady, permanent force which none can dare to check; not so the latter. If it robbed the people at one time, it might be robbed in its turn at another, so that the gain set off the loss, and in many cases more than did so.

There is still another proof of the prosperity of India. Witness the monstrous fortunes that the servants of the East India Company made in India, and flaunted about in England on their return much to the chagrin of the poor though true-blue, fox-hunting squires around them. These called them 'nabobs' in disgust; and yet envied their good luck. Some of these 'nabobs' become famous. One, for instance, was 'Governor' Pitt whose grandson and great-grandson proved to be England's greatest ministers. As 'Governor' Pitt was famous, another was notorious. This was the Paul Benfield, against whom Burke thundered in the House of Commons and who nevertheless sent nine members to Parliament, he himself being one.

Into such an India, the English traders came, and in 100 years changed the face of it beyond recognition. Agriculture they ruined by their heavy impositions and by the system of annual leases practised by Warren Hastings. In 1778, 1779, and 1780, he let out land in Bengal to the highest bidders caring little for the peasantry. He attained his object which was more revenue but ruined agriculture. How harsh and unsympthetic his land-revenue administration was might be seen from a few extracts taken from the official literature of the period. In 1770 there was a severe famine in Bengal. According to the estimate of the Council ⅓ of the population died. Yet no relief was given. And Hastings wrote in 1771: "Some *increase* has been made in the settlement of Bengal and Behar Provinces for the present year !!" Again in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated 3rd November, 1772 "Notwitstanding the loss of at least ⅓ of the inhabitants of the province and the consequent decrease of cultivation the net collections for the year 1771 exceeded even those of 1768. It was naturally to be expected that the diminution of the revenue should have kept an equal pace with the other consequences of so great a calamity. That it did not was owing to its *being kept violently up to its former standard.*"

Things were equally bad in Madras. The effete rule of Muhamad Ali had left the country at the mercy of British money-lenders of the type of Paul Benfield, who ruined agriculture in their attempts to repay themselves. Relief no doubt came to these provinces, if it can be called relief at all. The permanent settlement was introduced into Bengal in 1793 and into the Northern Circars of Madras between 1802 and 1805. But even now the tax was very high. For between 1793 and 1822 it stood at 90% of the rental in Bengal and 80% in Northern India. In Madras it was at first 50% of the gross produce !! The following figures will make it clearer :—

Under Muhamadan ruler, the land revenue of Bengal in 1764 was £8,20,000.

In 1794, it was £2,700,000 or more than thrice.

Allahabad and other districts, under its Nawab, brought in 1802 £1,350,000. In 1805 it was £1,700,000.

British Bombay in 1817 brought in £800,000. A few years later, £1,500,000.

At this period and for long subsequently, it was held that the only cure for agricultural troubles lay in the permanent settlement. But the Company would not have it since it encroached on their revenues. Further, there arose at this time a different school of land-administrators with Sir Thomas Munro at their head who recommended the Ryotwari system. The debate between the two schools went on for 30 or 40 years, nothing definite being settled ; till in 1883, the Secretary of State laid down that the permanent settlement was not to be practised in future. But long before this, in 1864, Sir Charles Wood had said that the land-tax ought in no case to exceed 50% of the rental. This brought relief to the ryots, but not for long. From the time of Lord Mayo various cesses like those for roads, education etc., were thrown upon it, till it became not 50% but nearly 60%. These exist to this day and all attempts to remove them have failed.

The Ryotwari system had for its chief feature the direct relations between the state and the cultivator. No intermediary was tolerated under it. It was thus opposed to the Zemindari system. But the evil did not stop here. It carried its hatred intermediaries so far that it did not allow even the old village communities to exist. Thus it inflicted a most terrible blow upon India. For in these "little republics" as Sir Charles Metcalffe called them the stability and prosperity of the country might have really rested. This last step is now recognised to have been an unmitigated evil as the futile attempts of the Government to revive them show. These organisms, however, are more like the limbs of the human body than the shoots of plants. They cannot be grafted or replanted. Besides the untold injuries implied to this destruction of the old village communities and the forced disappearance of a stratum of India society in Zemindars, Polygars and others, the Ryotwari system, wherever it spread, and it spread far and wide, brought in its train short leases of 20 and 30 years and all their attendant expenses, injustice and dislocation of agricultural industry. It was to these ways that Indian agriculture was grievously injured.

POLITICAL CRIMES IN INDIA.

By Mr SARADA PRASAD, M. A.

THE annual Viceregal tour of 1913, which drew to a close last month and which like all gubernatorial tours in this country is a happy and appropriate admixture of social and political functions, has been unique in a particularly distinctive feature, which amidst all the sayings and doings of more or less important character on all such busy occasions, is too pronounced and prominent to escape notice. There has been uniform outburst everywhere in the tour of renewed demonstrations of horror for the vile outrage on the now memorable occasion of the State Entry at Delhi and great joy at His Excellency's most providential escape from the intended calamity, and his complete recovery from the after effects of the dastardly attack. It is indeed a matter for congratulation to us in this country that there has thus been again evidenced our settled aversion to all such nefarious misdeeds and a general peace-abiding disposition reluctant to disregard the obligations of political and social constitution. Indeed, one is reminded of the spontaniety of the outburst of horror and indignation with earnest expression and heartfelt grief which vibrated in every quarter throughout the length and breadth of the country simultaneously with the occurrence of this most outrageous event, and which afforded unmistakable and quite palpable proof of our loyalty, which, most happily for us, was generously appreciated as quite eloquent testimony for the purpose. Every responsible utterance and writing on the occasion since then has quite clearly and unequivocally expressed this attachment to constituted authority which has naturally led to an acknowledgment of that inevitable and natural sense of personal responsibility arising from a realisation of the needs and obligations of such attachment, and from which, necessarily there has arisen a sense of humiliation, under which one cannot very well raise one's head. It goes without saying that much more is this the feeling of the educated amongst the people in this country who have a keener sense of the gravity of the situation, because they have a better and more real appreciation of the inestimable boons of the British rule and especially of the genuine sympathy and friendliness which Lord Hardinge has shown to their legitimate aspirations by the high souled policy, which in his Government he has adopted towards them. The natural human horror of all such moral depravity, and more than that the truly oriental characteristic of respect for peace and authority in the people of this country, have not materially and substantially deteriorated by the education imported to them, which although really creating a better sense for the needs of adoption to change modern environments and the requirements of advancing times, has not failed to induce a better perception and more correct estimation of these essential qualities, which have thus prevented a perversion of the nature of the people. Any deeds that evidence feelings quite diametrically opposed to such inclinations are, or can in no way serve as an index to the general feeling of the people. All such variations are in fact unnatural growth in some individuals with distorted mental developments inclined to dark thoughts of anarchy. In connection with this mention may be made of the thoughtful remarks made by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Montague Under-Secretary of State for India, in his last Budget speech in Parliament while referring to the Delhi outrage and to political offences generally in this country. Mr. Montague pointed out that such dark deeds had often blackened the records of human history at all times irrespective of the quite satisfactory character of Governments, and so any persistent espionage could in no way check them and will be really intolerable and cruel to the people generally, more particularly as all such indications of criminality of this kind are decidedly sporadic in their nature. It may be appropriately mentioned here in this connection that even when during recent year certain acts of the Government had caused genuine dissatisfaction to a particular section of the people in this country, when there were sometimes such exhibitions of most deplorable violence in particular instances amongst the aggrieved people, they were stoutly denied to be in any way indications of the real popular bent of mind and feeling, and it was steadfastly maintained by the leaders of public opinion that they should not be taken as such. The real spokesmen of the people have always assiduously and elaborately explained in no equivocal terms and have in fact taken every care that the sentiments and expressions of their dissatisfaction at any political measure necessitated in public interests, are not permitted to transgress the limits of constitutional propriety. They have quite unmistakably demonstrated that their methods and repetitions of such deeds and words in the form of an agitation are conceived and intended to be in no way identical in principle or form with the disaffection to the established Government, the principal element in the creed of sedition and political crimes of India. Apparently then, these conceptions of such a criminal nature with the type of discontent essentially connected with them (which could be properly called "sedition," and classed under political offences as such), can hardly in any sense be spoken of as widespread, as it is not the political creed even of any considerable portion of the average section of the people. In fact the material advancement, and really the very comfortable social existence of the people being bound up with an undisturbed continuance of peace, all such political crimes cannot but, from the point of view of the consensus of the people in general, be regarded (to quote the words of Sir James Meston anent the Delhi outrage) as cruel objectless and deplorable. From their very social and political circumstances the people in general have all their interests at stake in such a way that they can ill-afford to lose them, and so naturally (in the words of Sir John Hewett in his memorable Agra speech) these methods of lawlessness, sedition and political offences were not countenanced by or found favour with the people in any sense. But the fact beyond all doubt remains, that such nefarious acts often crop up in evidence which betoken the presence amongst the people of some vile miscreants. It may be observed that those who have acquired experience and have given thought to the subject, have stated it as their opinion that these nefarious offences with such disastrous consequences to our peace and progress often orginated in our country from a misconception of the real needs of the political situation, and such misconception due to immature understanding in youth is sometimes formed by the unwarrantable notions begotten from the imbibing of political literature. Sometimes it also happens that such crimes are committed by individuals with more mature understandings who under fancied or real personal grievances permit their senses to be perverted in the direction of anarchy. Of course the habitual offenders who are found sometimes, associated in such cases are ordinary lawless ruffians who are not actuated by any such political motives but who apparently take part in them merely from their criminal inclinations and habits and who, therefore, may be expected for obvious reasons not to take up political offences as such if they had not the initiative from, or the principal co-operation of the individuals, of those two other classes. It will not be uninteresting to consider and discuss some of the methods that have now and then been suggested to prevent and put a stop to the undesirable occurrence of such political crimes. Indeed, occasion of the Delhi outrage was availed of to exhort the people to exert themselves in rooting out this evil from amongst themselves, and it was urged that even though the people had quite befittingly risen equal to the occasion by earnest demonstrations of their grief and horror for the offence and their sincere joy at Lord Hardinge's Providential escape and complete recovery, yet undeniably these duties did not end with such demonstrations only. It was pointed out that on the occurrence of any considerable political crime it clearly was incumbent on us equally in the interests both of the society and the Government, that the duties of the people individually and in bodies should be persistently adhered to and kept in view and not permitted to lapse with the particular occasion, but should be carried on further to root out materially and successfully this evil in such a way that all further chances of frequent repetition of the kind may be prevented. Admittedly these political offences for the reasons above pointed out are essentially prejudicial to the interests of the society and the Government that conduces to the wellbeing of such society. But having regard to the sporadic nature of these offences as mentioned above and their being frequently of the character of sudden outburst not traceable to ordinary inclinations and methods of life, the difficulties of preventing them by actually finding out the quarters in which they are likely to have their existence are quite obvious. It may, however, be said that the desired purpose to some extent may for the above reasons be served by the efforts for the rooting out of this evil being directed amongst other things to a consideration of the causes which lead in the wrong direction the individuals of the classes mentioned above, and so as to counteract and prevent such causes as far as possible. It has been urged in certain quarters that elimination of violent criticism of administrative measures in speech or writing will to a great extent serve the purpose, as such criticism tends to excite undesirable feelings and mislead persons of immature understanding. Undoubtedly any recklessness in the proper observance of laws and limits allowed to such expressions, by the rules of constitutional propriety, has its obvious dangers and prejudicial results for the people. But as has been pointed out above the real leaders and spokesmen of public opinion in the press or on the platform can, or in fact really do hardly err in this respect and it may be expected that from the very nature of things even where they are inconsistent in any detail or opposed to the requirements of such principles, they will not fail to grasp the needs of the situation in connection with any such particular political crime, and to remedy and regulate their conduct accordingly. Then we have also the laws and regulations of the Government which meet such cases of words written or spoken or acts which are of such a politically criminal nature, and such laws quite effectively check and punish the offenders. Presumably further additions and supplement to the existing law intended by the recent acts of the legislature is not only superfluous sa it does in no way improve the existing law in review of our circumstances and the real state of things in this country, but is really undesirable as it cannot but from its very nature be practically useless for the purpose and rather retard efforts in the direction, to say nothing of its being intolerable. Undoubtedly much substantially and materially can be done by popular bodies in such matters, if they are permitted to take them up earnestly, without being obviously hampered by the injudicious operation of the laws of the kind recently promulgated. And a serious and zealous attention of the popular bodies will enable them to devise such methods as may be suitable to the ends in view and which also in fact could be taken up and followed by individuals intending to co-operate and work in harmony with such bodies for those ends. It will be quite appropriate if such popular bodies are permitted to act up to their realization of the fact that the material and moral wellbeing of the people is essentially dependent upon and linked with the Government and all such things as are subversive of order, will necessarily harm them, so that they may be expected to proceed to a consideration and discussion of the subject suitable for the purpose. It is needless to say that amongst the various methods and indispensible schemes which could be enumerated in a consideration of this question, one of the most important, and that which has been now incontestably demonstrated to be absolutely necessary is the co-operation for all such purposes of all those who carry on the work of administration, by a greater and more widely and clearly understood infusion of sympathy in their work for, and dealings towards the people, which will decidedly and for apparent reasons most effectively help the efforts of the latter in this direction, and palpable results may, with certainty, be expected, to be produced. In connection with this subject of the effect on the popular mind of the sympathetic and proper official behaviour, one cannot refer to a better and grander example than the behaviour of Lord Hardinge himself on the occasion of the Delhi outrage. The universal character of the great regard and esteem for the singularly broad-minded and progressive statesmanship of His Excellency the

Viceroy has become more firmly established amongst the people by the noble forbearance and unparalleled charitableness of disposition which he displayed under those trying circumstances, as the fact from its contrast with the blackness of the universally detested deed strongly fastened on the popular mind. And it will not be out of place to mention that further substantial support was given to such ideas by the admiration felt by the people for the exemplary fortitude and calmness of selfpossession which was quite correctly spoken of as noble qualities of the most exalted womanhood, and which Her Excellency Lady Hardinge exhibited on this dire occasion. It goes without saying that such actually practical precepts by exemplary conduct do more to remove all misunderstandings and misconceptions and to strengthen afresh whatever loosening there may be in the bonds that unite the British and the Indians. Indeed, what is very significant in connection with this is the fact that the admirable way in which their Excellencies have borne themselves has imparted a fresh and substantial impetus to the sense of the fair-mindedness and justice of the British Government which has not allowed the systematic and orderly course of justice to be disturbed even in the case of an offence of such magnitude.

THE HON'BLE NAWAB SYED MUHAMMAD SAHIB BAHADUR: A STUDY.

By "ONE WHO KNOWS HIM"

THE Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad Sahib Bahadur, the President of the 28th session of the Indian National Congress held last month at Karachi, the capital of Sindh, is the scion of an historic and illustrious family, tracing its descent from Tippu Sultan of Mysore, on the one side, and from the great Prophet of Islam, on the other. In fact, few members of the Indian aristocracy could boast of so grand a lineage. He is 59th in descent from the Prophet—the prefix Syed or Mir signifies such descent—and through his grandmother, he is also very nearly related to the great and historic house of the celebrated Hyder Ali, the daring general and able statesman, who, with such signal success, long ruled the State of Mysore. The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad is the son of the late Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, C. I. E., and the great-grandson of Nawab Mir Asadulla Khan Bahadur, better known in history as Mir Asad, who was preceptor of Nawab Safdar Ali Khan, Nawab of Arcot, and afterwards Dewan of Trichinopoly in succession to Chanda Sahib. When Safdar Ali was assassinated by Murtaza Ali Khan in Vellore (October 1742), "Mir Asad the Dewan was," according to Orme, the historian, "in the Fort, and the inviolable attachment which this Minister was known to bear to his master suggested to Murtaza Ali the intention of destroying so dangerous a witness of the murder which he had committed. Orders were given to put him to death when some of Murtaza Ali's officers represented to him the necessity of preserving the life of a man from whom alone he could obtain that knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic which would be necessary for his own conduct as soon as he should be declared Nawab. These representations were dictated by reverence to the character of Mir Asad whose virtues preserved him in this instant of imminent danger, to which he had been doomed." In fact, it is part of the family tradition recalled to-day and related with implicit faith by those intimately connected with the family, how at the time the Sowars bent upon their deadly mission entered at night the tent in which Nawab Mir Asadulla Khan was sleeping, they saw a naked sword whirling round the person of the sleeping Saint, and getting awe-struck at the sight, desisted from their foul and cowardly deed and reported what they had seen to Murtaza Ali.

The Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jah's mother was the late Shahzadi Shahrukh Begum, daughter of Prince Sultan Yaseen, fourth son of the well-known Tippu Sultan. This nobleman was born at Calcutta in 1837 and received his education there; but he was forced to leave the then capital of India in search of health. He travelled over the north and south of the Peninsula and finally settled down in Madras in 1860. In 1866, he also travelled in Arabia and Persia, and, after his return, was appointed an additional member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Madras in 1867 and held that honour throughont his life-time. When the Councils were enlarged for the first time and the privilege of election was granted, he was the first to be elected by the non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council as their representative in the Supreme Legislative Council, in September 1893, but he died in December of the same year, without being able to take his seat. His sudden and untimely death evoked widespread regret among Hindus as well as Muhammadans.

The *Hindu* in a leading article with black borders mourned his death as that of a public benefactor. It is difficult to say, it wrote, whether between his co-religionists and himself or between Hindus and himself subsisted more cordial relations. He was the quietest, most unassuming and sincere of men, perfectly free from all taint of selfishness. That he presided over the monster meeting held in Madras to receive in honour Colonel Olcott as president of the Theosophical Society may serve as evidence of his wide sympathies and his acknowledged leadership in public concerns. He was also for many years Municipal Commissioner nominated by Government. It was therefore no empty conventional eulogy that was paid to the departed nobleman by the Governor, His Excellency Lord Wenlock.

At an adjourned meeting of the Legislative Council held on Monday the 18th December, 1893, His Excellency, the President, before opening the proceedings said:—"I wish to take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of Government the great regret we feel at the death of our esteemed colleague, the Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, C. I. E., who for a great number of years had been a member of this Council. Though he did not take as active a part in the deliberations of this Council, as other Hon'ble members, at the same time I can testify to the great satisfaction that the Government has always felt in knowing that it had close at hand a gentleman who was so much respected and who held the confidence of the community he represented in this Council. The Government therefore feel that the hand of death has removed a colleague who was much respected and esteemed. At the time of his death, although he had been elected a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, he was still a member of this Council, as correspondence was passing beween this Government and the Government of India as to the resignation or otherwise of a non-official member elected by this Council to the Viceroy's Council. Therefore we may say the late Mir Humayun Jah died in harness while he was still in the service of the Government of Madras." At the meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, held on 20th December, before proceeding with the business of the day His Excellency Lord Wenlock, the President, referred to the lamented death of Mir Humayun Jah and read a telegram from the Viceroy Lord Lansdowne "expressing on behalf of himself and his Council the regret they felt at the death of the Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur and the loss that the Council had sustained in being deprived of the services expected of him as a non-official member from Madras."

It was only to be expected that young Syed Muhammad, trained by such a man and brought up in such an atmosphere, would lose no time in identifying himself with or participating in movements and endeavours for the promotion of public good. Scarcely had a few months passed since the death of his father, when he joined the Indian National Congress in 1894. In 1896, when only 23 years of age, he was appointed by that experienced and popular administrator, Sir Arthur Havelock, as Sheriff of Madras. The *Hindu*, always on the alert to discover and encourage budding public spirit, heartily welcomed this first appointment of a Muhammadan to the shrievalty, exhorting him to view it "as an invitation to walk in the footsteps of his father." On the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the late Queen Empress in 1897, the title of Nawab was conferred upon him. In 1900, he was nominated by Sir Arthur Havelock as an additional member of the Madras Legislative Council and in 1902 was re-nominated by Lord Ampthill. In 1903, he attended the Coronation Durbar as an invited guest, just as his late lamented father had done on the occasion of the late Queen Empress assuming the title of "Empress of India" in 1877. As a member of the Legislative Council he took a prominent part in all the important measures that came up for consideration, and he soon made an impression on his colleagues with his independence, ability and earnest advocacy of the popular cause. In the same year (1903), Nawab Syed Muhammad was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council by the non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council where he has continued to remain since, without any break, as the accredited representative of the Madras Presidency.

The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad has been now 20 years in active public life and it can well be claimed that he has faithfully and unfalteringly walked in the footsteps of his revered father and amply fulfilled the expectations formed of him. In short, he has proved a worthy son of a worthy father. If he does not fill to-day as big a space in the public life of the Presidency as did his father in his days in the eyes of his contemporaries, it is not possible, for obvious reasons, to do so. In Mir Humayun Jah's days, public life was just sprouting. It was neither so full nor so rich, and any one of more than average social position and influence, and with comparatively little political intelligence or public spirit, could easily rise to eminence in the eyes of his contemporaries. But now the Indian public constitute a far larger and more miscellaneous body, and not only includes a larger number of men in the field of criticism but also insists on a higher standard of ability and action, with the result that, though public men in these days are more numerous and more informed, no single man as a rule attracts such public attention as Mir Humayun Jah did in his days from his contemporaries. In the altered conditions of the present day, to have stood in the forefront of public life so long and built up a reputation such as the Nawab has done, argues the possession of rare qualities and genuine worth. As a public man he has been distinguished for his freedom from factitiousness and partiality for his own community. Herein lies the secret of the public confidence that he enjoys and the public influence that he wields. A very recent incident may be cited to illustrate this aspect of his character. At the beginning of year before last, it was felt by a few prominent men in Madras that the Madras Mahajana Sabha, the premier political association of Southern India, should be improved in its constitution and method of work by the introduction among other things of some fresh blood into it. The alteration proposed at the time of the annual election, in the list of office-bearers by some, was rather of a root-and-branch kind, and this naturally gave rise to acute differences of opinion. Feeling ran high and several parties appeared urging various changes among office-bearers. But to none of them did the thought occur for a moment of disturbing the Nawab as President of the Sabha, which he has been for the last ten years. This is only one of several instances in which the Nawab's quality of detachment from partisanship and the confidence that it inspires has stood in bold relief. As to his freedom from partiality for his own community, a striking illustration is found in his declining to join the deputation of Muhammadan gentlemen that waited upon Lord Minto at Simla some time after His Excellency's arrival. By his utterances and deeds the Nawab had taken upon himself to advocate equality of privileges and concessions to both Hindus and Muhammadans. The deputation pleaded for special political privileges for the Muhammadans in India to the exclusion of Hindus. The Nawab thought that such separatist policy on the part of Muhammadans was unwise in their own interests, as in those of the country. And how could he be consistent with himself in joining such a deputation? The deputation had to go without him. Throughout his long public career, he has been distinguished from the leaders of his community for his settled dislike of narrow communal patriotism and special favours. He has uniformly maintained the exceptional position of impartiality between the two communities, and this fact, in addition to his other claims, has as much endeared him to the Hindu community as any Hindu himself. Besides being President of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, he is prominently connected with many other public institutions. He is President of the Muslim New Light Society. Vice-President of the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Vice-President of the Presidency Muslim League, and Vice-President of the Central Urban Bank.

As Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress of 1903, he said, in the course of his speech:—"It is hardly necessary for me to add that no great advance in the path of progress and reform is possible of achievement unless the two great races inhabiting this vast continent, the Muhammadans and the Hindus, co-operate and work together in harmony for the common benefit.........and it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to remember always the saying 'United we stand, divided we fall.'" Ten years later, as President of the Shia Conference, held at Jounpore in September last, he spoke as follows:—"I am strongly of opinion that all Mussalmans, be they Shias or Sunnis, should join hands in promoting public good and should have done with sectarian differences and prejudices, so that the star of Islam may again be in the ascendant. Not only that, but it is absolutely incumbent on us, the Indian Mussalmans, that we should regard and treat as brothers all other Indians and work together in so far as it does not affect our religion and our special requirements. Hindus and Muhammadans have lived side by side now for centuries and it is not in the nature of things that one may be able to rise at the expense of the other. Both these great communities have to live together and work out their destiny. Their lot is cast in this country under the workings of Divine dispensation, and now that under the ægis of the British Crown, they have become common citizens of this Great Empire, their political fortunes are linked together, for better or for worse. Is it not then the bounden duty of the members of both the communities that instead of merely tolerating one another, they should willingly join hands and hearts and stand shoulder to shoulder n moulding the march of events in this magnificent land of ours? As Hafiz has it, 'If you desire progress, be at peace with all.' Who can doubt that the result of a true Hindu-Musalman alliance will be one which will conduce to the progress of both the communities and redound to the glory and credit of India, our Motherland!" In fact, all the influence he has been able to exert on his community, especially in Southern India, has been exerted to produce and promote harmony and equality between the two great divisions of the Indian people.

He made the following speech, the first that he made in the Supreme Council, on the Official Secrets Bill:—

"No one who opposes this Bill has any desire whatever to encourage malpractices or dishonest acts which will be prejudicial to the interests and the policy of the State. The general opposition to this Bill is due to the extremely vague provisions contained in the proposed amendments to section 3 of the existing Act. These provisions can be made applicable to any act having anything to do with any Government office, however innocent it may be. The Bill gives considerable room for oppression by the Police, and in what way power is being wrongfully used by the Police is well known to Government now after the sitting of the Police Commission. It is extremely amazing that the mere entry into any Government office from the Secretariat down to the taluq office, should be liable to be made a cognizable and non-bailable offence. It is a well kown principle of law that an act is not criminal unless the intention too is criminal, but under the present Bill the very objectionable position is taken, namely, that the act itself is considered an offence, whatever may be the motive and however innocent it may be. One would naturally think that great precautions should be taken for keeping perfect secrecy in the naval and military affairs of Government; but it would be difficult to conceive of many matters which should be kept perfectly secret in the civil administration of a fair and benign Government like that of the British. The proposed amendments to section 3 of the Act, especially sub-section (1) subhead (a), make the offence so vague in its description that it should necessarily be made bailable and non-cognizable to prevent people being unnecessarily harassed and the personal liberty of subjects being lightly dealt with. The salient provision of the existing law requiring the previous sanction of the Government for instituting criminal proceedings against any person contained in section 5 of the Acts should not, I submit, in any way be modified. Under this Bill no such sanction is necessary to start any such proceedings, but such sanction is necessary only for proceeding with the trial of any person against whom action had already been commenced. Even if the Government does not give its consent for proceeding with the trial of any person in any particular case, still the annoyance caused to such person by criminal proceedings being merely instituted against him, though he is let off for want of such consent, will indeed be very great. This Bill should in my opinion be dropped altogether, as no clear case has been made out, and sufficient cause has not been shown for passing it. It is legislation of this kind that causes unnecessary irritation in the minds of the people, and it is highly desirable that Government should avoid it."

In a well-informed speech he heartily supported the introduction of the Co-operative Credit Soceties Bill and made certain suggestions regarding the provisions of the Bill with a view to improving them. His speech elicited a gratifying reply from Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who was in charge of that Bill. Said he:—

"I am gratified to find that the principle upon which our proposals rest has the approval of the Hon'ble Member. As regards the criticisms, in detail which he has put forward, this is not the time to discuss them. As I said when I introduced the Bill, the Government is approaching the whole subject with an exceedingly open mind, and I will take care that the views of the Hon'ble Member receive careful consideration in the Select Committee." In fact the more important suggestions of the Hon'ble Nawab were incorporated in the Bill as ultimately passed

Loyal to the British throne, temperate in his language, moderate in his views, the Nawab is a patriot of the true type and has extorted the admiration of his friends, both Britiish and Indian. Though sparing and cautious in words, he is profuse in his sympathies. Quick and unerring in his decision, steady and imperturbably cool in action, the Nawab has been marked out for leadership in public affairs. In fact by his tact and discretion he occupies a unique position in the public life of Madras. As a speaker, one may miss in him the glitter of style and the studied loftiness of expression; there is no straining after affect; no dash of brilliancy nor the measured gait of profundity. But the sturdy commonsense and the earnestness and sincerity of heart are there and always command respectful attention. The same dislike of artificiality is noticeable in his private life. In dress, manners and conversation he is unsophisticated and simple. The motto '*noblesse oblige*' has been realised in the life of few persons more than in that of the subject of this brief sketch. The Nawab has large landed properties scattered over different districts in the Madras Presidency and takes much interest in agriculture.

While the Nawab is a Shiah, firmly believing in the religion of his ancestors, he has the utmost regard for all other systems of religious belief and their followers. To him the incomprehensible sight, exciting his pity and regret, is that of a man who, while boasting of education and position, would take life easy without the least effort to realise the duty that he owes to God and his fellow-men. With unquestioned faith in progress on modern lines, the Nawab is a reformer, not of the blatant and fussy type, but essentially practical and unostentatious. His reforming spirit combines in him, as it does in the case of some of his Hindu-fellow-workers in the same field, with love of his own religion and impels him to interpret the sacred books of old in the light of modern reason and experience, so as to bring them into unison with the needs of advancing times. In fact, he claims for the religion of the Prophet an elasticity and toleration calculated to disabuse the average man's mind of the notion that Islamism is a militant proselytizing religion that makes it incumbent upon or even justifiable for the Faithful to go forth into the world for the purpose of enforcing conversions "with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other."

On the occasion of the State Entry of the Government of India into Delhi on the 23rd December, 1912, the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council presented an address to His Excellency the Viceroy, and the Hon'ble Nawab was chosen by them to read the address on their behalf. This shows the regard in which the Nawab is held by his colleagues.

It is such a man, in the prime of his life and with the best part of his public career still open before him, whom educated India deservedly chose to honour last month by offering him the greatest prize in its gift. We rejoice that the expected reward of a singularly honest and useful career at last came, and we are gratified that, under his presidency, the session of the Indian National Congress at Karachi, marked a welcome departure in the history of India's advancement by making a beginning in cordial and friendly relations between the two great communities and their co-operation for the good of the Motherland.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION FOR INDIAN YOUTHS.

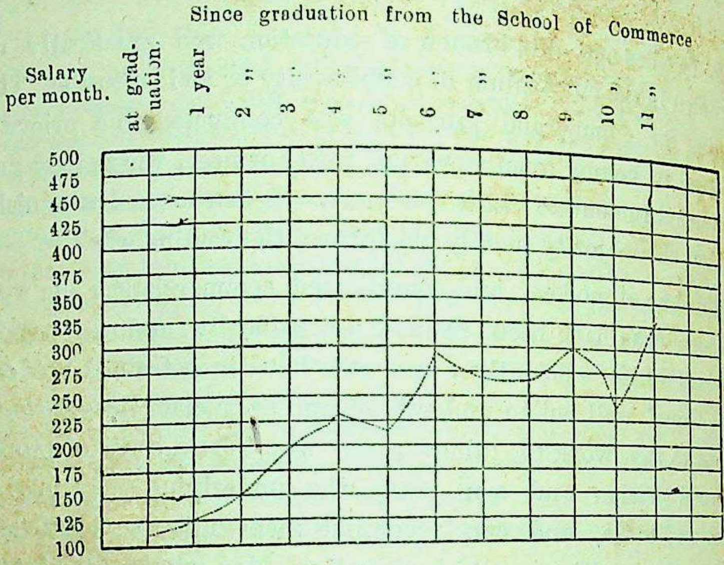
By Mr. SUCHET SINGH.

A FEW decades ago this branch of education was practically unknown in the curriculum of a university or an institution. Then the training for commercial pursuits was conducted in a primative way. Boys or young men were put into business, where they grew up to manhood in contact with business. A few made distinguished records, but the majority merely performed the routine work.

In this age of modern and complicated commercialism the world calls for men who have been trained scientifically and can perform their various duties efficiently ; men who have been trained not only to do one thing well but to understand and appreciate the relation of their work to the work of others ; men who have a sense of proportion, broad vision and can grasp the underlying principles of commerce and trade, and can recognize their duties to their fellowmen and to communities in which they live. Men who strive mightily for success, but will scorn to do a cowardly, unfair or dishonest act.

Business, like society, is no longer simple. It is no longer conducted by the laymen or individuals, but by corporations, trusts and consolidation. It is no longer the men trained in the old fashioned way that direct the reins of modern organizations, but only the well-equipped and highly trained in Commercial Science will be the leaders and captains of industry and commerce. The man of medium skill depends upon fortunate conditions for success. He can not command it nor can he keep it. The untrained man invites all the tragic possibilities of failure, but the trained man, with his Superior Knowledge will be the successful commercial leader of the future.

To-day the great merchants, manufacturers and bankers have realized the advantages of commercial education and have extended their assistance extensively for the furtherance of this particular object. This spirit has been manifested by the different commercial associations of Bombay, in establishing the department of commerce in connection with the Bombay University. In the west, this subject is one of the compulsory requirements in the high schools and colleges and great attention has been paid to it. Here one example may be cited about the progress and importance of these commercial schools : The School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance in connection with the New York University was established in the early part of 1900 with sixty students and to-day the number of students has gone up to two thousand and sixty. This school to-day has the largest number of students in the world. The following table shows the average increase in the salary of graduates who have acquired the fundamental principles of commerce and trade in this school.



Indeed, there is a special need for education, and for ideals, in commerce and trade because it is the foundation of civilized society. Most of our young men who are studying in different institutions to-day in India have confined themselves mostly to the so-called "learned professions", (law, medicine, etc.,) and they have failed to see the fundamental advantages of other professions, which are equally important in manual labor, in business, in trade and in commerce. The man who day after day works with his hands, runs a machine, keeps books, sells over the counter, works in the bank or manages a great business corporation, becomes a mere drudge, a mere slave to work alone unless he has by superior education had his mind opened to the thoughts and work of other men.

It is the commercial development of England which has made her one of the foremost countries in the world. It is the commercial development of Germany since the Franco-Prussian war which has placed her second to none among the nations. It is her commercial development, which has made the United States of America one of the sisters of the civilized nations, and it is the few decades of commercial development in Japan which has brought her upon the stage of the world's commercial history. India is one of the most backward countries in industry and commerce and she has to realize the unusual opportunities of modern commercialism and has to pay more attention to this branch of education and other technical studies in order to stand well in the eyes of highly developed commercial nations.

Indeed, the growth of business and the spirit of commerce have made this the " commercial age " of the world's history. Commerce and the extension of trade are now the all-potent factors in determining the policies of nations.

THE

Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO:—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH: HAVELL'S INDIAN ARCHITECTURE. *

By Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, D. Sc. (LOND.)

THIS volume of 258 pp. and 178 illustrations is the first serious and extensive contribution to the history of Indian architecture since Fergusson. The opportunity lost in preparing the recent second edition of Fergusson is partly relieved in this third and best of Mr. Havell's books on Indian art. One can hardly too much admire his originality and courage: he has also that intuitive perception of the real unity which appears in all the development of Indian art, indispensible for its proper interpretation. The only true history of art consists in tracing the logical sequence of its development, and the relation of its forms to the modes of thought and feeling expressed in them. This aim is always kept in mind. Mr. Havell has two main theses: to demonstrate that all Indian architecture, whether Hindu or Muhammadan is essentially Indian; and to plead for the intelligent employment of Indian craftsmen and craftsmanship in the building of the New Delhi. These are matters to which the majority of Indian nationalists are superbly indifferent, so that Mr. Havell fights a single—handed battle against accepted archæological traditions and official vested interests. No student of Indian architecture, however, can afford to ignore Mr. Havell's studies. It is probable that official views and interests will prevail at Delhi, since it is almost impossible for a bureaucracy, even with the best intentions, to seriously patronize art or learning: nevertheless the controversy may arouse some Indians to a sense of what they are losing, not merely at Delhi, but still more in the neglect of Indian craftsmanship in their own scheme of life, where the matter lies entirely in their own hands.

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* *Indian Architecture:*—Its Psychology, Structure and History from the first Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day. By E. B. Havell, (John Murray, London) 1913, 30/- net.

In two chapters Mr. Havell discusses Indian pointed arches and domes. From rock-cut sculptures at Ajanta and elsewhere it is evident that structural domed shrines, resembling modern Rajput *chattris*, were built for Buddhists. Again, the great Dravidian *vimanas* of Southern India are likewise in many cases surmounted by characteristic ribbed domes. The main features of these old Buddhist and Hindu domes are the bulbous form (a distinction from the true Saracenic stilted dome); the lotus moulding at the springing of the dome; the inverted lotus (*maha-padma*) above; and the form of the *kalasha* or finial. It is these very features which reappear in the Indian Musalman architecture, and distinguish it from Western Saracenic. In the same way it is shown how the Buddhists and Hindus were early familiar with arched forms—rounded, pointed, and ogee. That they preferred to produce these forms by cutting out of the solid, as in a *chaitya* door, or a monolithic lintel, or by bracket construction, as in the splendid gateway at Dabhoi, does not prove that they were ignorant of the principle of the radiating arch: for the more solid construction is technically preferable where the area to be arched is small, and where suitable stone is available, as was generally the case. There is good reason to suppose that in brickbuilding areas like Bengal—whence the radiating arch probably reached Burma—the radiating principle was understood. At one time, says Mr. Havell, "there must have been thousands of Buddhist chapter houses in Bengal, where their barrel-vaulted roofs and 'horse-shoe' windows, frequently built of brick as well as of wood and plaster or thatch, could hardly have been constructed otherwise than by radiating courses." But even where the radiating arch was not already a local tradition, still the arched forms were familiar in India long before the coming of the Muhammadans: just as arches were used in Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor before the time of Muhammad. The *mihrab* of the Musulman mosque is simply the image niche of a Hindu temple without its image.

By such arguments Mr. Havell shows that Indian architecture should be studied and classified by period and not by diversity of sectarian application. The whole argument is summed up in the bold assertion that "the science of Muhammadan art in India, as well as the inspiration of it, came from the Hindu Silpa-Sâstras." Mr. Havell chooses the Taj Mahal as a test case on which to prove this thesis; not only is the dome of a purely Indian type, but the ground plan is that of the Hindu *panch ratna* form, exemplified in such entirely Indian work as that of Chandi Sewa in Java. It is essentially in surface decoration rather than in the science of construction that Saracenic made a contribution to Indian art. The most important part of this surface decoration takes the form of the calligraphic texts: the origin of the jewelled stone-inlay of the Taj is more in dispute, and for evidence of Indian origin Mr. Havell cites an interesting reference in Tod, who says that Kumbha Rana of Mewar, in 1438, laid the foundation of a Jain temple of which the interior was inlaid with mosaics of cornelian and agate.

"There is not", Mr. Havell claims, "a single type of dome in Indian Muhammadan buildings which is not of indigenous origin or derived from early Buddhist prototypes." Mr. Havell also points out the analogy of the Indo-Aryan Hindu *sikhara* with the Buddhist *stupa* dome: but here the argument loses weight, because the other important, perhaps the most important, factors in the evolution of the *sikhara* are ignored. These factors are derivation of Hindu temple forms for those of cars or chariots (*ratha* or *rathas*) as pointed out by Simpson, and the reduplication of pagoda roofs, traceable to the early custom of crowning Buddhist stupas with royal umbrellas, as pointed out by Professor Macdonnell. The present volume is a very serious contribution to Indian archæology: but it is a pity that Mr. Havell's own impatience, of archæology and archæologists, is so strong that he omits to notice the writings of students such as Simpson and Macdonnell, from whom, moreover, much support could be gathered for the theory of the essential originality in Indian architectural design. Another instance of similar oversight appears in a reference to the origin of the earliest images of Buddha. Mr. Haveli cites Sister Nivedita's valuable note on this subject which appeared in the *Modern Review* for July and August 1910, but does not mention that even Dr. Burgess, writing in the *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. VIII, p. 33, suggests that images of Buddha may have been made in India before the appearance of the Greeko-Buddhist types of Gandhara. In another direction further evidence of the indigenous and essentially Indian character of the foliated arch might have been drawn from the architecture of Buddhist Ceylon, where a low foliated arch, cut out of a single solid wooden lintel, is a constant feature of the narrow doorways of the Kandyan Buddhist monasteries (Cave, *Book of Ceylan*, and my own *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*.)

From the general considerations summarised above, Mr. Havell proceeds, in the bulk of the volume, to make a historical review of Indian architecture from the thirteenth century till now, adopting the principle already laid down that classification by date is a better guide to the development of styles, than a classification based on sectarian lines. This historical description which covers the greater part of surviving Indian buildings, the student must read for himself. One quotation will illustrate Mr. Havell's forcible style and apposite analogies :—

> The oft-quoted phrase that 'the Pathans built like Titans and finished like goldsmiths' conveys an historical fallacy. The Pathans were fighting men, not builders, the building traditions they brought with them into India, called Pathan by Fergusson, were those which Mahmud of Ghazni and his descendants had borrowed from India. These traditions in the course of two centuries had been adapted to the needs of a militant race. Western writers exalt the simple dignity and grandeur of the Pathan tombs in Northern India, to the disparagement of Hindu temple architecture, without pausing to consider that both belong to the Indian building tradition, and that to draw comparsions between their respective architectural merits is like discussing together the different styles of a Norman keep and a Gothic cathedral.

The concluding chapters give some account of the more modern Indian buildings—18th and 19th century—and prove, what Fergusson himself admitted, that a great building tradition survived until recently throughout Hindustan, and locally even to the present day. India is probably the only part of the world where buildings of so much character as the palaces of the Munshi and Ghosla Ghats in Benares could have been erected so late as the middle of the nineteenth century. A very fine example of still more modern work is illustrated in the beautiful little railway station of Alwar, "which puts to shame the banal 'Gothic' terminus at Bombay, and is by far the most artistic in all India. Contrast with this the horribly inappropriate Greek temple which has just been erected in Gwalior, as a General Post Office" !

Perhaps even Mr. Havell does not realise how little the 'educated' Indian of the present day cares about the encouragement of Indian hereditary skill and craftsmanship. Most of us are much worse vandals than the British themselves—at least the same vandalism is a worse thing in ourselves, implying as it does so much of snobbish superficiality and intellectual treachery. It is indeed, the pre-occupation of our successful lawyers and politicians with the ideals of Tooting and Clapham, quite as much as the prejudices or interests which is responsible for the weakness of our case at Delhi. The new Delhi is not likely to be more Anglo-suburban than Baroda !

It is still true, none the less, that a tradition of splendid architecture survives in Rajputana, and (in spite of Gwalior and Baroda) receives sporadic encouragement from Indian princes. I myself believe that it is feeble to hope for more than a superficial patronage of Indian craftsmanship in the official buildings of Imperial Delhi. For one thing, a serious patronage of Indian craftsmanship would be impossible to achieve in a hurry : the master architect of the new Delhi would need to spend many years in India learning the language of Indian architecture, before he could really co-operate with Indian craftsmen. I take it for granted that official Imperial Delhi will be pseudo-Renaissance, or pseudo-Greek, or pseudo-Whitehall as the case may be. There remains such part of the new Delhi as Indians, and especially Indian Princes will build for themselves. This may be a large part of the city, and if we cared to patronize our own arts, might be the most remarkable and beautiful part. The British Government is perhaps really helpless in the matter of the official buildings : for the rest, there is one wise and simple step open, wherein both statesmanship and sympathy could find expression. This step would be to frankly invite the Princes, and other Indians who build in Delhi, to exhibit the indigenous resources, each of his own state. This invitation might give to the Princes and the lawyers a little courage, and might preserve the new city from too close a likeness to the villa streets of London suburbs. There has been much controversy as to what, if any, does actually survive of the building skill and knowledge which Fergusson testifies to have existed in Hindustan fifty years ago. I, at least, believe that so much of it survives as to make it possible for the Rajput princes at any rate, to build magnificently and impressively : for they have at their command resources of inherited skill and local tradition more extensive and varied than could now be found in any other part of the world. But it should be well understood that the last opportunity is passing: unless the Indian arts are cared for now, and by ourselves, another twenty years will see their final disappearance.

So far we have expressed ourselves as in the main in close agreement with Mr. Havell's theses, though he has better hopes for Imperial Delhi than we find it possible to share. Apart from this, it remains to make a few rather serious archæological criticisms on matters of detail. It is sound science to trace the evolution of Indo-Muhammadan types of dome, back to Buddhist and Hindu forms, and to prove, as I think Mr. Havell does prove once for all, the essential originality of Indian architecture. It is most instructive to learn that the Persian name for dome-finials (often of Hindu forms moreover) is *kalsa*, evidently equivalent to the Sanskrit *kalasa*, and to be reminded that much of the architecture of Western Asia is of old Buddhist origin, so that the Muhammadans only brought back to India motifs originally of Indian origin. But it is impossible not to regret the publication of certain unsupported assumptions. Mr. Havell states or implies (p. 81) that the form of the old Buddhist horse-shoe arch (an inappropriate term, certainly, but one that does not commit us to any theory) derives its outer curve from that of a *pipal* leaf, and its inner rounded form from that of a lotus leaf. No shred of evidence is adduced to support these derivations, which are afterwards taken for granted in the constant use of the new terms 'pipal leaf arch' and 'lotus leaf arch'. Elsewhere the pointed arch (p. 15) is called a 'lotus petal arch', with even less justification. In this connection the lotus petal is called the "eye of the gods"—a quite unjustifiable phrase, for to say that all beautiful men and gods are lotus-eyed, is not at all the same thing as saying that a lotus petal or flower is itself an eye or the symbol of an eye.

It is well done to point out that the Indian foliated arch derives its form from the outline of the double aura which constitutes the nimbus of Buddha images (Pl. XXIX C), and that the bracket motif at the springing of Indian arches, Hindu or Muhammadan, is derived from the curve of the *makara's* body as represented in old Buddhist *makara-toran*. But it is an incorrect assumption to say that the grotesque head which occupies the position of keystone in the *makara-torana* is that of a *rakshasa*; it is without any doubt the head of a lion, violently conventionalised, but almost always clearly recognizable when compared with cognate motifs. Apart from a very few actual inaccuracies such as this, the whole volume deserves the high respect of students. Together with his previous works, it should ensure for Mr. Havell the affection of Indians, for few indeed are the western Orientalists who write with so much sympathy; and for others, this volume exhibits, for the first time, clearly the monumental and universal qualities of Indian building, and is calculated to secure for it its due place in the history of architecture.

RUDOLF EUCKEN'S PHILOSOPHY* I.

By Mr. S. S. SURYANARAYANAN, M. A.

A NEW prophet has arisen in Europe, ranking in intellectual stature with Bergson and Harnack. His name is Rudolf Eucken and he is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Jena. For years his influence has been growing. In 1908 he received the Nobel Prize for Literature. His pupils are found from Iceland in the North to New Zealand in the South, from Japan in the East to Britain and America in the West. His books have been translated into several European languages. His greatest works, enumerated in the foot-note to this article, are now to be had in English.

Nothing is more characteristic of the present century than the rapid growth of the special sciences. So much indeed have they advanced that there seems to be nothing left out of their field and hardly any room for a metaphysics in the Aristotelian sense. Systems of philosophy have nothing to do and cannot justify their existence. Philosophy has been degraded from the proud position which she once occupied as queen of the sciences and relegated to the realm of Nescience.

The Life of the Spirit: An Introduction to Philosophy. By Rudolf Eucken (Williams and Norgate, London) 1909.

The Meaning and Value of Life. By Rudolf Eucken. (Adam and Charles Black, London) 1909.

Christianity and the New Idealism. By Rudolf Eucken. (Harper and Brothers, London) 1909.

The Problem of Human Life: As Viewed by Great Thinkers from Plato to the Present Time. By Rudolf Eucken (T. Fisher Unwin, London) 1910.

Life's Basis and Life's Ideal: The Fundamentals of a New Philosophy of Life. By Rudolf Eucken. (Adam and Charles Black, London) 1911.

Main Currents of Modern Thought: A Study of the Spiritual and Intellectual Movements of the Present Day. By Rudolf Eucken. (T. Fisher Unwin, London) 1912.

The Truth of Religion. By Rudolf Eucken. (Williams and Norgate London) 1911. Revised and Enlarged edition, 1913.

Naturalism or Idealism? By Rudolf Eucken. (W. Heffer and Sons Ltd, Cambridge) 1913.

Present-Day-Ethics: Being the Deem Lectures Delivered at New York University By Rudolf Eucken. (Williams and Norgate, London) 1914.

Knowledge and Life. By Rudolf Eucken. (Williams and Norgate, London) 1914 (The above are the English translations of Rudolf Eucken's works from German; the following are some of the best expository works in English).

Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy of Life. By W. R. Boyce Gibson (Adam and Charles Black, London) 1907.

Eucken and Bergson: Their significance for Christian Thought By Mrs. Hermann (The Pilgrim Press, Boston, U. S. A.) 1912.

Rudolf Eucken: His Philosophy and Influence, By Meyrick Booth. (T. Fisher Unwin, London) 1913.

An Interpretation of Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy. By W. Tudor Jones. (Williams and Norgate, London) 1912.

Eucken. By Abel J. Jones (Jack, London) 1913.

Anyone, therefore, who aims to set up as a philosopher to-day, has first to establish the necessity and possibility of a philosophical system. He has to find for it some work other than that adopted by the social sciences, some problem which they cannot successfully tackle. He must show, in short, that life is not and cannot be exhausted by the special sciences and that it presents many problems demanding a philosophical solution. This is what Eucken proceeds to do in the first instance.

The earliest known solution of the problems of human life is offered by religion. Our world is full of imperfections. It is disconnected, it is fleeting, it entails suffering to humanity. All these, however, are not irremediable. Earthly satisfaction, perhaps, we may not have. But in that other world to which this is but a preparation, all the miseries of our finitude shall be transcended. Our life is but a preparation, a fiery ordeal to be successfuly undergone, before we reach the haven of bliss. The kingdom of God makes up for the imperfections of the kingdom of man.

The religious solution fails to satisfy men at the present day. The world of Nature is not, after all, so unpromising. Matter is not so gross as it was imagined to be. On the contrary, its subtleties, in some cases, baffle either comprehension or description. The growth of Science makes us aware of manifold, novel aspects of Nature and allows a possibility of solving all problems without appeal to another world. The belief in this other world is also seriously shaken. It is at best a postulate and the postulation would seem to be unnecessary. The sacrifice of a transcendental world of Spirit to an ever-present world of Matter would seem to be the natural conclusion. This is, however, averted temporarily, by Immanental Idealism which declares Spirit to be present in Matter. Spiritual values are not distinct from material values. Spirit and matter are but two aspects of the same reality or different stages of one process. Metaphysics can justify its existence by treating of Spirit as Spirit, while the special sciences treat of Matter as Matter. Those who see the soul of Spirit in things materials and in every evil a blessing in disguise, have, indeed, realised the Supreme, and become free for ever from the miseries of this world.

The solution is, in a sense, aristocratic, since such mystic insight can be possessed or acquired only by a few. Secondly, the solution seems to confuse good and bad and so render the distinction between them invalid. How else are we to understand the at oneness of Spirit and Matter, either as aspects of one reality or stages in one process ? In the absolute, all thing fuse. "The divine had developed its power and depth in opposition to the world ; will it retain that power and that depth when the opposition ceases ; will not the renunciation of supremacy, the fusion with things, rob it of all distinctive content ?"

(*Life's Basis and Life's Ideal*, p. 21.)

Immanent Idealism identifies the divine and the human at one stroke. The transition is too easily effected, whereas in religion, it was felt to be too difficult. Neither solution can give satisfaction.

The next step is to give up Spirit, once for all, and hold fast to Nature. All that is attributed to Spirit must be understood as Nature's handiwork. The good, the beautiful and the true, belong not to a supersensual, but to the material world. They are the products of evolution in accordance with the principle of survival of the fittest. Whatever has been most useful to humanity, in the past, has been preserved for us in one of the above three forms.

Naturalism ought not to be confounded with natural science. Indeed, the two are opposed. For Naturalism, the intellect is an epiphenomenon, of no dynamic value, whatsoever. Such a view, however, makes natural science impossible.Science is not a mere agglomerate of facts impressed by external reality upon a *tabula rasa*. It is a systematic comprehension and description of facts in the light of a subjective hypothesis. Thought and reality cannot be divorced in science. It is by their mutual interaction alone that Science becomes possible. The denial of efficiency of thought means, therefore, the impossibility of Natural Science and hence, in a sense, the impossibility of Naturalism itself, since it is based on nothing else so firmly as the enormous progress and capabilities of Science.

Mechanical psychology is, to a large extent, responsible for this confusion. There can be no knowledge without the active interference of thought. Our mind is not a *tabula rasa*. It cannot take in impressions indifferently. We can know only that which we are prepared to know, only that which answers to our interest, or fits in with our apperceptive system. The very attempt to renounce Spirit and return to Nature shows man's independence of Nature. "It evinces a mental disposition radically different from anything that mere Nature can produce." "To a thoroughgoing Naturalism, Naturalism itself is logically impossible." Naturalism in its development, everywhere pre-supposes the subject. "How could we conceive of culture, how could we even conceive of its existence, if thought never freed itself from the impressions of sense, and proceeded to re-act on them ?"

The identification of the good, the beautiful and the true with the barely useful, deprives the former of all value. The doctrine is contradicted by human experience. So much that is true or beautiful is not useful (in the naturalistic sense of forwarding survival) and so much that is useful is neither true nor beautiful. If truth, beauty and goodness had no valid existence independent of utility, how came the three to be distinguished at all ? Does not the distinction presuppose the existence in the former of extraneous matter, valuable in itself, serving to distinguish them from utility and from among themselves ? The good, again, cannot be the product of natural evolution. The ethical process, as Huxley said, is opposed to the cosmical process. The moral ideal is not the survival of the fittest, but the fitting of as many as possible to survive. Naturalism is a decided failure.

The material world thus disappointing us, we turn to the strictly human sphere. The good of the community appears as a noble and satisfying ideal;

Social good ought to dominate over individual interests. Human suffering is due to the following up of selfish considerations. When those get subordinated to the supreme ideal, all evil appears to be but a phase (an inevitable phase) of human progress. The good, the beautiful, and the true are to be prescribed by society, determined by the opinion of the mass. The right conduct for man is to adapt himself to and live in the light of these ideals.

This doctrine, again, fails to recognise the value of the individual. The socialists forget that the noblest achievements of humanity have originated in single individuals. « Even socialism, in the narrower sense, has to thank but a few men for its vital power and character, as, for example, Marx ; the masses are, indeed, a condition and an environment, but never as such, the bearers of creative activity.'' (*Life's Basis and Life's Ideal* p. 56)

Socialism makes the mass the standard of truth and culture. This, however, is not, in practice, justified. Truth has to be found in the individual, not in the mass. The opinions of the mass are proverbially fluctuating. What individuality a mob has, is given to it by the leader of the moment. Apart from him, the mob can have no consolidated opinion. The socialistic standard will serve only to shatter our ideals. Our best and noblest have been attained not by submitting to the mass, but by striving with and converting it. The ideal is always the creation of the individual and the mob is made to adopt it by the pressure of the creator's personality. The shifting quicksands of socialism afford no stable basis for a philosophy of life.

The spectacle of crass humanity is sickening and throws the individual back upon himself. He is led to seek in himself what he failed to find in society. An artistic life of pleasure seems to be the best imaginable. To surround one-self with the best productions of genius in all ages and departments and to spend one's days in constant contemplation of them—what other life could be happier ? "Everything which places the development of life under universal standards and through these limits that development, is rejected as an unwarrantable limitation and an intolerable restriction......One moment may not be sacrificed to another......every moment should be an end in itself and with this, life is considered as being solely in the present.'' [Op. cit. pp. 66—67.] Aesthetic Individualism, however, deprives life of its meaning. There can be neither purpose nor ideal in such a life, for everything beyond the individual is purposely excluded. The result is the dissolution of personality into a succession of states of passive awareness. Life becomes empty, being deprived of matter from without. As for matter within, there is very little of it, even in strongly marked personalaties. Individualism dissolves the individual and, hence, cannot serve as an explanation.

The same unsatisfactoriness of philosophical solutions may be noted with reference to particular problems. The problem of the one and the many, for instance, has for long been defying solution. The many, as such, are isolated. Until they get into relation with one another, life must remain valueless. The happiest life (either individual or social) is one wherein all the elements steadily co-operate. Such co-operation we do have, to a certain extent. But there are also disruptions, these being more numerous than the former. This necessitates the search for a permanent basis of reality. This is found by some in an infinite, all embracing Absolute. The Absolute takes up and transcends all individual differences. Disconnections and disruptions are but apparent and need not dishearten us. They are but transient phases of the Absolute unity. We are assured of "central peace abiding at the heart of endless agitation." To this, there is the formidable objection, that in the presence of the Absolute, the individual wilts and droops. Its calm and unity are valueless for our purposes, since they pertain only to the whole and not to parts. But connection and disconnection alike are meaningless with reference to the Absolute, for in homogeneous whole, what is there to be connected ?

We, thus, see that while relation is indispensable for the struggle with the external world, separation and individuality are equally essential from the subjective point of view. How to reconcile these two requisites and make them co-exist is a problem still to be solved.

The problem of change and persistence also awaits solution. Amid the fleeting presentations of this world we seek for some persistent, permanent reality, but do not find it. The absence of such a persistent element has the effect of discouraging human endeavour. For, where everything is changing, what is the use of work ? We ourselves are transitory. Much more so our works. We can never hope to produce any permanent beneficial result. Further, how can we be sure that what is beneficial at one moment may not be baneful the next ?

Recourse is had once again to the infinite. The Absolute alone is real and it is timeless, unchanging, eternal. Our works as expressions of the Absolute, may also have a permanent character. This theory, however, does not help us much. As has been said above, it does away with individuality. And apart from individuality, how can there be any work ? A further difficulty is that Absolutism fails of its own purpose. It was called in to provide human activity with a sufficiently strong basis. It declares, instead, human action to be unreal, for it is in time whereas the Absolute is a temporal. Bare change and bare persistence are equally unsatisfactory and a compromise has to be effected.

The problem of truth, again, presents similar difficulties. Truth was supposed to stand for the correspondence of thought and object. Such correspondence, however, is untestable. It would appear, therefore, that we can never know the truth. To avail this difficulty the test of truth was declared to be self-consistency. But error may also be self-consistent. It will not do to spirit away objectivity. If the subjective side is ignored, once again, there is no question of truth. Truth lies essentially in a relation between subject and object. It must be, therefore, present in and yet transcend both.

Similar contradictions beset the solution of the problem of happiness. In fact, wherever we turn, we find the present philosophical situation to be intolerable. There is a crying need for a philosophy of compromise, philosophy of life. Eucken's method is noological. It starts neither with bare subject nor bare object, neither bare particular nor bare universal, but with each in relation to the other. Starting with an initial dualism we can never get to a satisfactory duality. The world is the scene of a combat between gross Matter and pure Spirit. Man tries to conquor his environment and make it spiritual. This, by himself, he is not able to do. Spiritual centres are too scarce and too weak in this world of matter. The work of the spirit can be carried on at all, only because of man's relation to and infinite spiritual life, transcending time. Man succeeds in his life-work in proportion as he appropriates more and more of the infinite life. In man, two tendencies meet, the material and the spiritual. And he has to decide which side he is to ally himself with. The movement of the world is progressive and the more man appropriates of this spiritual life, the more he will be able to further this process of evolution. In allying ourselves with the Spirit and forwarding the world's progress lies true freedom. The service of God is perfect freedom.

The duality of subject and object is got over in action, conscious, purposive action, inspired by an ideal. "The duality itself first appears as the mode through which a personal unity attains to its own self-realisation......It is indigenous to the action. It is both grounded within it and overcome within it" (Rudolf Eucken's *Philosophy of Life*). "The reconciliation is here achieved within the very action that brought the opposition into being."

The solution is based on a particular theory of knowledge known as Activism. Like Voluntarism and Progmatism, this theory insists on the emptiness of the bare intellect and the importance of action in knowing reality. It is in and through action that we come into direct contact with reality and intelligence has value only as directing action. Life and its needs must constitute the test of reality, not the demands of the bare intellect. Thought and life are intimately connected and the failure to recognise this connexion is responsible for much of the disputes among philosophers. Activism, however, is not identical with Pragmatism. Truth is truth not because it is useful. We can only say that truth is known through beneficial self-activity.—(*To be concluded.*)

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE'S POETRY.*

By "H. C."

THE publication of the English translations of the Bengali poems of Rabindra Nath Tagore—rendered by the poet himself (a unique adventure, since he has not until very recently seriously dressed his ideas in a foreign garb) has made his name familiar all over Europe and America and has claimed the attention of Cabinet Ministers equally with the Balkan war. Almost all the leading journals in England and America have reviewed the books, heaping glowing panegyrics on its simplicity of language, its chisselled beauty of expression, and its abiding poetic charm. No translation of any oriental work—not even that of the immortal *Sakuntala*—has ever aroused so much enthusiasm or elicited such a deep-hearted response in circles which have inherited literary traditions. And yet the books are a conglomeration of fragments—too loose in structure to convey the great architectonic powers of the poet—too familiar to express adequately his marvellous art—too much on well-known levels to bear sufficient testimony to the supreme efflorescence of his spirit. Moreover being a translation, it is the wrong side of the tapestry, unable to represent properly the abounding affluence of emotion with which the original is permeated. It does not flash any message like the works of Whitman—nor does it contain any philosophy to stir the depths of thought. Has it then been flung upon the world at a psychological moment? Does its accents swell above the triumphant march of science trampling upon the tenderest susceptibilities, above the ruthless din of commerce indifferent to life's higher aims—above the hurly burly and haphazard scramble of modern competition, careless of the larger aspects of things? Does it give us a glimpse beyond the clamorous visions of materialistic progress, of a more ethereal realm of which the human spirit also claims citizenship? What is the incalculable felicity that it clasps? What is the divine spell that has influenced so many men steeped in the purest atmosphere of culture to speak in the most fervent terms of these books? Let the following extracts answer

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* The Gitanjali. By abindra Natn Tagore. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd. London) 1913.
The Gardener. By Rabindra Nath Tagore. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd. London) 1913.
The Crescent Moon. By Rabindra Nath Tagore. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd. London) 1913.

> But beneath and about it all is this spirit of curious quiet. We have found our new Greece suddenly. As the sense of balance came back upon Europe in the days before the Renaissance, so it seems to me does this sense of saner stillness come now to us in the midst of our clangour of mechanims.......I am not saying this hastily, or in an emotional flurry, nor from a love of brandishing statement. I have had a month to think it over. There is the same sort of common sense in the first part of the New Testament, the same happiness in some of the psalms......Rabindra Nath Tagore has done well for his nation in these poems. He has well served her foreign office. He has given us a beauty that is distinctly oriental, and yet it is almost severe, it is free from that lusciousness, that overprofusion, which in so much south-oriental work repels us. His work is, above all things, quiet. It is sunny, *Apricus*, 'fed with sun, delighting in sunlight.' (Ezra Pound in the *Fortnightly Review* for March 1913.)

> "Since the Hebrew scriptures and the Greek testament were translated into the English Bible no finer transfusion of the genius of other or Eastern tongues into that of the Western world has been effected.........So far finally as one may venture on a contemporary estimate from this side of the world, it may be said that nothing has come to these shores of late years in the way of poetry from abroad that can compare with these Indian songs. Their imagination and melody touched with human feeling and spiritually fired are of a quality unlike anything we have had in this or the last generation. Indeed one is tempted to go further and to say that they are among the few really

> important things that have happened in poetry within the overlapping terms of two centuries, the nineteenth and the twentieth; while the message they bear to the Western world amounts to a spiritual revelation. (Earnest Rhys in the *Nineteenth Century* for April 1913.)

This is certainly the language of hyperbole, but of reasoned hyperbole, of hyperbole weighed and appraised. Europe, whatever she might say in her pride of conquest and far-flung empire, would never be able to divest herself of the insistent glamour of the East. The call of the Orient will keep sounding—the call to the West tied to the racing chariot of Mammon, which as it whirls along crushes the noblest part of life, the call to come back to the shining path, to turn aside for a while and gaze upon the primal relation of God and Man stripped of mask and mesh and mummery. The modern world which had thought that it had not only studied but left behind all religions—that it had explored and mastered all the obscurest systems—that it had put together as in a casket all the spiritual truths which have radiated their beams to the uttermost corners, here finds a fountain of everlasting light set above the "howling senses' ebb and flow." It stands fascinated at the poet's clairvoyance which, through the triple steel of artificial circumstance, makes the iridescence of the inner soul shimmer out.

The genesis of the greater poems has been eloquently described by the distinguished poet himself in his *Jiban Smriti* (Reminiscences). This autobiographic fragment is one of the best pieces in the style of imaginative prose. Space will not permit of any extracts—and we must reluctantly bow to the tyrant's decree. But the studious avoidance of all erotic anecdotes leaves us a trifle disenchanted. The salt and relish of picturesque narrative of the most intimate human relations is sadly missed. The aureole of love does not bend over its pages: Cupid does not smite the harp of life and end in a crash. The ideal autobiography, to my mind, is the midway point between the memoirs of Cellini and Rousseau--glowing with the root passions, dealing cruel blows to 'high heels of convention, nor dissembling kinship with the four-footed,' and the sketches of Gibbon and Mill, simple, clear-cut, intellectualised gems. With this reservation the Reminiscences of Rabindra Nath Tagore will stand out as one of the enduring land-marks of Bengali literature.

In Raja Ram Mohan Roy's time India appeared restless, troubled, divided, palpitating with the barbed arrows of modern learning, not knowing which way to turn, whether to array itself in the new light raying forth from over far-off seas, or to shrink into its immemorial quietism heedless of the dissolution of the old order. Rabindra Nath Tagore, summing up the age, open's Europe's eyes not to a people adrift on a wrecked ocean, but steady, balanced, firm—developed from the struggle, hardened from the combat—in repose after the turmoil, in almost ambrosial peace after the tremendous upheaval—with final estimates, adjustments and aspirations in the greater spheres of thought. He leaves his native shore for the magic West dignified in manners, versed in foreign tongues, yet full of the ancient learning, a gentleman, a scholar, a poet, a musician and comes back crowned with supreme recognition, dowered with the love of all the nations of the western world. He returns to his golden clime—not merely as a voice with the doom of Echo hanging over him—but a triumphant personality leaving his spirit's strenuous impress on the religious thought of Europe and America.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ISLAM IN SPAIN AND EGYPT.

Spanish Islam : A History of the Moslems in Spain. By Reinhart Dozy. Translated with a Biographical Introduction and Additional Notes. By Francis Griffin Stokes. (Chatto and Windus, London) 1913 21*s.* net.

Arabic Spain. By Bernard and Ellen Whishaw. (Smith, Elder & Co., 15 Watertoo Place, London.) 1913. Price 10*s* 6*d*.

Veiled Mysteries of Egypt. By S. H. Leeder. (George Bell and Sons, Ltd, London) 1913. Price 7*s* 6*d*.

The Man of Egypt. By C. S. Cooper. (Hodder and Stoughton, London) 1913. Price 3*s* 6*d*.

THE story of the Arabs in Spain—their successes and failures, their conquests and achievements, their eventual deterioration and final expulsion—is one of the most fascinating and moving in all human history, and though there is a fairly large literature on the subject, yet it is admitted on all hands that no one so far has done so full a justice to it as the great Dutch historian, Dozy, who wrote however, in French, with a view evidently to command a larger audience. Reinhart Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, by which, to use the words of *The Cambridge Modern History*, the author "brought order into the chaotic and legendary history of the Moors in Spain," is something more than a "history"; it is a notable piece of literature. While the student finds it crammed with illuminating facts gathered at first hand by a great orientalist from Arabic sources, the general reader is fascinated by the vivacity of the style and the romantic interest of the episodes. It is not too much to say that Dozy's work is characterised by much of Froude's charm, and none of his inaccuracy. Though written on strictly scientific lines, it reads more like a romance than a dry-as-dust history. Dozy went direct to the Arabic fountain-heads, and his work has never been superseded; he is, in fact, the Gibbon of mediæval Spain. New discoveries may in the future supplement his work, but they cannot diminish its value. Dozy did himself supplement, and in a very few instances correct, his history by the publication, in 1881, of the third edition of his *Recherches sur l' Histoire et la Littérature de l' Espagne pendant le Moyen Age*, which is not a continuous work, but a series of notes and disquisitions on various historical problems of the epoch. The few passages, therefore, in the *Recherches* which correct the *Histoire* are embodied in the text or notes of Mr. Stokes' translation. The German version (1874), containing corrections by the historian, has also been consulted throughout. In the notes, too, are cited relevant passages from more recent writers, who usually, however, quote Dozy as their authority. The publishers—whom we heartily congratulate on their enterprise—rightly believe that it is not making too high a claim to assert that to the serious student of early European history, who is unversed in Arabic, a thorough knowledge of Dozy's great work is indispensable; while to the general reader, but slightly acquainted with the subject, the book is a revelation. That is also the reason for its finding, at last, an English translator. It has waited fifty-two years for this distinction, though it came to its own in German not long after its French publication. In our opinion an English translation was eminently desirable and the one, now under notice, will interest many who would never think of searching for the now scarce French original. Something is necessarily lost in any translation from so subtle a language as French, but Mr. Stokes has been amazingly successful in his task. He has prudently avoided the snares of a literal rendering, and has boldly transformed Dozy's meaning into vigorous English. In fact, the book does not smack of French at all, but reads as if it had been written from the first in English and this is about the highest praise to offer. Nor is its literary excellence attained by any sacrifice of scholarly accuracy. The Arabic names are scientifically spelt and the notes, if slightly popularised are not sacrificed but augmented. An excellent biographical sketch of the author is affixed and a good map, a fairly comprehensive bibliography of the subject and, last but not least, a carefully-compiled index, all contribute to add to the value of this most fascinating history. Though Dozy's book does not go beyond the eleventh century and centres mainly round the rise and fall of the Spanish Khalifate, yet, for the period it covers, it is an acknowledged classic and masterpiece and in its excellent English garb and handsome get-up should command a very large audience in the English-knowing world.

Mr. and Mrs. Whishaws' *Arabic Spain* is a welcome addition to the existing histories dealing with Moslem Spain. It throws new light on her history and art. The authors have made the most of their long stay in Seville. Although handicapped by their ignorance of Arabic, they have had other advantages of long residence and an intimate knowledge of many places, people and things, not easily accessible to foreigners merely visiting Spain. They have taken pains to compare the statements of different historians, both Arabic and European, and where these contradict each other, they have even ventured to offer independent judgment, fortifying their arguments by internal evidence, and have exhibited critical faculty in the elucidation of the Arabo-Spanish history and art. From the title one would expect that they would traverse the whole field of entire Moslem Spain but they largely limit their "side-lights" to Seville, the centre of Yemenite art and civilisation, on which they are well qualified to speak by reason of their local residence and knowledge. The general reader will find it hard to wade through the book, as it is full of dry facts and long quotations, interspersed with art criticism; but the student of archæology and art will be amply repaid by its perusal. The book begins with a learned Introduction which gives us a glimpse of the line of elucidation adopted by the authors. The first chapter is entitled "Christianity under Islam" which is very readable. "The Christian Church", the authors say, "had a continuous, and so far as can be gathered a vigorous existence, not only during the Moslem domination in Spain, but also in Morocco for nearly a hundred and fifty years, after Islam had lost the whole of Spain except the kingdom of Granada. This fact alone shows that there can have been little or no persecution, for the sturdiest faith could hardly have survived for five or six hundred years, had any persistent attempt been made to stamp it out". The history of the descendants of Witiza, the Gothic king who immediately preceded Roderick, is detailed in two chapters. It is very interesting to follow the fortunes of the Muwallad families sprung from the Gothic princess Sara and her two Moslem husbands, Isa Ibn Muzahim and Omar Ibn Zaid Al-Lakhmi. The Gothic-Yemenite alliances gave to the world men of letters as well as men of war. In another chapter is traced the influence of the Cops in Spain. The treatment meted out to the Christians and Muwallads under Abdur Rahman III and his successors including Almansar, the Yemenite Wazir, is outlined in three successive chapters. Then follows the story of Hisnam II, the mysterious Cordoran Galiph, the accounts of whose resuscitation are dwelt at almost tedious length and the authors have been studious enough to give every available version of it. The rest of the Arabo-Spanish history is dealt in five chapters. Then begins an interesting stage in the history, and the relations of Al-Ahmar, the founder of the Nasrite dynasty of Granada, with San Fernando of Castile form the subject of a chapter. After the subjugation of Seville, the Andalucian states came under the sway of Fernando. The wise and liberal policy adopted by Fernando and his son Alfonso X towards his newly-conquered subjects is treated under the heading "Islam under Christianity" which forms, as it were, a companion chapter to the first one entitled "Christianity under Islam". The influence of Egypt and the Coptic Church upon the life and art of the Sevillians is traced in a separate chapter. The book concludes with a chapter on "The Industries of Andalucia under Islam". There is a valuable appendix at the end of the book and the geneological tables throw light on the tangled history of the Gotho-Arabic dynasties. The authors have taken infinite pains to trace the development of Arabic art in Seville. The illustrations which mostly allude to Gothic, Mozarabic, and Coptic architecture throw interesting side-lights on the blending of the various schools of art. They do not, however, face the pages wherein allusions are made to them. The authors seem to be quite at home when dealing with the subject of Andalucian art and their comments and criticism are most scholarly. It is these which give intrinsic value to the book. Students of Arabian history and art will do well to study it.

Mr. Leeder's *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt* has, we notice, roused a keen controversy in the missionary circles in Europe and America, and we are not surprised at it; for perhaps no book brought out during the current century by a Christian about a Mussalman country, has been so outspoken in its appreciation of the customs and the creed of the people dealt with. Mr. Leeder criticises in his preface the writings of the missionaries, particularly the works of Rev. W. St. Clair-Tisdall, Mr. Samuel Zwemer and Mr. W. H. T. Gairdner. *The Religion of the Crescent* by the first of these, Mr. Leeder regards—and, we think, rightly so—as "a heartless book, for all its scholarship." Mr. Zwemer "is another prolific writer" whose works are characterized by "cruel and relentless attacks on Islam." Mr. Gairdner's *Reproach of Islam*—as the very name implies—is "lacking in.........human affection." Mr. Leeder deservedly differentiates from this group the American scholar Dr. Duncan Black Macdonald—whose learned and luminous works on Islam have been appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*—and Mr. C. F. Andrews of Delhi, too well-known to our readers to need any introduction. All this will indicate the sympathetic insight with which the author is endowed. We hold no brief for him and are not prepared to say that at places he has not in his enthusiasm outrun his sense of just appraisal of historical facts and analysis of the religious tenets of Islam as are found to exist in modern Egypt. But after a careful perusal of the work we make bold to assert that no more profoundly luminous a study of the sociological conditions of the Mussalmans of Egypt has seen the light since the publication of that great classic—Lane's *Modern Egyptians*—in the forties of the last century. Withal it is a very comprehensive book. Its four parts—subdivided into many chapters—deal respectively with "Moslem Life in Town and Village," "Reflections and Observations in the Mosques," "Great Feasts and Festivals," and "The Great Question of Islam as interpreted by the Moslems themselves." All the essays—for each chapter practically constitutes a separate disquisition—are not only learned but luminous, not only interesting but instructive. They comprise a wealth of material—rich and rare—such as is not available about the Mussalmans of any other country, in so compact and handy a form as is available in Mr. Leeder's book. Similar books about the Hindus and Indian Musalmans would be valuable acquisitions to Anglo-Indian literature, provided, of course—and a big proviso that—we could get as competent and sympathetic observers and writers as is Mr. Leeder. The value of the letter-press is enhanced by its being embellished with a large number of most excellent photographic reproductions. Altogether, Mr. Leeder's *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt* is a remarkable work and it should appeal to all interested in the study, appreciation or solution of the great international problems connected with Islam and Mussalmans. To us in India the book is, therefore, of all the more interest.

Yet one more series of books dealing with the rising generations in some of the best-known oriental nations and all written by one author—we need not add, an American! The series is designated as "The Coming Men" and the first volume—the one under notice—deals with *The Man of Egypt*. The author's stay in Egypt was about twelve weeks, but he claims that the shortness of his sojourn saved him from "the depressing sense of bafflement which often confuses the person who has spent many solstices in an eastern land, and also perhaps from the faults and prejudices of certain writers upon countries other than their own, who, as the Australian poet would say, know not only quite enough, but rather too much." The book is fairly comprehensive and is exceedingly well-written, about the only criticism we have to offer being to the incorporation in the body of the text of whole pages of statistics, instead of their being relegated to appendices, abstracted and condensed into conveniently-arranged tabular statements for purposes of reference. As it is they not unoften distract the reader's attention and to that extent detract from the interest of the book. For the rest we have nothing but praise for the author's performance and his work forms a useful complement to Mr. Leeder's *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt*, noticed above. Whereas Mr. Leeder confines himself to the religious and spiritual aspects of Islam in Egypt, Mr. Cooper's object "is to give to the person who stays at home as well as to the prospective Egyptian traveller a brief and, if possible, an unbiassed idea of the coming man in Egypt in his industrial, educational, political and religious awakenings." In the task he has undertaken the author has succeeded remarkably well and students of what is called "Egyptian Nationalism" might do worse than devote themselves to a careful perusal of Mr. Cooper's *The Man of Egypt*, which is not only interesting and attractive—being well-got-up and illustrated—but informative and instructive.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan. By Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Kt. M. A., D. L., Ph. D. Third Edition, Revised. (S. K. Lahiri & Co., 56 College Street, Calcutta) 1913. Price Rs. 10.

Hindu Woman's Estate. By Bhagwan Das Siruya, B. A., LLB., (Butterworth & Co., [India] Ltd., Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1913. Price Rs. 10.

Hindu Law: As Interpreted by the Judges in India and the Privy Council. By C. S. Ramakrishna, B L. Vol. II. (20 South Brahmin Street, Chitrakulam, Mylapore, Madras) 1913. Price Rs 7-8.

The Law of Joint Property and Partition in British India. By Ram Charan Mitra, M. A. B. L. Second Edition, (R. Cambray & Son, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1913. Price Rs. 10.

The Insanity of Passion and Crime. By L. Forbes Winslow. (Heath, Cranton and Ousley, Ltd, London). 1913. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.

Caste in Courts. By L. T. Kikani. (Gantra Printing Works, Rajkot, Kathiawar) 1913. price Rs. 3.

The Law Relating to Bad Livelihood. By Sripati Roy, Bar-at-law. (Bar Library, High Court, Calcutta) 1913. Price Rs. 4.

The Law of Benami Transactions. By C. S. Somanath Sastri B. L. and P. Ramanath Iyer, B. L. (Law Printing House, Madras,) 1913. Price Rs. 3.

The Specific Relief Act. Edited by (Rai Bahadur) Mahim Chandra Sarkar. Second edition. (Rai M. C. Sarkar Bahadur & Sons, 75 Harrison Road, Calcutta), 1913. Price Rs. 4.

The Indians Arms Act Manual. By (Rai Sahib) G. K. Roy. Second Edition. (Lahore), 1913. Price Rs. 6.

The Law of Obligations in British India. Vol. I, Part I. By S. Vencatachariar, B. A. M. L. (P. R. Rama Iyer & Co. Madras) 1913. Price Rs. 2.

First Triennial Supplement to the Revenue Reports of Agra and Oudh, (1910-12). By M. Banke Bihari and M. Nirt Behari Mathur. (Nazair Kanun Hind Press, Allahabad) 1913. Price Rs. 4.

On its first appearance, in 1879, the Tagore Law Lectures of Dr. (now Sir) Gooroo Dass Banerjee, on the *Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan,* at once took their place as the standard work on the subject. A second edition was called for in 1896, and we have much pleasure now in according a hearty welcome to the third, revised and enlarged, edition, which has just been published in a handsome volume by the well-known and enterprising firm of Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co. It is now almost a new work, having been thoroughly overhauled and carefully revised and recast in the light of the decision, published since the appearance of the last edition. It now forms the most comprehensive exposition of the subject—at once learned and luminous—and will long occupy the rank of a classic in Anglo-Indian legal literature. As a matter of fact, it would be a mistake to regard it as a treatise on law, pure and simple; for it is even in a larger measure a scientific work on one of the most important groups of sociological problems. It has also a practical value to those seeking after social reform and progress, whose hands will be materially strengthened by the liberal views expounded by the erudite author, which favour lines of action which the social reformers desire to bring about in the matter of fusion of sub-castes by intermarriages amongst their members. For all these reasons a warm welcome will be extended to Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee's book by the lawyer, the judicial officer, the sociologist and the social reformer.

Mr. Bhagwan Das Sirbya's *Hindu Woman's Estate* is a valuable contribution to the literature of Anglo-Hindu law. It is, within its limits, a fairly comprehensive sketch of the subject and the exposition is lucid. The principles have been carefully analysed by the author and their underlying elements have been critically examined with a view to determining the proper limits of their applicability, which are illustrated by reported cases published upto August 1913. The author has devoted special attention to points which arise in determining the nature and extent of necessity and in granting specific reliefs, as also in the powers of a female heir in the matter of alienation and her rights generally, while the sphere of rights and remedies of a reversioner have been fully dealt with and clearly explained. Nor is the important subject of proofs and pleadings overlooked; on the contrary, it is specially detailed and discussed throughout. Both, therefore, as an excellent and fully up-to-date digest of the voluminous case law on and as a thoroughly systematic exposition of the sujbect, the book deserves a warm aknowledgement from all practitioners and judges. Its get-up is very neat.

The first volume of Mr. C. S. Ramakrishna's *Hindu Law* was noticed by us in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review* of January 1912. In our notice of the preceding volume we characterized the striking features and plan of the book and we have much pleasure in now offering our congratulations to the author on the completion of the work he had undertaken. The second and concluding volume keeps to the lines laid down in the first but deals with the subjects of Alienation, Partition, Inheritance and Succession, Gifts, Wills, Impartible Estates, Woman's Estate, Minority and Guardianship, Religious and Charitable endowments, Stridhana, and Custom. Thus the present volume exhausts almost the whole range of subjects treated as Anglo-Hindu law in our courts and deals with them—as did it first volume—in a systematic and lucid way. Each subject is dealt with as a separate whole and is for the sake of clearness sub-divided into minor groups. While the primary object of the book is to offer a well arranged summary of the codeless myriads of precedents, the discussion of general principles is steadily kept in view, with the result that the work is of great value both to the busy practitioner as also to the student of Hindu jurisprudence. The work, as a whole, is exhaustive and will lighten the labours of our judges and lawyers. It deserves, therefore, a warm appreciation in the legal world.

Mr. Ram Charan Mitra's Tagore Law Lectures 1895-96 on *The Law of Joint Property and Partition in British India* took its rank, on its first publication, in 1897, as the standard work on the subject. We, therefore, welcome its second edition, recently brought out by the author. It goes without saying that in the long interval that has elapsed since the first edition saw the light, the case-law on the subject has increased enormously, while the Legislature also has made new provisions for the partition of revenue-paying estates. The author has, therefore, done well to so re-cast the book as to make it practically a new work. He has discussed the underlying principles of the subject in the light of the authoritative decisions up-to-date. In the first part the author lucidly deals with the subject of joint property amongst Hindoos and Mussalmans and in the second he sketches out clearly the principles governing partition amongst members of the two communities, and also the general law of the partition in the various provinces. In an appendix he has collected in a compact form the statute law on the subject as embodied in the Code of Civil Procedure and in the provincial codes. Altogether the book is singularly exhaustive and up-to-date and in its present form it is bound to maintain its position as the one indispensable work on the subject it deals with.

Though Dr. Forbes Winslow's *Insanity of Passion and Crime* is not—strictly speaking—a law book, nevertheless it may be regarded as such, as is it a valuable contribution to the science of Criminology.

It supplements the author's former work—*Mad Humanity*. The various chapters deal with the tragedies of passions, incipient insanity, irresponsibility, mental obscurity, criminal abnormality, early mental collapse, woman, and heredity, while the appendix contains statistics of 2457 cases of insanity. Though the book is highly scientific in its treatment of the subject, it is nevertheless so well written that it makes very interesting reading, in spite of its dealing with disagreeable phases of human life. The 34 photographic reproductions of celebrated cases—though sad as illustrating fallen humanity—are instructive and materially add to the attractions of the text. The book brings out into strong relief the terrible effects of abnormality in its many aspects and various phases and will appeal both to lawyers and criminologists.

Since the disruption of some of the bonds of Hindu Society, due to the influx of European civilization, questions pertaining to caste and social status have frequently arisen in our courts and it was time that we had a systematic sketch of the case-law on the subject. Such a compendium, well-digested and carefully arranged, has at last been presented to the profession by Mr. L. T. Kikani, in his *Caste in Courts*, in which he accurately sets forth the rights and powers of castes in social and religious matters, in so for as they are recognized in our courts. A useful Introduction gives an outline of the guiding principles of the various branches of the subject and the other chapters of the book deal comprehensively with its subdivisions in detail, with copious references to the authorities on the points discussed. We have, no doubt, that the book will be found very useful alike by the Bench and the Bar.

Mr. Sripati Roy, Bar-at-Law, is well-known to the profession as the author of the Tagore Law Lectures on *Customs and Customary Law in British India* and also of two small but very useful books—the *Law of Confession* and the *Law of Sanction to Prosecute*. He has now followed up the latter by his *Law Relating to Bad Livelihood and Cognate Preventive Measures*. The whole subject is very ably dealt with and handled with a complete grasp of its intricacies. The author has made very useful suggestions for recasting some of the sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which might well be taken into consideration by the Legislature. The treatment of the subject is lucid and comprehensive and the book is not only elaborate but written with a commendable critical acumen. It should find a place on the shelf of every judge, magistrate, criminal court practitioner and police officer.

The authors of the *Law of Benami Transactions* have, so to say, broken new ground, for except the sketch of the subject in treatises on Hindu Law, there is no text-book on the subject that we know of. As a first attempt, the book is highly commendable. The first four chapters deal with certain general and introductory matters connected with the subject, while the remaining ones are devoted to that of evidence and presumptions connected with such transactions, estopppel of benamidar and real owner, and benami relationship between principal and agent, landlord and tenant, etc. One chapter has been allotted to the English doctrine of advancement and its application to India. The book is thus fairly comprehensive and is fully abreast of the case-law. It would be found very serviceable by the busy practitioner.

Rai Bahadur Mahim Chandra Sarkar, late of the Bengal Provincial Civil Service, Judicial Branch, has long since earned the well-deserved reputation of being a careful and lucid commentator of some of our codes. His commentaries on the Code of Civil Procedure, the Evidence Act, and the Land Acquisition Act, are well known to the profession and have received commendation from the highest quarters. His commentaries on the Specific Relief Act have just been brought out in a second edition, carefully revised throughout, with the recent case-law fully incorporated in the text. Though there are many bulky editions of the Specific Relief Act, there is none more handy and fully up-to-date then Mr. Mahim Chandra Sarkar's The book is neatly got-up.

We welcome the second, revised and enlarged edition of Mr. G. K. Roy's *Indian Arms Act Manual*, the first edition of which we noticed in terms of appreciation. The book, under notice, is a distinct improvement on its predecessor—good as that was It is now the most exhaustive *vade macum* of the subject and should be found highly useful by all who have to administer the Indian Arms Act, since it brings together within a reasonable compass not only the text of the statute but all the rules and orders promulgated under it.

Mr. S. Venkatachariar has undertaken a very useful publication in his *Law of Obligations in British India*, the object of which is to group together the various sections of the principal Acts and Regulations bearing upon the subject of the law of obligations in this country. The volume before us comprises the Contract Act, the Specific Relief Act and the Negotiable Instruments Act. The book, when completed, will prove of considerable assistance to students of law. The notes and references to decision are suggestive rather than exhanstive and this in itself is a great advantage.

We commended sometime back the *Revenue Reports of Agra and Oudh* and the compilers have now brought out their first supplement for the years 1910-12. The merits of the previous publication being by now well-known, there is doubt that the supplement will find on equally large sale. It being the only election of its kind on the subject, and a good one withal, is sure to meet with the success it deserves.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

MURRAY'S *Handbook for India, Burma and Ceylon* (John Murray, London) has long since attained the dignity of a classic in Anglo-Indian tourist literature. Originally published in four parts, between 1859 and 1883, it was condensed into a single volume in 1892, and the popularity and success of the latter can be judged by the fact that the book, under notice, is now in its ninth edition. Of convenient size, replete with well-arranged and carefully selected information—which is, generally speaking, accurate, even in matters of detail—it is an invaluable companion to the tourist in the Indian Empire and Ceylon and is also a highly useful repertory, for purposes of reference, both as to places and historical incidents. The present edition has been very carefully revised and, in places, enlarged and it may now be said to be an almost perfect piece of work—its informative letterpress being enriched with no less than seventy-nine excellently—drawn maps and plans, which in themselves are a valuable feature of the work ; particularly the large map in pocket, showing the railway systems up-to-date. The Introduction which gives an accurate and interesting sketch—though necessarily condensed—of the history, religions, archæology, ethnography and arts of the country, enhances materially the value of the work offering as it does material assistance towards a just understanding of India and its people ; while the descriptions of the various routes and the practical information about travelling, sightseeing and shopping—much of which is conveniently arranged in an alphabetical "Index and Directory" at the end of the book leave—almost nothing to be desired. We have only one criticism to offer and that is about the totally uncalled-for frequency with which the offending and repellent word "native" is used throughout the book, in place of the now-universally acknowleged appropriate word "Indian." We trust this glaring blemish will disappear from the next edition of an otherwise ideal handbook, which judged by even the highest standard of guide-book making emerges successful out of the ordeal.

The late Dr. Robert Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, of which the third edition, revised and edited by the Rev. J. L. Wyatt, M.A. and T. Ramakrishna Pillai, B.A., has just been issued (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., Broadway House, 68/74, Carter Lane, London) has been acknowledged, since its first appearance in 1856, as the one standard and most indispensable work on the subject. A second edition of it appeared in 1875, and the present has been prepared to meet the need of those who require such a book for their studies but find the price of the earlier and now scarce edition prohibitive. Writing from the point of view of the general reader, Dr. Caldwell's statement of the considerations which led him to prepare this Comparative Grammar is full of acute comment, while his analysis of the different languages is marked alike by a learned acquaintance with the earlier literature on the subject and a detailed personal knowledge of it. As to the merits of the book it would be sufficient to quote the words of the two editors—who are themselves most competent scholars—from their preface to the new edition: "Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar* is so well-known a classic of Indian philology as to need no introduction to readers who are interested in the ethnology or linguistics of India." The book in its present form will not only appeal to students of the subject but to all who are interested in South Indian ethnology, in general. We regret that the editors have excised Dr. Caldwell's exposition of the various Dravidian literatures. Instead of omitting these highly interesting sketches, they would have done well to bring them up-to-date in the light of more recent researches. We trust this will yet be done in the next edition. For the rest, the book will maintain its position as the leading text-book on Dravidian linguistics and philology

Mr. Douglas Dewar is well-known as a writer on Indian natural history and an orinthologist. He has already made his mark as the author of *Jungle Folk*, *Bombay Ducks*, *Birds of the Plains*, *Indian Birds*, and (with Mr. Frank Finn) the *Making of Species*, and his present volume, *Glimpses of Indian Birds* (John Lane, London.) will enhance his reputation for careful observation and powers of vivid delineation. Mr. Dewar belongs to that body of naturalists, which following the creed of Huxley, sets more store on observation than on theory. His remarks on Indian birds, therefore, are packed full of facts which have come under his personal observation, and the little theorising that is indulged in is frankly acknowledged to be of a temporary character. The thirty-nine "glimpses" deal with the different varieties of birds peculiar to India in an easy, style which makes no particular demands on the reader's power of concentration. All lovers of the subject will therefore extend a cordial welcome to this latest work, which shows how successfully he has specialised and in what a pleasant style he can write on the habits and quaint characteristics of Indian birds. Coming from a patient and acute observer, endowed withal with the gifts of graphic portrayal, the book will appeal not only to the specialist but to the general reader, as well, as it will enable the latter to visualise the birds described. Altogether a charming book, which it is a pleasure to read and re-read.

The edition of the complete works of Tennyson just issued (Macmillan and Co., London) is edited by Hallam Lord Tennyson, the poet's son. The editor contributes a very interesting introductory memoir on the life and work of his father, abridged from his standard biography of the poet, with some additional facts added, in places, illustrating his character or the method of his work. The commentaries and notes are for the most part those that the poet himself jotted down or made the editor do so, for posthumous publication and which throw considerable light on the text. The printing and get-up are excellent and leave nothing to be desired. Altogether, it is not only the completest and best but an ideal edition of the works of Tennyson.

Since his death the fame of Francis Thompson has been steadily rising and a compact edition of his complete poetical works, such as is now offered in *The Collected Poetry of Francis Thompson*, (Hodder and Stoughton, London) will supply a decided want. Though the size of the volume is a little inconvenient to handle, the printing and get-up are almost superb and should appeal to all book-lovers. In form the book resembles the edition of Kipling's poems, which we noticed some time back. We commend this book to all lovers of good poetry as also to all lovers of sumptuous books.

Mr. J. M. Robertson is a voluminous author and withal a very thoughtful and suggestive one. He has written over thirty works, all calculated to advance Rationalism and popular liberty. One of his most important works is *A Short History of Christianity*, which first appeared in 1901. A completely revised and enlarged edition of it has just been published (Watts & Co., London) and it is a great improvement on its predecessor To those who desire to study the origins and growth of Christianity from the Rationalist standpoint, no better book can be commended than Mr. Robertson's *Short History*, which is at once learned, comprehensive and lucid.

Though there are many excellent lives of Napoleen in English, it is not disparaging to any of them to say that none can compare with Dr. John Holland Rose's *Life of Napoleon*, either in accuracy, scholarship or brilliance. Published first in two volumes in 1901, it has passed in the interval through six editions, each of which has been carefully revised. The present popular edition in one volume has been subjected to careful scrutiny, the progress of Napoleonic studies in this century having rendered corrections necessary in some matters of detail. The author has availed himself of the opportunity to carefully revise and overhaul the whole work, and has made alterations and additions, especially in notes at the end of some of the chapters. In its present form it will long occupy the highest position among the English biographies of Napoleon, as being out-and-out the best book on the subject.

Dr. Robert Mill's *Realm of Nature*, (John Murray, London) on its first appearance in 1891, as one of the volumes in Mr. Murray's then recently projected "University Extension Manuals" series, took its place as the best and most comprehensive outline of the science of Physiography and it has successfully maintained that high position during the twenty-two years which have since elapsed. It has been frequently reprinted in this long interval but the author took the right view in thinking that it was time the book should be subjected to a careful overhauling and thorough revision. This he has done in bringing out the second edition, under notice, which is now fully abreast of the results of researches in Science. The book will continue to be, what it has been these many years, the best and completest text-book of the subject—informative, instructive and withal interesting, owing to the extreme lucidity which characterizes it.

Mr. Joseph Jacob's *Geographical Discovery*—which sketches how the world became known—now appears in a revised and enlarged edition (Hodder and Stoughton, London) with twenty-six maps. There are many large works on the subject but for a handy, compact sketch of geographical discoveries from the earliest times of exploration up-to-date, we know of no book which is better calculated to instruct the student of the subject than Mr. Jacob's. The appendix, which gives in a chronological order the chief voyages and explorations and the chief works in which their results are recorded and the annotated list of maps and illustrations, materially add to the value and usefulness of the book.

Thakur Rajendra Singh (Tikra State, District Sitapore, Oudh) has done well to translate into English from Hindi, the well-known book called *Singhasan Batisi* under the title of *Legends of Vikramadittya*, which has been brought out with the advantage of all the mechanical skill for which the Indian Press, Allahabad, has justly earned a reputation. The translator has done his work well, his translation having been rendered into good, idiomatic English. The stories translated occupy an important place in the literature of Folklore—apart from their interest to the student of the general reader—and the book will, therefore, appeal both to the science and to the layman anxious to read romantic stories

TOPIC OF THE DAY:

THE CENSUS OF INDIA—A BIRD'S EYE VIEW—I.

MR. E. A. Gait's admirable Report on the Census of India is a veritable storehouse of information bearing upon every aspect of the social, moral and economic life of the people. Considering the vast variety and scope of its contents, the Report does not lend itself to perfunctory treatment, and all that is intended here is to furnish an analysis of some of the chapters in which the results of the census of 1911 are stated with Mr. Gait's wonted lucidity.

India is divided into fourteen British provinces and a great number of Native States. The principal administrative unit in both alike is the district. There are in the British provinces 275 districts, with an average area of 4,000 square miles and an average population very little short of a million. At the outset Mr. Gait points out that "the partition of India into provinces, states and districts has been determined by political considerations and does not always correspond to variations in the climate and soil or the ethnic distribution of the people." As he says in another place, Bengal, as now constituted, "is perhaps the most homogeneous of all Indian provinces." But the same cannot be said of any other administrative division, each with divergent physical and ethnic charcteristics. The Indian Empire contains 1,802,657 square miles, the provinces under British administration comprising 1,093,074 square miles, or 60 per cent. of the total. The total population is 315,156,396, of which British territory contains 244,267,542, or 77·5 per cent. and the Native States 70,888,854 or 22·5 per cent. To facilitate the comprehension of these stupendous figures Mr. Gait attempts a comparison with the area and population of European countries. He writes:—

"The Indian Empire is equal to the whole of Europe except Russia, Burma is about the same size as Austria-Hungary; Bombay is comparable in point of area with Spain; Madras, the Punjab, Baluchistan, the Central Provinces and Berar and Rajputana are all larger than the British Islands; the United Provinces and Behar and Orissa than Italy; and Hyderabad and Kashmir than Great Britain, excluding Yorkshire. The population of India exceeds that of Europe without Russia, and is considerably more than three times that of the United States of America. The United Provinces and Bengal with the States attached to them both have as many inhabitants as the British Islands, Behar and Orissa as France, Bombay as Austria, and the Punjab as Spain and Portugal combined. The population of the Central Provinces and Berar approaches that of Brazil; Hyderabad and Burma have as many inhabitants as Egypt, Central India and Rajputana as Scotland and Ireland combined, and Assam as Belgium. In the whole Empire, there are on the average 175 persons to the square mile, or much the same as in Europe outside Russia. In British territory, the number to the square mile is 223, and in the Native States 100; the former figure exceeds by 34 the density ratio in France and the latter is identical with that in Spain."

We must pass over Mr. Gait's very interesting disquisition on the predominant density factors in India—the distribution of population with reference to the natural divisions, and the influence of the various factors on which the growth of the population depends correlated with the density in natural divisions. In Western countries, variations in the population depend on commercial and industrial development, e. g. Lancashire with its cotton mills,—Durham with its collieries—maintains a teeming population, as compared with pastoral and agricultural counties like Oxfordshire and Lincolnshire. The conditions in India, where the main industry is agriculture upon which two-thirds of the population depends, are totally different from those of England where only 7 per cent. depend upon agriculture. In Europe agriculture alone is unable to support more than 250 persons to the square mile, whereas some purely agricultural tracts support more than three or even four times that number. The main density factors, as far as India is concerned, are those connected with agriculture. No doubt agriculture depends on rainfall, but Mr. Gait shows that there is no correlation whatever between rainfall of a given tract and the population which it will support. Another factor, which determines density more assuredly than rainfall, is irrigation. Witness the case of Madras where the East Coast South with a rainfall of 32" has much the same density as the West Coast with 110"; or Gaya, where "canal irrigation has turned a most infertile tract, a large part of which was sandy and unproductive, into a region of rich fertility;" or the great Punjab canal tracts. Nevertheless, the irrigated area, although it exceeds 22 million acres, is a comparatively small area. Other factors that must be taken into account are the configuration of the surface and climate; as also historical conditions, as where generations of misrule and internecine wars have led to the depopulation of enormous tracts of country; and the fertility of the soil and the character of the crops grown. (It is admitted, for instance, that in most of the more densely peopled tracts (as in Behar) rice is the predominant crop).

Exigencies of space preclude us from touching except very briefly upon Mr. Gait's luminous analysis of the conditions which make for the slow development of urban population. As has often been said, India is to be found in her villages. In Assam, only 3 per cent. of the population reside in in the so-called "towns."

Six per cent. of the Bengalees live in towns, but excluding Calcutta and Howrah, the proportion of the urban to the total population falls to 4 per cent. In Behar and Orissa, only 3·4 per cent. of its people live in the 76 of its "towns." Conditions in Bombay are different, and of every hundred inhabitants 18 live in towns. "The Burman, though fond of the amenities of town life, is most averse to the hard, rigid discipline essential to modern urban industry." In the Central Provinces and Berar, 8 per cent. of the people live in towns, but the proportion varies in different parts. Madras shows 11·7 per cent, and the United Provinces 10·2. And so on. The study of the statistics bearing upon urban aggregation yields one or two notable results. "There is a growing tendency for people to congregate in towns of a certain kind." These are towns which maintain factory labour on a large scale, and those, too, which provide the best facilities for collecting the raw material and distributing the manufactured article. Increasing trade and improving railway communications also encourage urban growth, although the results are obscured by the presence of plague. Some of the modern conditions affecting town life are admirably summed up by Mr. Gait:

> Throughout India there are many former capitals of defunct dynasties whose population is steadily dwindling. During the last ten years, Mandalay, the last capital of the Kings of Ava, has lost a quarter of its population. There are other towns such as Baroda, which though still the capitals of Native Chiefs, are losing population because their rulers, more enlightened than their predecessors, no longer think it essential to their dignity to maintain in the vicinity of their palace a large rabble of useless parasites. Other towns again were important distributing centres in the days of river borne trade, but are decadent now that the railways have become the chief means of transport. Patna is a case in point; but it may confidently be anticipated that the selection of this ancient city as the capital of Behar and Orissa will restore its waning prosperity, and that it will soon recover its lost ground, just as did Dacca during the brief period for which it was the capital of the short-lived province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. While fostering the growth of some towns, the improvement of communications by rail often has a bad effect on others. It encourages the opening of shops in the smaller towns and large villages, where people in the neighbourhood can get their supplies instead of, as formerly, having to make a journey to a more distant market, and it enables the residents in many of the larger towns to make their home in the suburbs or even further away.

The subject of migration calls for notice, especially at the present juncture. There are conditions which point to the rapid increase of migration in the future, but at present the statistics show that its volume is comparatively small. There is considerable "casual" migration; for instance, 16·5 millions, out of the 26·5 millions enumerated in a district other than that in which they were born were immigrants from the adjoining district. The intra-provincial movements are too small, but not so the inter-provincial. Witness the large streams of emigration from Behar and Orissa, Madras, the United Provinces and Rajputana, and of immigration into Bengal, Assam and Burma. Then there is a certain amount of immigration to India from other Asiatic countries: there were 504,000 such immigrants enumerated, of whom more than half were natives of Nepal. 92,000 were immigrants from Afghanistan, being 22,000 less than at the census of 1901. On the other hand, Chinese immigrants have risen from 47,000 to 80,000, the bulk of these being enumerated in Burma. Arabia sends 23,000 of whom the majority are found in Bombay. Immigrants from countries outside Asia number 146,265. The United Kingdom sends 122,919; Germany is next with 1,860 and France third with 1,478.

Mr. Gait gives two valuable tables showing (1) the variations as compared with 1901 in the number of immigrants from outside India, and (2) the total number of immigrants from outside India at each of the last three censuses. The all-India figures as to immigration from outside India are worthy of study:

	1911	1901
Nepal	280,248	243,037
Afghanistan	91,640	112,502
British Isles	122,919	98,653
(1) males	103,425	81,990
(2) famales	19,494	14,663
Germany	1,860	1,690
France	1,478	1,357
Other European countries	5,711	4,883
Africa	10,270	8,293
America	...	2,069
Australia	1,207	841

The grand total of immigrants from outside India at each of the three last censuses is compared below:—

1911 ...	650,562
1901 ...	627,438
1891 ...	525,521

The detailed figures need not be quoted, but it is interesting to note the following:—

	1911	1901
Africa	10,270	8,293
America	2,760	2,069
Australasia	1,267	841
At Sea	124	114

A more interesting table is that in which Mr. Gait gives the figures as to Indians enumerated in the British Islands and in the British Colonies in 1911. The figures as to the former are dealt with with sufficient fulness: those as to the latter are amply worthy of study. Thus, in Asia the number of Indians enumerated is as follows (we give the principal figures):

	Males.	Females.
... ...	284,248	189,582
Ceylon	53,210	12,747
Straits Settlements ...	120,104	33,660
Federated Malay States ...	9,136	1,940
Other Protected Malay States ...		

Then we go on to Africa. Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Uganda, Nigeria, Nyasaland and Bechuanaland claim altogether a litte over 2,000 Indians, but of these 1,687 (1,444 males and 243 females are in Uganda.) The figures as to the immigrants enumerated in the territories subject to the South Africa Union Government are as of special--nor to say, painful—interest at the present moment.

	Males.	Females.
Cape of Good Hope	4,591	192
Natal	49,951	23,370
Transval	6,240	614
Orange Free State	144	4
Basutoland	29	5
Swaziland	6	5

Rhodesia is not within the Union but it is interesting to note that 608 Indian males and 39 females were enumerated there. Sierra Leone and Seychelles are negligible, but Mauritius enumerates a large and (according to all accounts) thriving Indian population, consisting of 23,757 males and 11,592 females. Zanzibar returned a total of 8,122 persons.

Bahamas, Grenada and British Honduras enumerate about 500 Indians. But Trinidad shows a total of 50,583 Indians, 32,777 males and 17,806 females. Two Indian males and one female flourish in the Falkand Islands, but in Jamaica, there are 5,038 males and 2,750 females. British Guiana claims a larger number of Indians than Natal, *viz.*, 88,201—54,770 males and 33,431 females. Canada returns a total of 2,342 persons (presumably all males.)

A few Indians have found their way into Dominica and Barbados, but there were 377 males and 235 females in St. Lucia. Fiji claims a considerable number of Indian immigrants, 20,187 males and 8,721 females.

During the decennial period, there has been an increase of 26,000 in the number of immigrants from the United Kingdom. Of the Britishborn, 77,626 were serving in the army. The industrial development which has taken place, the extension of railways, and the growing extent to which the British-born in India marry account for the increase. The number of females born in the British Islands and enumerated in India has risen during the decade from 14,663 to 19,494.

The statistics of emigration from India to distant places are deeply interesting and are lucidly set forth by Mr. Gait.

A small proportion of this emigration is to French or Dutch Colonies; but the majority go to other parts of the British Empire. The latter is slightly over a million, of whom two-thirds are males; four-fifths of the aggregate being Hindus and only one-tenth Mahomedans. For convenience of reference, the main figures are given below:

Ceylon	474,000
Straits Settlements	231,000
British Guiana	88,000
Natal	73,000
Trinidad	51,000
Mauritius	35,000
Fiji	29,000
Jamaica	8,000
Zanzibar	8,000

One-fifth of these emigrants failed to specify their place of birth; of the remainder, 693,000 or 85 per cent. were from Madras, 32,000 from Bengal, 20,000 each from the United Provinces and Bombay, 16,000 from Behar and Orissa, 13,000 from the Punjab, and 8,000 from the Mysore State. The emigrants went as ordinary labourers in sugar, tea, coffee, rubber and other plantations. Those from Bombay and Bengal are mostly employed as lascars, while many from the Punjab are employed in the army or as military police. Those enumerated in Great Britain numbered 4,069,—3,892 males and 177 females. Mr. Gait gives an interesting table showing the occupations of those enumerated in Great Britain. Transport by water accounted for 2,536 persons, of whom 577 were in the Navigation Department, 1,363 in the Engineering Department and 591 were employed as cooks, stewards, &c. General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation account for 964 males and 101 females which, includes 932 male and 28 female students.

Medicine claims 76 persons. Letters, art and sciences find employment for 41 males and 3 females. 34 males and 27 females are returned as "living principally on their income." Domestic service accounts for 42 males and 27 females. Brokerage, commission and export are the occupation of 14, while 34 are engaged in trade of sorts. Hotels, cafes and restaurants employ 12 males and 3 females. Army and public administration claim 15 and 14, respectively. Religion is the occupation of 9 and Law of 37. Instruction is the occupation of 2 males and one female. Other miscellaneous occupations are indicated below:

Pasture and agriculture	1
Mines	1
Textile Industries	2
Wood industries	1
Industries of Dress and Toilet	2
Production and transmission of physical forces	7
Industries of Luxury	2
Transport by rail	3
Banks, exchange, insurance	4
Trade in textiles	5
Trade in pottery	1
Trade in food stuffs	4
Trade in furniture	2

To return to the main question of emigration to parts of the British Empire, Mr. Gait's remarks are quoted below.

As already stated the movement to Ceylon is of long standing. Owing to the rapid expansion of tea cultivation, the number of natives of India enumerated in that island increased by 65 per cent, in the decade ending in 1901. Since then there has been a further increase of nearly 10 per cent., chiefly on account of the new rubber plantations. The great majority of these emigrants are from the southern districts of Madras. Mysore sends about 8,000, Travancore 7,000, and Cochin and Bombay 3,000 each. Most of them are temporary emigrants, who return after a time to their homes in Southern India. The total number of Tamils enumerated in Ceylon exceeds a million, but about half of them have been domiciled in the island for many centuries and barely 100,000 are the off spring of recent settlers. The emigration to the Straits Settlements and the Malay States is of quite recent growth, and is due almost entirely to the demand for labour on the rubber plantations. Most of the emigrants are temporary settlers, who return to their homes when they have saved a little money ; and the total number of Indians enumerated there exceeds by only 12 per cent. the number who returned India as their birth place. Almost four-fifths of the total number are males. Here also Madras is the principal source of supply, the Punjab (8,754) being the only other province which sends an appreciable number. In Natal, there has been a great deal of permanent settlement ; and of the total number of Indians enumerated there, nearly half were born in the Colony. Many of them have forgotten their native language and now talk only English. But it is in Mauritius that the process of colonisation has made most headway. The introduction of Indian coolies to work the sugar plantations dates from the emancipation of the slaves, three-quarters of a century ago ; and from that time onwards many of the coolies who have gone there have made the island their permanent home. Though it now contains only 35,000 persons who were born in India, the total number of Indians is 258,000, or about 70 per cent. of the whole population. A large part of the land is now owned by Indians, and they are dominant in commercial, agricultural and domestic callings.

We must reserve Mr. Gait's deeply interesting chapters on religion, age, sex, and marriage for subsequent treatment. In view of the general awakening to the need for the extension of education, it may be useful to state the results of the census of 1911. The broad fact that emerges is that of the male propulation 106 per mille are able to read and write, and of the female only 10; that is, there is only one literate female to every eleven literate males. There are local variations. In Burma, in the whole population, 222 persons per mille are literate, the proportion rising to 314, if we exclude those under 15 years of age. In every thousand persons of each sex, 376 males and 61 females are able to read and write. Of the other main provinces, Bengal and Madras come next with 77 and 75, respectively, of literate persons per mille. Bombay follows closely on their heels, Assam, Behar and Orissa, and the Punjab coming behind at long intervals. At the bottom of the list are the United Provinces and the Central Provinces and Berar with 34 and 33 literate persons per mille respectively. The main factor which has contributed to the growth of education among males is the period that has elapsed since different portions of India came under British influence—*e. g.* Madras, Bengal and Bombay are educationally more advanced than other provinces because the former were the first to come under British influence—and as regards female education, the diffusion of education varies inversely with the prevalence of the purda system. In the West Coast districts of Madras, which are subject to the influence of the matriarchate, there is one literate female to every six males, while in the Presidency as a whole there is only one to every ten. Then there is what may be called the urban factor, which plays a large part in the diffusion of education generally. "The cities are the great centres of social, intellectual and commercial life. They are better provided than the villages with schools, and they contain most of the higher educational institutions which attract large numbers of students from other parts. They also contain the principal law courts and some of them are the headquarters of Local Governments." Taking education by religion, the Parsis show the largest proportion of literates,—711 per mille (or, if persons under 15 years of age are left out of account, 831.) Of the males nearly four-fifths are literate, and of the females nearly two-thirds. The Jains came next with two literates to every five among the Parsis, but while half the Jain male population are literate, only four per cent. of the females are literate. The Buddhists follow closely on the Jains with one person in every four able to read and write. The Christians are almost on a par with the

Buddhists, with the difference, however, that in the case of the former the proportion of literate females is nearly half that of males. The figures for *Indian* Christians have been worked out separately, and it is seen that one Indian Christian in six is able to read and write; for males the proportion is one in four and for females one in ten. Mr. Gait goes on to remark :—

> The influence of Christianity on education is strikingly illustrated by the figures for the province of Behar and Orissa, where the proportion of Indian Christians who are literate is 76 per mille, compared with only 5 per mille amongst their animistic congeners. It must be remembered, moreover, that many of the Indian Christians had already passed the school-going age at the time of their conversion; the proportion who are able to read and write must be far higher amongst those who were brought up as Christians.

The rates among Sikhs is one in 10 among males, and one in 70 among females; which is very much also the Hindu ratio, 101 literate males per mille but fewer literate females (8). Mahomedans with only 69 and 4 per mille, respectively, are at the bottom of the list. The number of literates of both sexes has increased during the decade from 15·7 to 18·6 millions, or by 18 per cent—the number of literate males by 15 and that of literate females by 61, per cent. The proportion who are literate per thousand males has risen from 98 to 106 and the corresponding proportion for females from 7 to 10. The figures as to the growth of female literacy are most encouraging—the total number of females over 15 years of age who can read and write is now a million and a quarter compared with less than half a million twenty years ago. In this connection, the progress in some of the Native States has been very remarkable. In Baroda, the number of literate females per mille has risen from 8 to 21, in Travancore from 31 to 50, and in Cochin from 45 to 61.

Taking individual castes, the Brahmin in the South leads the way; but his confrere in Bengal does not compare favourably with the Baidya, Subaranbanik and Agarwal; with the Kayastha, Agarwal and Saiyid in the United Provinces; with the same three communities and the Karan in Behar and Orissa; and with the Khatri, Agarwal and the Arora in the Punjab. As a general rule, the higher castes are at the top of the educational ladder, but the results are apt to be modified according to the occupation of the so-called low castes. The Rajput for instance, shows a smaller proportion of literate persons than others of an inferior caste, whose occupations as traders, writers, &c. impel them to educate themselves. Then, again, low castes in advan ced provinces often have a larger proportion of literate persons than high castes in backward ones.

In the whole of India, 1·7 million persons are literate in English. Of every ten thousand persons of each sex, 95 males and 10 females possess this knowledge. Of the major provinces, the knowledge of English is most widespread in Bengal, where about two per cent. of the male population can read and write it. Bombay comes second and then Madras. As compared with the results of the Census of 1901, the total number of English-knowing persons is greater by nearly 50 per cent.

Here we must stop for the present. Need it be said that Mr. Gait's Report fully sustains the reputation he made ten years ago, first as Superintendent of the Provincial Census, Bengal, and subsequently as officiating commissioner of the Indian Census? The easy lightness of literary art which distinguished Mr. Gait's former reports and the *History of Assam* is in evidence in his masterly handling of the stupendus mass of material contained in this Report. It is this which saves so weighty a Report from being heavy. Mr. Gait discusses rival theories and applies them to the interpretation of Indian facts wit h absolute impartiality.

THE NATIONAL WEEK IN INDIA.

By. Mr. SYED HYDER HUSAIN.

THE national week in India, as the Christmas week might well be termed, has come and gone and the numerous political, social, educational, and industrial activities have once again testified to the growing feeling of restlessness amongst the various sections of our people and their anxiety to express their dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, and to clamour for the quickening of the onward march of progress, at a more rapid rate than has been the case so far. Indeed, the closing days of 1913 have shown that certain recent events have so deeply agitated the Indian mind and public opinion has in certain directions so rapidly advanced that even the most cautious amongst us have taken their courage in both their hands and refuse any longer to believe that the task of nation-building in India will take much time or require much spade work, as fondly looked forward to by parties and interests, whose purposes are better served so long as there is dissension amongst the Indians. It is idle to expect that the wave of unrest and dissatisfaction with their present environment that is so powerfully bestirring people all over the world would quietly ignore India.

II.

The Indian National Congress held its 28th annual session, at Karachi, presided over by the Hon. Nawab Syed Mohammad Bahadur of Madras. His presidential address was a lengthy one, surveying almost the entire field of Indian politics and its grave and complicated problems. In his own quiet but forceful way, the last year's President of the Congress referred to the King-Emperor's message when leaving Bombay after the memorable Delhi assemblage and dealt with the welcome Hindu-Mussulman rapprochment as evidenced by the remarkable adoption by the Muslim League of the ideal of self-government within the Empire and the recognition by that body of the needs of concerted action, co-operation and harmonious working as the only way that could ensure future development and progress of the people of this country; the vexed question of the Indians in South Africa; the reform of the reactionary and time-expired India Council in London, the intolerable delay in the extension of local self-government as promised by Lord Morley so far back as 1908, the lamentable slackness in tackling the serious problem of primary and technical education in a manner acceptable to Indian demand and in consonance with progressive civilisation and enlightenment; the problem of land settlement and the blessings that follow in the wake of a prosperous and contented peasantry; the much-discussed question of the adequate employment of Indians in the higher grades of the services; the woeful tale of closing the higher career in the army to our people--the latest fanaticism that our late Viceroy, Lord Minto, felt compelled to mourn publicly in London; and the misfortunes of the Islamic peoples outside India and the rude shock Muslim faith in the essential beneficence of modern civilisation has received in consequence.

The largest number of delegates, who attended the last session, at distant Karachi, appear to have been attracted chiefly on account of the horrors of the unspeakable Bulgarian—I beg Czar Ferdinand's pardon—South African atrocities and this subject attracted the keenest attention and the most serious consideration of the assembled representatives of educated India. The speech of Lala Lajpat Rai over this question was a memorable performance, that is not likely to be forgotten by the hearers on this side of the grave. The progressive party in India is not likely to be reconciled to anything until this wound is healed and their self-respect is thoroughly satisfied. The Imperial Executive have thus been placed in possession of the Indian demand in clear and intelligible language and we hope that sound commonsense and the imperial traditions of the British standard of statesmanship will come to their aid in stimulating their energies to support the just and manly stand that their own well-trusted nominee in India has thought both right and necessary to make. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu's telling speech on the un-British Press Act and Mr. Jinnah's resolution and speech regarding the much—needed reform in the old-fashioned, out-of-date and extremely illiberal institution of the India Council ought to be noted as the most important features of this year's deliberations, along with the burning topic of the Indian problem in relation to the self-governing colonies in the Empire.

This great national organisation appears to have rather seriously impaired the self-control of even the respectable section of the Anglo-Indian press, as their recent wild criticism coupled with the customary annual denunciation of the Congress glaringly indicates. Perhaps this desperate denunciation has been prompted in consequence of the adoption by the Muslim League of the self-government creed, the larger association of the Muslims with the Karachi Reception Committee and the Congress itself and the practical demonstration of late repeatedly shown by the Muslim section of our countrymen that with the growth of education and public spirit, they are not going to remain inactive in demanding their rights and privileges as citizens and in uniting and co-operating with their fellow-countrymen of other religions in furthering the progress of their common motherland. The Anglo-Indian journalists and publicists, who had so foolishly taken it for granted that Asia was for ever doomed to occupy a position of servility in thought, in spirit, in action and in aspiration, have naturally been overwhelmed with grief and we are quite prepared to condole with them in this hour of their bewilderment and grief. But we must remind them that this growth of public spirit and progressive aspirations amongst the Indians is undoubtedly the proudest achievements of British rule in India.

Some of our disinterested friends in the Anglo-Indian press have displayed their over-anxiety for our interests by declaring that the 'reformed' councils with their practically—though not technically—standing official majorities and one hundred and one specified subjects on which no questions can be asked, no informations requested and no resolutions moved, are the real *National* Senates. Such incoherent talk cannot deceive any Indian to-day. The councils have their own limited use. Nobody denies this. That they may even develop and become in the near future what they ought to be is as equally admitted and hoped for. But why do not these critics with so perfect and well-ordered an organisation as the House of Commons in their own native land, suggest the closing of the thousands of the liberal, conservative, labour, suffragette, socialist, and other organisations? The educated Indians are now sufficiently advanced to understand their own interests better than their self-constituted guardians in the Anglo-Indian press.

III.

Karachi also had invited the Indian Industrial Conference, the Indian Social Conference, the Temperance Conference, as well as the depressed classes mission and their annual sessions were held as usual with equal success. The speech of the Hon. Mr. Lullubhai Samaldas as President of the first named Conference is full of interest and indicates a cautious handling of the complicated series of the private industrial problems by an experienced business-man, who was fully alive to the great responsibility of his position, in view of the serious situation created in consequence of the rapidly successive failures of so many indigenous banks within so short a time. Apart from the valuable presidential pronouncement over the subject, the

Conference adopted a resolution moved by Mr. D. E. Wacha advocating certain restrictions as to the use of the term bank, as well as the limitation that at least a third of a bank's subscribed capital must be paid up within six months of its registration. Sir Fuzalbhoy Ebrahim's scheme of an All-India Commercial Congress was referred to a specially appointed committee to report as to how the Conference can best co-operate with the proposed Congress in advancing the objects it is intended to promote, namely voicing the interests of commerce and industry throughout the country by bringing about a coalition of all the existing Indian and European Chambers. The other important resolutions adopted by the Conference were (1) on co-operation among the Indian Chambers of Commerce, and (2) encouraging the enlistment of apprentices in factories and mills.

The Industrial Conference also adopted a resolution creating a fund in aid of its aims and we believe the success and continuity of this important institution depends on the existence of an adequate fund at its disposal. The chairman of the Reception Committee of this conference was Rai Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing of Hyderabad, who in his opening address gave an interesting account of the present industrial position of Sind and indicated the needs of that important province. His concluding sentences deserve to be prominently quoted here. He said:—"Sind will in the meantime be watching anxiously the growth of industries in the other parts of India, which without the support of protection, can only lead a struggling existence. Destiny, however, is shaping our ends and if the British South Africans are permitted to protect their labour and commerce by stringent immigration laws, the industries of India can with greater justice demand their protection against the heavy odds, which the free trade of England has thrown in their way." Who in India can differ from this bold and telling plea for the protection of Indian industry and the safe-guarding of India's honour and self-respect? We daresay the future problem of problems on which the public opinion of India is bound to exert its powerful influence, would be the adoption of this protection as a means of fiscal salvation as well as a weapon of tremendous injury to those, who have so long perpetrated a terrible wrong against India's sons and daughters abroad. No amount of soft preaching and free trade sophistries or siren appeal to India's good sense would, in future, mislead anybody to consent to perpetrate a distinct injury on his own people and that for the sake of advancing the material welfare of others who have proved to be so unfriendly to Indian interests.

IV.

At the 26th session of the Indian Social Conference, Sir Narayan Chandavakar, the general secretary, opened the session with an interesting address and said that the two absorbing topics of the day were the Swadeshi bank failures and the sufferings of Indians in South Africa. Referring to the former, he said that men who started those banks, became Napoleons of commerce soon. They soon became rich with others' money. Unfortunately they were not, at least in Bombay, men of character. Cleverness passed for character. The result was the untold misery to thousands and the setting back of the commercial evolution of the country for fifty years. Regarding the social aspect of the South African problem, which was a race as well as a food problem, he pointed out that the social reform which led Indians to go there was also inspiring people in India with social progress. The president, Rao Bahadur Dewan Chandanmal, said that the social reform movement was part of a world-wide reform movement in political, social and religious matters, and bore testimony to the fact that "on all sides, among all classes, the spirit of the age is percolating through all the strata of Indian social life and a universal cry for reform has been raised. The situation before us is most hopeful and the psychological moment in the history of social reform has arrived."

The first resolution adopted was about the need for organised work all over the country and the secretaries of the Conference were empowered to draft and widely circularise the scheme. The next resolution urged the further expansion of elementary as well as higher education among women. Another resolution was moved by Babu Bhupendranath Basu on the fusion of the castes among the Hindus and Government was requested to validate the marriages between the different castes by means of legislation. The Conference urged the elevation of the depressed classes, the raising of the marriagable age of boys to twenty-five and of girls to sixteen and the condemnation of unequal marriages. It also condemned restrictions on foreign travel, the system of polygamy, the practice of the *nautch*, intemperance and extravagant marriage expenditure and dowries. While recognising the need for the protection of minor girls, it expressed its thanks to the Government of India for introducing a measure for the better protection of minor girls and suggested certain alterations in the Bill, amongst which may be mentioned the recommendations for (1) adding a new clause making the dedication of girls a criminal act punishable by law and (2) raising the age of consent from 12 to 16 years, as against all persons except husbands.

Professor Shahani of the Sind College, who welcomed the delegates to the Temperence Conference, gave a short account of the situation in Sind as regards temperence. The poorer classes are taking more and more to drink so also the educated classes. The principle of local option is hardly emphasised. The temperance societies in Sind are practically dormant now. The press and platform work is poor, the eminent men are seldom total abstainers and the public attitude is one of apathy. The Hon. Mr. Sheshagiri Aiyar of Madras was elected President and in his learned address, drew attention to the enormous growth of the excise revenue, the total estimate of which for the coming year would be about a thousand lakhs of rupees. In his speech, the President mentioned the further directions in which the Government ought to assist the people and said that a restriction on the number of licenses and the quantity to be sold on the occasions of fairs and festivals was necessary; the principle of local option should not be withheld from the people any longer; the regulation of the hours of opening and closing of shops ought to be more restrictive; the location of the shops must be far away from the thoroughfares and the frequented places; the sale of drinks to women and minors should be prohibited; and the separation of the revenue from the licensing authority and the fixing of the maximum quantity to be sold in a day must soon be brought about.

Among the other activities in the national week that Karachi witnessed may be mentioned the (1) All-India Thiestic Conference, which held its session under the presidency of the Rev. Mr. J. T. Sunderland, who delivered an instructive address on human brotherhood, (2) the annual session of the All-India Sudhi (purification) Conference, of which Sir Narayan Chandavakar was the President and which appointed an influential committee to submit a memorial to the Viceroy, praying for separate pecuniary allotment for the encouragement and the diffusion of free primary education of the depressed classes; (3) a public meeting of the Depressed Classes Mission, presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai and addressed by Sir Narayan Chandavakar, Mr. G. K. Deodhar and Dr. Sunderland of America; and (4) a large gathering of the Karachi citizens to hear a detailed account of the South African Indian trouble, which was addressed by Lala Lajpat Rai, whose appeal for funds promptly brought rupees five thousand then and there. We are grateful to our Karachi friends for the trouble they took and the pecuniary burden they so cheerfully bore in making the great national movements a success.

V

From Karachi we must now turn our attention to the activities that Agra witnessed in that great national week. The 27th session of the Mohamedan Educational Conference, led everybody to forget the poor attendance and the sad proceedings of the United Provinces Muslim League that had chilled enthusiasm at the very commencement. The presidential address of Mr. Justice Shah Din was an admirable performance, full of sound and practical advice, and ought to be carefully read by our countrymen. Mr. Shah Din does not, it is to be noted, believe in the utility of special educational institutions for the Moslems and he prominently expressed his reasons in the presidential address he delivered as follows: "It seems to me that in order to take their full share in the organic evolution of modern India, the younger generations of Mussalmans must keep in close touch with those of the other leading communities and that object is best achieved in the mixed schools and colleges of the country." This is not the latest opinion of his, for so far back as 1893 he had, in a paper he read before this very body said: "The modern tendency of setting up household gods, so to speak, in the shape of denominational schools is not without its evil consequences to the different races in India. Already the Hindus and Mohamedans stand apart with the impassable stream of antagonistic religious and social opinions running between them, across which it is becoming more and more difficult for them every day to shake hands with even a show of cordiality. Is it then really to our common advantage that we should laboriously try to add to this distance of feeling by starting separate educational institutions, where the Hindus may learn to be more exclusively Hindu, and the Mussalmans more rigidly, and it may be more fanatically, Muslim?" The resolutions passed at the Conference covered a large and useful ground, the most notable being that on the extension of primary education, and in speaking to which Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami wholly supported the lines laid down by Mr. Gokhale in his Elementary Education Bill, which the Government of India with all their solicitude for enlightening the people could not see their way to accept. The subject, however, is one of perennial interest and is bound to be heard of from time to time till the extension of free and compulsory elementary education is an accomplished fact.

VI.

The next item of interesting business transacted at Agra was the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, presided over by Sir Ibrahim Rahmattullah of Bombay. As the proceedings of the League this year possess an unique importance in more than one respect, it seems necessary to deal with some important aspects of it. "I think," said the President, "we should not be true to our Motherland if we did not strive to attain a high standard of progress on democratic lines. I am one of those dreamers who firmly believe that given a sufficiently long spell of British rule in India, we are bound to become united as a nation in the real sense of the term. When that time arrives, as it is sure to do, we shall have qualified to rule the country ourselves and self-government will be absolutely assured to us. * *I have called myself a dreamer and you are welcome to regard me as such, but this I will tell you that I have profound faith in the realisation of my dream and it depends upon you to exert yourselves to fulfil the destiny which is inevitably yours." It may be noted that Sir Ibrahim declared that the Congress ideal of self-government has the advantage of being clear and definite, while the League ideal appears to him to be vague and indefinite. Sir Ibrahim further impressed on the audience that " no form of self-government is possible in India unless the two principal communities are closely and conscientiously united. I hold that the policy which should guide us should be that of the younger brother in a family towards his guardian and towards his elder brother. While fully maintaining his individuality and remaining keenly alive to his own needs and requirements, he should extend to his guardian his respectful homage and to his elder brother his brotherly affection and sincere regard." On the question of prestige, Sir Ibrahim reminded the hearers of what Mr. Montague had said in the House of Commons about "*the great deal of nonsense talked still about prestige*" and exposed its true worth by referring to the arrogance when people were so keenly solicitous of this blessed theory as to feel that official prestige in India would be shaken by the public dancing of Miss Maud Allan. He pointedly referred to the necessity of impressing upon all the young men who choose to enter the Indian Civil Service that they come out to this great country not to *rule* but to *serve*. Referring to the Cawnpore mosque affair and comparing it with the Dublin riot, Sir Ibrahim made out a strong case for the Government of India to lay down as a standing order that an independent commission of enquiry, on which non-official Indian element shall be amply represented, shall be invariably appointed to ascertain the circumstances under which the order to fire on an unarmed mob was given. It is indeed necessary to provide this sort of wholesome restraint upon the officials charged by law with the great responsibility of taking life and Sir Ibrahim is entitled to the thanks of the country for having prominently drawn attention to this need.

Sir Ibrahim's treatment of some of the crucial questions of the ly is so refreshing that one is tempted even at the risk of being charged with sectarian partiality—an accusation the writer as a Nationalist dreads as fearfully as some gallant members of the ruling race dreaded the very mention of Bande Mataram some years ago—to quote them for the benefit of his readers as briefly as possible. Sir Ibrahim refers to the separation of the judicial and executive functions and the memorable incident that every Indian member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, whether elected or nominated, voted in favour of the separation. He rightly in the words of his Majesty the King-Emperor calls the elected members of the Council as "the chosen representatives of the people of India" and draws attention to the "constitutional question of far-reaching importance" that is raised by the utter disregard shown by the Government to the demand of such "chosen representatives of the people of India." Such is the council, which is supposed to be the only real *National* council of India and verily it is a cry in the wilderness of our chosen representatives in the council chamber. His treatment of the South African question is also pregnant with meaning and deserves to be read again and again by every political thinker and worker in the cause of India's ultimate salvation. Referring to the thrifty habits and simple living of the Indians in South Africa, which is regarded as their unpardonable crime, he gravely says that the "doctrine of the survival of the fittest does not presumably apply to South Africa" and reminds us that "when Indians demand the protection of their economic and industrial interests, the same school which is preaching economic considerations in British colonies, trot out the principle of the survival of the fittest!" In short; "they want to have it both ways." Indeed, his entire address easily beats the speeches of even the boldest of our constitutional speakers in the direction of straight talk, bold and clear thinking and—and that without having recourse to the usual expediency of making many mental reservations. Indeed, no honest constitutional worker and thinker need do so, barring of course the Indian section of the press and the journalists in this country, who stand absolved from all moral obligations so long as they have to work under the Press Act of 1910.

It is a pity that Sir Ibrahim's pronouncement regarding the Balkan war, England's foreign policy, the peace of London, the position of Indians in the Empire, the Press Act, Muslim ideals, his own political faith and such other subjects can not be dealt with for want of space. However, the League's proceedings in all matters of national concern are exactly identical in words, in spirit and in sincerely demanding reforms in the various directions of the administration as those of the Congress. It is interesting to notice that the resolution regarding separate representation on the district and the municipal boards was really earnestly sought to be postponed for a year to enable the two communities to arrive at a friendly solution of the question. An amendment postponing consideration of the resolution was moved by Mr. Mohamed Ali, seconded by Mr. Jinnah and supported by His Highness the Agha Khan, Mr. Mazharul Haque and others. Though this was lost, because the votes for the original resolution were 89 and those for the amendment 40, it is greatly comforting to note that the brilliant minority consisted of all that is wise, intellectual and patriotic among the Muslims assembled in the League. The conservatism and ignorance of the rank and file may well be overlooked, considering that the weight of commonsense, reason and experience is on the right side. There is one other item in the proceedings of the League to which particular attention may with advantage be drawn and it is the resolution of the League for creating a *national fund* of five lakhs of rupees with the object of carrying on the work of the League. This is indeed what the various political parties in England do and without a full war chest the entire political machinery of the parties in England would come to an abrupt destruction. It is a wholesome departure the League has inaugurated in this country and its success in this respect is bound to greatly stimulate the other political organisations in the country.

THE OPEN FORUM : CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

USURY IN DARJEELING. By "A RESIDENT."

USURY is one of the principal evils from which all communities suffer more or less and it has been lately very ably discussed in the *Hindustan Review* but it is our object to-day to deal with usury, as it affects the hillmen of the Darjeeling district. The principle of borrowing and lending cannot be questioned. It is at all places and all times. But borrowing and lending, when there is an element of dishonesty in it, is a positive evil.

The natives of the Darjeeling district are a notoriously improvident people,. and the usurer, about always the ubiquitous Marwari (the Jew of India) is the resort of the man who is badly in need of money and has hardly an option in the matter The more urgent the demand, the more stringent are the terms of the usurer. The usurer who knows human nature in general and the nature of the simple easy-going hillman in particular very well, takes advantage of the same and according to the urgency of the case dictates his terms. He seems even to go to the extent of administering liquor—the hillmen are notoriously addicted to drunkenness—to the intending debtor, to get some unconscionable advantage from him while the latter is robbed of his sense, partially or wholly, under the influence of drinks.

The borrower is ruined by creditors who impose interest at exhorbitant rates—sometimes 75 per cent. per annum and this not only on cash advances but on value of goods and everyday necessaries supplied on credit, knowing well that the poor borrower would not be able to pay.

The money lenders generally enter into partnership and carry on their trade. They are bankers and traders combined. They deal in articles of everyday necessity and lend money out at the same time.

The leading features of usury as practised by such money lenders may be thus summarised:

(1) Promissory notes, chittas, bonds are obtained for amounts in excess of the amounts actually advanced.

(2) In pro-notes, chittas, bonds the money would be represented as being paid in cash although in reality it may only represent the prices of goods supplied.

(3) Interest is charged alike on cash and values of goods supplied, and an initial payment may be taken in advance, that is before it falls due.

(4) Prices of goods are put down not as the result of arrangements between the parties but at the will of the traders.

(5) The rate of interest depends entirely on the will of the Mahajan. Generally it ranges between 37½ and 75 per cent. on unsecured moneys, and it never comes down below 12 per cent. even on the best security furnished.

(6) The money lenders would not demand the interest in time, but would allow the interest to accumulate to a large sum, often exceeding the principal.

(7) Receipts are more often than not, not given to debtors for payments made.

(8) Debtors being unable to pay principal plus accumulated interest, law cases—often *ex-parte*—follow, which mean downright ruin to them.

(9) The exercise of what in legal phraseology is called "undue influence" by creditors over debtors.

In our next article on the subject, we shall attempt a discussion of "undue influence" and of the ways and means of remedying a great evil, to the relief of the poor people of the district.

BENGAL AND POLITICAL AGITATION.

We have read much of late of the "Indian peril" and of the views of the *Times* and of its expert correspondent thereanent, and as India no longer boasts a Secretary of State who can be relied on periodically to thrill the Home public with visions of the various dangers that philosophic statesmanship alone can successfully combat, it is inevitable perhaps that the role of dismal preacher should be occasionally assumed by lesser mortals. A performance that has elicited so much admiration and applause in the past might well seem worth repeating, even if the new performer cannot pretend to all the gifts or reputation of his distinguished predecessor. We have had the performance repeated anyway and the result, so far as India is concerned, is to leave the audience cold. In the series of four articles published there is not apparently a single redeeming thought nor even any endeavour made to be original. The same things have been said before and in a far more impressive manner than in the *Times'* latest effusions. There is not even the excuse that the occasion particularly demanded this sudden excursion into Indian politics. Far more interesting and far more instructive than these lachrymose warnings as to the perils confronting British administration in India is the statement of what may be called the other side of the case by Sir Protul Chundra Chatterji in the pages of the *Hindustan Review.* As a Bengali himself, who has lived most of his life outside Bengal and has been forced, owing the exigencies of his position as a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, to abstain during the greater part of his career from the politics so dear to the hearts of his fellow countrymen, he is able to take a dispassionate view of the effects of Bengali propaganda on the progress of the province and India generally. He, too, surveys the scene and finds the prospect anything but pleasant to contemplate. Time was when the Bengalis were much in favour both with official and non-official Anglo-India; they "were regarded as the counsellors of the British by the people of Upper India. This reputation was still lingering when I came to the Punjab in 1870." But the Bengalis took too enthusiastically to politics and everything was changed; from being the best liked they became the most disliked of all Indian races. There is more than a touch of exaggeration in the gloomy picture Sir Protul paints, but that he has justification, for the indictment he makes against the Bengali agitator no one can deny. He goes on to argue with no little warmth that the losing by India of many of its former privileges has been due wholly and solely to the action of these agitators; and at a time when Bengal is busy preparing for the Viceregal Council a set attack upon certain so-called repressive enactments, the deliberate opinion of this son of Bengal as to the necessity of those measures is well worth bearing in mind. To the same cause Sir Protul ascribes not only the change of capitals which has brought loss of prestige to Bengal but the special political privileges granted to the Mahomedan community. Both these consequences as a Bengali and as a Hindu Sir Protul naturally deplores, nor can he in the course of his review of the Bengali leaders' conduct of their campaign discover any indication of "anxious consideration of the difficult problems that beset the path of most political movements or the careful laying of plans to meet the difficulties that have to be overcome in order to attain success." Instead he can only point to that very sinister feature of Bengali unrest, the summoning of schoolboys and College students to take a prominent part in political agitation. The moral of the story to Sir Protul at least is clear, whether his countrymen in Bengal will ever come to see things with his eyes is, of course, another matter.—The *Pioneer*.

Sometimes a Bengali will rise and castigate his own people and in cases where he is informed by real earnestness the castigation takes a form so severe that critics of other nations would hesitate to employ it, for fear of being charged with extravagance and falsehood. There is Sir Protul Chunder Chatterjee, for instance, who adorned the bench of the Punjab Chief Court for so long a time, and who is now spending his declining years in attempting to awake his countrymen to a sense of their own failings. He has in the current issue of the *Hindustan Review* an article on "Bengal and Political Agitation" which deserves the earnest consideration of every Bengali. It is not that what the writer has to say is entirely new. Much of what we read we have read before but the matter is placed and illustrated with quite unusual force. Inded, where the ex-Judge is concerned with certain of the habits of the mass of the peasantry, he indulges in a kind of plain speaking which may seem shocking to those accustomed to the covert way in which British people refer to unhygienic habits. Sir Protul Chunder Chatterjee has two points to make. In the first place he dwells on the fact that the political organisation, of which Bengal is so proud, so far from doing any good has done a great deal of harm to the Province. But this is by no means all. According to Sir Protul the Capital was removed to Delhi to punish Bengal for the part it was taking in politics. It is true that the Partition was revoked at the same time but the writer points out that the change was made in a manner which really meant that Bengal gained nothing. She was given back Eastern Bengal, but lost Behar and Orissa, provinces connected to her by many ties historic and traditional. Again, lest it should be said that the Minto Reform Scheme was a triumph for Bengali-Hindu agitation, Sir Protul points out that the provision for a special Mahomedan electorate effectively prevents the scheme from being considered a real step towards self-government. All that political agitation has done for the Bengalis is to make them "the most hated and despised of the Indian races." And while the fanatical devotion of the higher classes in Bengal to politics has only resulted in these classes losing political rights, the social and economic condition of the people, whom the politicians profess to serve, are neglected. How, enquires Sir Protul can a Hindu demand equal rights with Englishmen when he consigns a fourth or a fifth of his co-religionists to a fate worse than that of helots? After the asperities of the caste system have been smoothed down it will be time enough to take up the pursuit of political rights. Again, take the neglect to abolish the injurious customs which are sapping the vitality of the race. Sir Protul Chunder Chatterjee enters into details of mofussil life in Bengal which we cannot print here, but which, if correct, explain much better than theories of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, why the life of the race is short, and why disease known as epidemic elsewhere is endemic in Bengal. Present generations have allowed the Marwari to monopolise commerce and all the ancient industries to die. The Swadeshi revival was a flash in the pan. There was nothing behind it but emotion and racial bitterness. However, Sir Protul Chunder Chatterjee does not close on a note of despair. He thinks that Bengalis have the ability to set their house in order and once injurious social customs are put away, they will find the path to prosperity. -*The Englishman.*

We must confess we do not see eye to eye with Sir Protul Chandra Chatterjee, in all that he says about the Bengalis and politics in his article in the *Hindustan Review*. We are afraid Sir Protul has in many places mixed up issues and possibly on account of the distance between Calcutta and the Punjab failed to see things in their true perspective. We shall not wonder, therefore, if his remarks are labelled as "Jeremiads" by his countrymen and receive no hearing at all. Political agitation, on which he is so hard, is not confined to Bengal alone and is as much in evidence in the other advanced provinces as in this and as a matter of fact, the Congress, where all the agitations of the country are focussed, was born in Bombay under the fostering care of an Englishman. And this Congress again is the outcome of English education which, as Macaulay, in his well-known despatch introducing English education in India, foresaw, has bred aspirations and stimulated its products to claim equal privileges with the ruling race. In fact, Macaulay thought it would be a proud day if it came and if Macaulay was living to-day he would certainly have been the first to controvert Sir Protul's views. If, therefore, Bengal has readily caught the shibboleths of politics from home, she is not to blame so much as the education she has got. And if this education has made the educated Bengali somewhat self-conscious and possibly therefore despised by a certain section of Anglo-Indians, there is indeed no help and we must take things as they are. It is a question of reciprocity, we suppose,—hauteur on the one hand and uppishness on the other. Besides the idea is as old as the eighties and the hatred, to which Sir Protul refers, we think, reached its high-water mark during the Ilbert Bill controversy which, like the partition, owed its birth to a Viceregal measure. And if one agitation has led to another accompanied by an increasing amount of bitterness, the explanation is to be found in something else. If Sir Protul has been reading the signs of the times aright, he will find that the Mahomedans are falling into line with the Hindus and possibly the day will soon come when the "favourite" wife will be the discarded one. We forget that the minds of men are widened with the process of the suns. The cry to-day is for technical education and Sir Protul is anxious that his countrymen should rescue the trade of the country from the hands of Marwaris and European traders. That they have lost the trade is to be regretted. Obviously, the same literary education, which, as here and elsewhere, generates a plebeian hatred for the till and the counter, is responsible for this. Given the necessary facilities, the Bengali is capable of turning out merchant princes like Durga Charan Law, Turruck Sircar and Sir R. N. Mookerjee and as we have often said it is lack of opportunities that has made the Bengali a poor trader. Technical education in itself is not the desired panacea. It will possibly deflect superfluous energy into a different channel but unless the channel be a fructifying one, the same discontent will arise, and the first class Chemistryman, when he finds that the appointment after his heart has eluded his grasp, may very naturally turn his attention to finding out the various uses of Picric Acid. So here again an economic question may eventually be an acute political problem. We agree with Sir Protul that the political dacoit is a disgrace to the community from which he is being recruited but Sir William Duke will tell him, as he told Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea the other day, that the "bhadralog" marauder is not the absorbing personality in Bengal that he is painted to be. He is a mushroom growth due also to economic causes. As to malaria etc., attention is just being given to sanitation in Bengal and reform in domestic hygiene and things of that sort, as Sir Protul, properly observes, must come from within. In any case Sir Protul's is an interesting paper and raises issues which deserve careful consideration. —*The Indian Daily News.*

We have read with astonishment the extracts which the *Englishman* has unearthed from the pages of the *Hindustan Review* as being those from an article written by Sir Protul Chunder Chatterji, late Judge of the Punjab Chief Court. We rubbed our eyes; we could scarcely believe the evidence of our senses. But there was was no disputing the fact that Sir Protul Chunder Chatterjee had written the article from which the extracts were made. What a weapon in the hands of the *Englishman*—what rejoicing in the camp of our enemies. "Tell it not in Gath; proclaim it not in the streets Askelon, for the Philistines will rejoice." The whole article is a denunciation of political agitation ; the agitators, in the opinion of Sir Pratul Chunder Chatterjee, are a pestilential brood, and the sooner Bengal and India get rid of them, the better for the country. We fear it is a little too late in the day to denounce political agitation. The public will listen with respect to Sir Pratul Chunder's views on any point of law ; but when he seeks to pose as the political *guru* of his people, pointing out the way to salvation, they will turn away from him with averted faces. The ex-Judge tells us that political agitation has led to the abolition of the freedom of the Press. The soundness of this position we shall presently examine ; but we may say that it stands self-condemned. Sir Pratul Chunder justifies the Press Act and the abolition of the freedom of the Press on the ground that it was meant to suppress underground propaganda. No statement could be more illogical on the face of it. The newspaper Press has nothing to do with underground propaganda. Its writings are public property, open to all and read by all. How by muzzling the Press, the vile teachings of a secret propaganda can be suppressed is one of those mysteries which only an ex-Judge from the Punjab can solve. The Press has been muzzled, but the secret leaflets continue and are scattered broadcast over the country. The secret propaganda has not been suppressed by the Press Act. The one justification which Sir Pratul Chunder urges therefore fails. But while he denounces political agitation, has he cared to look at the other side of the shield ? As one bred in the traditions of the judicial bench he ought to have done so before he pronounced judgment. Does he know that it was political agitation that brought about the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, the withdrawal of the Jury notification and the wider employment of the people in the higher ranks of the Public Service ? It is indeed doubtful whether Sir Protul would have been made Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, but for the agitators. Is it not the case that the constant pressure of "the political agitators" has changed the entire official outlook and has secured that growing deference to Indian public opinion which is one of the most hopeful signs of the times ? Sir Protul Chunder condemns political agitation. Is he blind to what is transpiring in South Africa, and to the steady triumph of Indian public opinion in the counsels of the Empire ? The *Englishman* himself is forced to admit that Indian public opinion has now become a factor in the foreign politics of the British Empire. Is not this the work of the agitators in whom Sir Protul sees nothing good ? Even the reformed councils do not commend themselves to his approbation. For there is "the Mahomedan electorate which prevents the reform from being real considered as a step towards self-government." How, if in other respects the scheme was a step towards self-government, it ceased to be so by reason of the Mahomedan electorate is what we fail to understand. The Mahomedan electorate may give a preponderance to the Mahomedan community—it may create an undesirable line of cleavage—but the scheme, however imperfect represents the beginnings of self-government. We are told "all that political agitation has done for the Bengalees is to make them the most hated and despised of the Indian races. They are excluded from all offices of trust and honour out of their own country, though there are some notable exceptions." We should like to know by whom are the Bengalees despised ? Not indeed by our countrymen in other parts of India. They are honoured and respected by them. We know something of the feeling towards the Bengalees outside Bengal, and we totally dissent from Sir Protul

Chauder's views. As regards subordinate appointments outside Bengal, they were indeed at one time the monopoly of the Bengalees. But our countrymen in other parts of India are getting educated and are rapidly coming into line with the Bengalees. Surely in their own Provinces the public appointments must be theirs, unless where the Bengalees are domiciled. We confess we have read with pain and astonishment Sir Protul's effusions. That will be the sense of his educated countrymen who will not admire or thank him for his article.

It never occurs to this class of writers that every question touching our life intimately in the end resolves itself into a political question. Every reform waits upon the political reform. The *Indian Daily News*—which also does not see eye to eye with Sir Protul in his condemnation of the Bengalees and their politics rightly points out that the economic question eventually turns into an acute—political consideration. Few people care to qualify in science and technical knowledge if they are not sure from beforehand that they have an opening for them either in state patronage or the enterprising spirit of their own countrymen. And neither capital will flow nor the requisite skill be forthcoming unless a people develop a certain amount of self-consciousness. And self-consciousness can not be achieved without a constant stimulation of corporate activity, which again is most easily and effectively done by teaching people to stand up for their rights and privileges—call it political agitation or what you will. It is not self-interest but social instinct which according to well-known sociologists has built up even the present material civilization. And our social instinct is readily moved under the inspiration of the prospect of national greatness. Man will never put forth his many-sided energies unless the cause be greats and adequate. However much politics may be decried it is the centre of gravity of the whole system of social activity.—The *Bengalee*.

It is singular that at a time when the political status of Indians in South Africa and Canada is held in question and their elementary rights denied, we are told at home that we are overdoing political discussion in India. Sir P. C. Chatterjee has contributed an article on "Bengal and Political Agitation" to the December number of the *Hindustan Review* in which he advises the people to devote their energies to social and commercial matter instead of political studies and discussions. He thinks that too much attention is now paid to political agitation with unfortunate results while important social and economic problems are neglected with equally unfortunate effects, at any rate, in Bengal. He, therefore, asks for a more moderate and proportional distribution of the energies of the educated classes so as to bring about the greatest benefit to the people; and he believes that at present the one sided activity has produced nothing but evil and suffering.

Sir P. C. Chatterjee's article will, we think, attract considerable attention and invite criticism both in Bengal and elsewhere among Indians and Anglo-Indians. He has expressed certain striking opinions which will be challenged by some though there are other opinions of his which will be heartily approved. Above all his article will set people thinking whether after all a change is not necessary in the political and other activities of the people and whether the social and economic imperfections of the people do not deserve greater attention. So far as Bengal is concerned Sir P. C. Chatterjee has discussed the question fully and pointed out how the people are suffering and why. But his remarks apply in a general way to other provinces as well. The most forcible point in his article is the disproportionate attention paid to politics, so called, and the comparative neglect of other necessary activities. The writer does not admit that too much has been effected in the political line. On the other hand, he deplores that much of the political agitation has been barren of good results and so in a way wasted. He does not even admit the good of the Council reforms and regards the pleadings of men like Mr. Gokhale as "voices crying in the wilderness." He does not say why the present efforts have failed. But it is implied that it is because of our one-sided activity and neglect of social and economic development of the country. The learned writer does not, indeed, say that the social and economic well-being of the people is easier to bring about. But adequate attention is not paid to these questions and consequently our efforts have failed.

There are two important consequences in Bengal which Sir P. C. Chatterjee thinks, unmistakably prove the excessive attention paid to political agitation. One is the deplorable effect of the anarchist movement and the other is the disfavour to which the Bengalees have fallen in the public service. Both these he thinks, are the direct consequences of political agitation. "When the Indian unrest was being put down by repressive measures," he writes, "and Punjab malcontents collapsed at the first mention of them, Bengal showed more stubbornness and got much credit from extremists in other parts of India for her pluck. This reputation of her people still persists among them." He alludes to the recent bombs and the dacoities which have earned a bad name to Bengal. It is doubtful whether the writer thinks, that these evil effects are due to "political agitation," and if political agitation were ceased to morrow whether it will rid Bengal of anarchism and dacoits. Sir Protul Chander seems inclined to satisfy the Anglo-Indian view when he advises the people to withdraw from political agitation At one time the Bengalees were much in favour of the Anglo-Indian. They were regarded as "Counsellors of the British." "Bengal had a maternal hand in introducing English rule in India." But when the Bengalees claimed equality with the ruling race, they came to be shunned. In another page Sir P. C. Chatterjee asks bitterly: "How can a Hindu demand equal rights with Englishmen when he consigns a fourth or fifth of his co-religionists to a fate worse than that of helots?" Thus in certain arguments of his he entirely supports the anti-Indian view in his anxiety to show up the exaggerated defects of the people. What we cannot understand is why he blames the educated people for the presence of the depressed classes in India. Did the educated Hindus create them?

Equally unconvincing and obscure is the strtament that "as a result of political agitation not in Bengal alone but all over India many valuable privileges granted to the Indian people by former rulers have been lost." He refers to the Press Act and the restricted freedom of speech. He also bitterly laments over the "degradation of Calcutta" by the removal of the Imperial Capital to Delhi—"the grave of dynasties." He says that the change of capital is due to political agitation in Bengal and is "tantamount to a sort of punishment for her being a thorn in the side of Government ever since the Partition."

There is no doubt that Sir P. C. Chatterjee has given the present generation the benefit of his matured opinions and advice. Twenty-five or thirty years ago people might have accepted these opinions as at least prudent; but we are afraid modern men are more venturesome and ambitious. They are decidedly less modest. It is difficult to believe that after all the best minds of Bengal, and that is to say of all India, have been wrong-headed in carrying on the so-called political agitation in undesirable directions. All the "agitation" consists in giving expression to the cultured Indian views on Government measures and policies and in asking for certain administrative and political reforms. All activity centres round the National

Congress and its branch associations. The writer himself regards this is a "big *tamasha* causing unnecessary waste of money." How such agitation, having no more effect than to amuse superior intellects, can have become an engine of evil to the people it is difficult to believe. As compared with other people in the world Indians are said to be utterly weak in their methods of agitation. Their passivity and inattention has become proverbial. Doubtless, as compared with their attention to social and economic development, even this little may appear as excessive. But the remedy hardly lies in the direction of ceasing even the *tamasha* activity and utilising the same in digging wells and hunting down malaria pests. If anything the political agitation should be made more useful and more effective. At the same time the social and economic activities should also be increased. Adequate attention is not paid in Bengal to commercial and industrial pursuits, as compared with other provinces. Sir Protul condemns the " national craze for service." Opinions, of course differ as to the wisdom of such a course. The history of the progress of nations is by no means one of such unruffled nature as Sir. P. C. Chatterjee would wish. Nor are we justified in taking so pessimistic a view about Bengal politics or Indian politics. Mistakes may occur, our efforts may not all be well-directed and proportionately distributed in all directions. It is here that the present article is useful. Without condemning all that was done in the past, we can constantly learn by experience and improve our course of action and be more vigilant and practical and sound.

We notice that Sir Protul Chandra Chatterji's article is attracting great attention in the Anglo-Indian Press. The *Pioneer* in a lengthy note praises the author and regards the article as "far more interesting and far more instructive" than the lachrymose warnings in the columns of the *Times* " as to the perils confronting the British administration." But its estimate of the author's qualification for judging modern Bengal is somewhat singular. Whether the *Pioneer* is prepared to apply this test of one's ability to take a dispassionate view of a public policy on every case it is difficult to say. But it seems ridiculous on the face of it to contend that an Irishman like Sir Louis Dane who was similarly constrained to abstain from home politics during the best part of his life should be deemed a competent authority to advise Mr. Redmond and Mr. Delvin to retire from the Home Rule struggle. Sir P. C. Chatterji is no more qualified to advise Bengalees to abandon politics than Sir Louis Dane is to advise Irish Home Rulers to abandon the national propaganda.—The *Tribune.*

Sir Protul Chandra Chatterjee, has contributed an article to the December number of the *Hindustan Review* which has caused bewilderment among a section of the Indian press and rejoicing in the camp of our enemies. It is not and cannot be pretended by either that there is anything in the article which is startlingly new. But in both cases, as is perhaps natural, what seems to lend its importance to the article is not the written word, but the man behind it. For our part, we should have gladly ignored the one and continued to admire the other—as, indeed, we must continue to do, not only because of the distinguished services rendered by the writer and his transparent sincerity and honesty of purpose, but because we know and feel that a man is always so much more than his words—had not the wide attention which the article has attracted made it necessary for us to say a few words in regard to it. In doing so, we shall try as far as possible to isolate the article from its author and to judge of the views expressed in it on their own merits.

What strikes one at the outset in the article is the artlessness with which the riter says whatever the man of the world feels and in the manner that he feels it. There is no attempt at hiding the true nature of the aspirations of which the article makes itself the vehicle under a mass of high-sounding platitudes. It says plainly what those in whose supposed interest and on whose behalf it is written want and what they do not want. They want to live healthily and peacefully to thrive industrially, to be in the good books of the Anglo-Indian official, to be employed in the public service ; they do not want Parliamentary government, representative institutions, the ballot box. The writer's view of political agitation is based essentially upon his belief that political agitation, especially as it has been conducted in Bengal, has made the country a loser in respect of many of the things that he wants. It has diverted attention from the real needs of the country and has thus led to the neglect of sanitation and of the industries ; it has made the educated classes generally and the Bengali in particular the eyesore of Anglo-Indian officials ; it has led to the ostracism of Bengalis from offices of trust and responsibility outside their province.

Our first criticism is that the writer does not prove that political agitation is responsible for any of the effects he deplores. It was not due to political agitation but to unfair competition with outside industries and certain other causes of which the less said the better that the manufactures of the country came to the position they now occupy. The neglect of hygienic rules and the insanitary conditions that prevail have their roots in ignorance, in poverty, in the decadence of old ideas and old village organisations, and for none of these the political agitator can be held responsible. The fact that the educated Indian and, in particular, the educated Bengali is in the bad books of Anglo-Indian officialdom is due not to political agitation, but to the natural desire for equality in the educated community fostered by English education itself, by contact with the West and the forces set in motion by British rule. The old days when the Anglo-Indian official used to pat on the back and take a paternal interest in his Indian subordinates, more out of pity than out of any genuine friendly feeling, were terminated not by political agitation, but by the increasing rigours of competition between the Indian and the European. The Bengalis are ostracised from offices of trust and responsibility in provinces outside Bengal, partly for the reason already stated, partly and principally because the peoples of those provinces are no longer what they were and have now learned to assert themselves. It is not political agitation, but the growth of an educated community in those provinces which has led to the loss of the position and the influence which the domiciled Bengali had a couple of decades ago in the United Provinces, in Behar, in Orissa, even in Assam. It is strange for how many things the writer holds the political agitator directly and immediately responsible. The Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act which are due to the state of panic into which officialdom allowed itsef to be thrown by reason of the insane acts of a handful of fanatics who hated the political agitator almost as sincerely and as whole-heartedly as they hated the administration are attributed to political agitation. The removal of the capital to Delhi which is not regarded by Indians outside Bengal and by the vast majority of Anglo-Indians as outside Calcutta as a thing to be deprecated and the reasons for which are clearly and lucidly stated in the Despatch of the Government of India are attributed solely to the same cause. The anarchical movement which is universally regarded as the effect of a sinister type of influence working upon imperfectly developed and diseased minds—minds further unhinged by measures and policies in which sane and rational men found only an incentive for vigorous constitutional effort—is held by the writer to be the direct and immediate consequence of the manner in which political agitation was carried on in the early days of the anti-partition movement. The fact that young men in every country have in similar circumstances exhibited the greatest measure of enthusisasm and expansiveness, as being the most impressionable part of the population, is apparently forgotten and the natural participation of the younger generation in the joys and sorrows of the older—is attributed to a sinister desire on the part of the agitator to make use of school boys and young collegians. Even the ravishing of Hindu women by Mahomedan roughs during the days of the unrest in East Bengal is, it seems, due to the political agitator.

In all this, nothing is more evident than the inability of the writer to analyse the true causes that have been at work to bring about the things that he deplores, an occasional confusion of co-effects of the same cause for cause and effect, and above all a singular misconception as to the forces that govern a people's life and destiny. The ideas which find expression in the article are part of a system which whatever the man of the world may think belongs essentially and absolutely to the past. For one thing the writer forgets that even if all the effects the writer deplores had been due solely or mainly to political agitation, political agitation would still have continued to occupy the attention it does. It is not the short-sightedness of the political agitator, but the instinctive perception of the country that at the root of its misfortunes in all the varied spheres of life lies a conception of life and of the rights and duties of citizens in relation to the State which is not of the present or the future, that has made political agitation the strong and powerful movement that it is to-day. Parliamentary Government and representative institutions are not sought because they are luxuries which a few would be glad to enjoy, but because the few see clearly what the country feels instinctively, that they lie at the root of everything else and are the first concern of a people who want to live and to thrive under modern conditions. The peaceful and contented life of the immediate past when the Indian, knowing neither his duties nor his rights, was content to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water can not be recalled even if we wish to recall it, because it could not be recalled unless we ceased to be all that we are. It can no longer be regarded as a high aspiration by any but the most backward section of the community to bask in the sunshine of official favour and to look upon the acquisition of such favours as the be all and end all of life. Communities and individuals are striving, not always consciously perhaps, to fulfil themselves in the highest and fullest sense of the term, in the consciousness alike of their right and duty to do so, and nothing can be more absurd than to ask them to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage If political agitation had done nothing else than to create this hankering for higher life in the country and to produce the stir and the awakening visible on all sides, it would still have justified itself before God and man. As a matter of fact it has done more in the evolution of modern India than all the other forces at work put together, except those forces which have been chiefly instrumental in its own evolution—Western education and the spirit of the age.—The *Panjabee*.

We are very sorry to see Sir P. C. Chatterji, the respected retired Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, running a tilt against political action, with Bengal for a stalking-horse. Writing in the *Hindustan Review*, Sir Protul declares that Bengal has lost her industrial position in consequence of her political aspirations, while socially also Bengal has retrograded. The extremist Anglo-Indian journals are very pleased with the valiant knight, especially with his view that freedom of speech and Press have been lost by Bengali wickedness. He looks down on the Reformed Councils as of small value, and thinks that the removal of the capital to Delhi is meant as a punishment to Bengal. For what virtue, then, was the abolition of the Partition given at same time ? There is another side to the shield in the new spirit in Bengali students, lately praised so warmly by Mr. Bevan, as full of grit and self-sacrifice. If all that Sir Protul says were as true as it is mistaken, there is one complete answer to it : nothing is too high a price to pay for arousing the love of Liberty. "Is not the life more than meat ?" The meat of industrial success is less valuable than the life of Freedom. But, in the long run, all other things are added to a self-respecting and free people. Bengal need not fear.—*The Commonweal.*

Sir Protul Chandra Chatterjee, Kt., M. A., late Judge Chief Court Punjab has written a remarkable article under the above title in the December number of the *Hindustan Review.* We do not know if Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee had read this article, before he moved his resolution in the Imperial Council on the amendment of the Press Act. It is not, however, too late to do so, and we wish, along with him every one who calls himself a politician will pay heed to the fair, unbiased, well meant criticisms of Sir Protul Chandra Chatterjee.

Sir Protul does not mince matters. He reads the signs on the political horizon with a perfectly dispassionate mind. He gives credit where credit is due, and hits where hitting is necessary. He begins by pointing out that Bengal has been rather difficult to govern during the last fifty years, and that at all events since the unrest "it is a subject of some anxious thought with the authorities." All this is due to political agitation conducted on wrong, and at times perverse lines. Once, the Bengalis were the leading race. They had a material hand in introducing British rule in India, and "as the English conquest advanced from Bengal, Bengalis accompanied the British officers and contributed their mite in the settlement of the newly acquired lands. They were regarded as the counsellors of the British by the people of Upper India." They were also the trusted friends of the European mercantile community. They are losing both of these positions now. The Bengali, outside his own province, seldom occupies any high positions now-a-days ; in the mercantile houses, his place has been taken up by the Marwari. "As a result of political agitation," continues the writer, "not in Bengal alone, but all over India, many valuable privileges granted to the Indian people by former rulers have been lost." Freedom of the Press and the freedom of meeting are among them. A still greater loss which has fallen in Bengal alone is, according to the writer, "the degradation of Calcutta from the proud position it held for a century and a half as the metropolis of the Indian Empire and the transference of the capital from there to Delhi." As regards the reformed Councils and the admission of Indian to Executive Councils, Sir Protul says that "the benefits of these measures are quite counterbalanced by the drawbacks attached to them." The Congress it is contended, was started for the enlargement of the political rights of all Indians without distinction of race or creed whereas the new system divides Hindus and Mahomedans.

Sir Protul Chandra Chatterjee has much to say also about the method of the political agitation in Bengal. Every word of Sir Protul Chandra Chatterjee will be endorsed by the thinking and moderate section of the Bengali community. All our ills are, indeed, due to the fact that "we have got politics on the brain." Not only that. The methods of political agitation, in recent years, can in no sense be called prudent, expedient, or wise.

Sir Protul Chandra Chatterjee is entitled to the thanks of all thoughtful men for the plain and outspoken manner in which he has pointed out the erratic ways of the present day political workers. We do not think the learned ex-Judge yields to any one in the land in the purity and sincerity of his patriotism. He has done an inestimable service to the community by speaking out so plainly and candidly as he has done. The *Indian Mirror* has for the past half a century been preaching the gospel that social and moral elevation is the first element in the progress of a nation. Political advancement may wait for another century, but social and moral stagnation will mean the destruction of all hope of India rising to any height of greatness. Moreover, it requires the acquisition and cultivation of many sturdy qualities, such as moderation, self-restraint, obedience to authority, etc., to make a community fit for political rights. Will our political "big guns" listen to the sage counsels of Sir Protul Chandra Chatterjee? *The Indian Mirror.*

MOTTO I—*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.* (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator.*)

MOTTO II—Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworths' *Reason and Revelation.*)

Rai Bahadur Anand Swaroop.

Our hearty congratulations to our esteemed friend, Munshi Anand Swaroop, of Cawnpore, on his having had conferred upon him the title of Rai Bahadur. It is all the more welcome to us as it has come absolutely unsought. May he live long to enjoy this very well-deserved though perhaps tardy recognition of his labours as a public man and social reformer.

Welcome Home.

On New Year's Day there returned to Gaya after successful careers in Great Britain, three young Kayasthas—Messrs. Harnandan Lall, Nawal Kishore, and Jadubans Lall. The first—who has taken his degree of M. A. at the Edinburgh University, besides being called to the Bar—is a son of Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Bar-at-Law—and whom, we dare say, he will now refer to as his "learned friend" in court! The second who has returned as an Electrical Engineer of the Glasgow University is a nephew of Mr. Parmeshwar Lall being a son of his elder brother, Mr. Nandkishore Lall, Manager Tikari Raj. The third who also is a Civil and Mechanical Engineer is a first cousin of the Lall brothers. We wish these young men every success in life and shall watch their careers with interest.

The Nigam Kayasthas.

Our esteemed friend, Munshi Fateh Bahadur Nigam, Vakil, Lucknow, sends us the following communication:—

A very successful Annual Meeting of the Kayastha Nigam Central Sabha Hind (Registered under Act 21 of 1860) was held in Lucknow on the 26th of December, 1913. About 300 persons including 60 delegates from outstations attended. Besides the passing of the report and the budget, the office bearers for the next year were appointed and resolutions prohibiting meat, drink and Nautch on festive occasions, and enjoining due observance of *Janeo* and other *Sanskars* were enthusiastically passed. An appeal for helping the newly-started Kayastha Patshala at Lucknow met with a liberal response and about Rs. 200 yearly were promised in its aid. In conclusion lectures were delivered under the Chairmanship of Babu Daya Narain Nigam B. A., Editor of the *Zamana* and the *Azad* of Cawnpore on Social Unity, Bramhacharya and other useful subjects. Certain narrow-minded oppositionists wanted to create misgivings in the community but their attempts were quite unfruitful.

Acknowledgment.

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following British, American, Anglo-Indian, and Indian publications in exchange for the Hindustan Review:—

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20. Princeton Theological Review.

(Indian)

21. The Calcutta Review.
22. The Indian Interpreter.
23. The Agricultural Journal of India.
24. The Journal of South Indian Institute.
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58. The Modern World.
59. The Hindu Review.
60. The Burmah Economist.
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68. The Saturday Review.
69. The Nation.
70. The Outlook.
71. The Times [with Literary Supplement.]
72. The Outlook [New York.]
73. T. P's Weekly.
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75. The Literary Digest.
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79. The Nation (New York).
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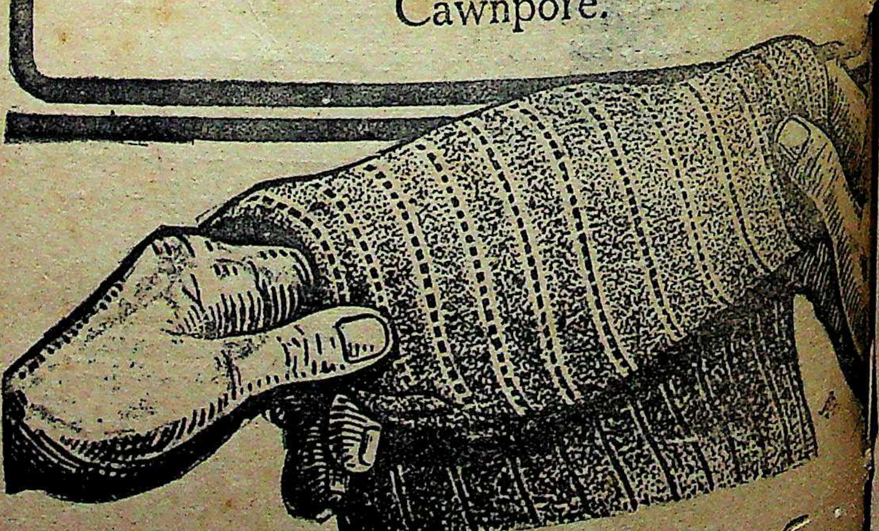

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EDITED BY
SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."

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A MAHOMEDAN UNIVERSITY FOR INDIA.

By Mr. Edward G. Long.

IN the second volume of his *Modern Egypt*, Lord Cromer makes the following, dogmatic statement concerning Islam and Mahomedans: "It should never be forgotten that Islam cannot be reformed." Shortly after the publication of the work in question, Mr. (now Sir Theodore) Morison, who was formerly Principal at Aligarh, the great Mahomedan college of Northern India, took up the cudgels on behalf of Islam and pointed out, in the course of a review article, that "never was there a generalization made in more flagrant defiance of the facts. Far from being inelastic, Mahomedan opinions have changed in the past, are changing now and will, presumably, continue to change in the future. The alleged rigidity of Islam is a European myth, for the groundlessness of which there is overwhelming evidence." Overwhelming evidence in support of Sir Theodore's opinion, and against that expressed by Lord Cromer, is to hand in the news that the Mahomedans of India have decided to establish a Mahomedan university in that country, that at Mahomedans the reproach may be levelled no longer that they are indifferent to modern learning; that they have no wish to occupy that proud position in the intellectual and scientific world which, by virtue of their past, they should occupy;

that at length they may be enabled to take their fair share in the regeneration of India—and in the reformation of Islam.

For many years past it has been the cherished ideal of the Mahomedans of India to convert Aligarh college into a university. Almost every enlightened and cultured Mahomedan, certainly every Mahomedan who has benefited in mind and morals as the result of his connection with the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental college, has looked forward to the time when the Mahomedans of India would be able to boast of a university of their own, a centre of light and learning, not only for the Mahomedans of India, but for the Mahomedans of other countries, a centre whence should proceed a stream of reform to filter through the whole world, perchance, of Islam; where, under kindly British help and guidance, Mahomedan thought might receive modern impress, retaining its individuality and all of its rich inheritance of the past that could be utilised; where the thought of East and West might meet, each to gain from the contact.

The stage which has been reached now in the realisation of this ideal is the result of a hard, uphill fight. Those, only, who have lived amongst Mahomedans of what is termed "the old school," can realise just how hard it has been. In every community there is a section opposed to reform, sometimes to reform of any kind, and occasionally this section is so loud and uncompromising in its hostility to reform, that an undue value is attached to its views, even by reformers themselves, especially by those reformers who are anxious to "go slow," mindful of the motto that often "more haste means less speed." Amongst Mahomedans of all countries this section exists, and in some Mahomedan lands its influence is greater than it is in India, but in India, nevertheless, opposition to reform is still fairly strong amongst Mahomedans, though, happily, it is not of sufficient strength to oppose reform successfully any longer. In India the dawn of the Mahomedan Reformation, for the advent and acceptance of new intellectual and scientific ideas in the Mahomedan world, must mean the advent of new ideas as to religion. The reformation of Islam, should one not rather say the reformation of the believers in Islam, is neither impossible, nor improbable, it is going on to-day; it has been going on for some time, and it is because of this reformation of Islam, that we have had the great reform movements amongst Mahomedan peoples of late years, in Turkey, Egypt and Persia; that we have now this scheme for the establishment of a Mahomedan university in India.

In an article in the *Contemporary Review* dealing with the formation of the All-India Moslem League, four years ago, the writer referred to the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the Grand Old Man of Indian Mahomedans, as the real founder of the League, pointing out that not long before his death, in some of his speeches, he had given an indication that in his mind the idea was formed of the Mahomedans of India as a great political party, pledged to uphold the just rule of the British Government, and stating that in his (the writer's opinion,) if the great Mahomedan leader were now alive, he would be the first to alter the opinion he entertained of old (as to the abstention of Mahomedans altogether from politics) and, with the courage of his convictions, the result of the vastly different outlook of these days, and the wider view that now presents itself, to stand forth boldly at the head of the new political party, his, the Mahomedan party. Probably, had he lived to labour longer for Islam, the onward march of time would have drawn Sir Syed Ahmad Khan into the political vortex, at any rate to a certain extent, but the absorbing aim and ambition of the great leader of the Indian Mahomedan as a young man, when he was in his prime, and later, in an honoured old age, was the education of his fellow-Mahomedans. He would have his countrymen baptised at the font of education ere they attempted to tread the thorny and treacherous part of politics ; he preached intellectual and religious emancipation and reform, before political enlightenment ; he foreshadowed the only true path, and sure one, that leads to political enlightenment. And the ultimate aim and ambition of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the establishment of a Mahomedan university in India.

All his life (he was born at Delhi in the year 1817) Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was an enthusiastic Mahomedan reformer, one who strove to inculcate in the minds of his fellow-countrymen new ideas and pure ideals and when, in 1863, he was stationed at Ghazipur, in the Government service, he succeeded in establishing a Literary and Scientific Society, the object of which was a reconciliation of eastern and western thought by the translation of standard English works into Hindustani, so that Mussulmans, who up to that time, had remained aloof from English education and western thought generally, might be led to it, and to the cultivation of liberal ideas—to those liberal ideas for which, at one time, Islam was so famous. The Society was established first at Ghazipur, but when its founder was transferred to Aligarh, that place was made its headquarters. It was successful from the start, under the patronage of the Duke of Argyle, then Secretary of State for India, the then Maharajah of Patiala, and the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and the Panjab, and it accomplished some very useful work, not only in the direction already indicated, but in the translation of many old works of Indian authors, and the compilation, by its members, of important treatises on various snbjects, historical, biographical, agricultural, &c. But the labours of Sir Syed were not to end there. In the year 1861 he had founded an English school at Moradabad, which, later on, was amalgamated with the District Board schools; in 1864, two months after the foundation of the Literary and Scientific Society, he laid the foundation of an English school at Ghazipur, now known as the Victoria school. On that occasion he made a speech, the words of which were to become not only memorable, but prophetic, especially in the light of recent events in the Mahomedan educational world in India. He said: "The work to be inaugurated to-day is portentous. We are laying the foundation to-day of that which is to spread the light of learning amongst our fellow-countrymen and remove the clouds of darkness and ignorance which were enveloping us and this great country. This noble work will be profitable not only to ourselves and to our contemporaries, but to the generations to come—to our sons, and our sons' sons."

And then, having accomplished this, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan set out to evolve a greater educational scheme for Mahomedans, one which should provide for higher education and lead the way to the great idea beyond of a Mahomedan university. He studied the situation thoroughly in India, in order that he might know just what India was prepared to accept, and he came to the conclusion that what the Mahomedans of India required was a system of education which rejected naught that was helpful to them of their religion, but which sought, rather, to combine this with up-to-date knowledge and scientific training, that they might become worthier Mahomedans and better citizens of the British Empire. He found Indian Mahomedans suspicious of modern learning, afraid lest it should destory their religion; he determined that they should be shown that there was nothing incompatible with modern learning in Islam, that, on the contrary, Islam, rightly understood, favoured progress and research. And then he went to England, in order that he might discover there the best method in which modern learning might be applied to Islam, and not modern learning alone, but all that western, and particulary English, education stood for in the training of character.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came to England in 1869, and led a very busy life here. He visited all the important English and Scottish universities, examining minutely their working and curricula, and he made up his mind that on his return to India he would establish a Mahomedan residential college on the lines of the Oxford and Cambridge university colleges, which met with his great admiration.

Sir Syed returned to India in 1870, and at once proceeded to carry out his purpose, but ere he could make an actual start, there was much spade work to be done. Great hostility to modern learning prevailed in Mahomedan circles, and Sir Syed was hailed not as a reformer, by people eager for reform, but as a heretic, denounced by the ignorant, assailed on all sides as one who sought to corrupt the youth of Islam and lead them from the path of true religion. The first thing to be done was to take steps to endeavour to remove the prejudices of Mahomedans against western study, to persuade them that it would not tend to make them infidels, and Sir Syed considered, rightly, that publicity was the best medium of conversion. In England he had not been slow to note the power of the press, and accordingly he started a monthly magazine entitled *Tahzeebul Akhlaque*, or "The Social Reformer." It met with great success, and ere long it had effected what amounted, almost, to a revolution in Mahomedan circles in India regarding education. In 1872, a committee by the name of the "Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental Committee", was formed, for the purpose of putting into concrete form the purpose of Sir Syed, and then commenced the work of raising subscriptions. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan made a most earnest appeal to his people to help themselves and remove the slur of ignorance which had been cast upon them; he led them to see that only by their own efforts, and in this direction, could they succeed in the task of regeneration; and it was not without effect. In less than two years sufficient funds had been collected to establish the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental school, which, later was to develop into a residential college, and on the 8th of January, 1877, Lord Lytton laid, at Aligarh, the foundation stone of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental college.

The college was established on lines which should enable it, when the right time had arrived, to be converted into a university, and after a career of thirty years of the greatest usefulness and service to the Mahomedans of India, and to India, the value of which it is difficult to realise thoroughly, it is the general opinion that time has arrived, and accordingly a committee, comprising the names of practically every Mahomedan of note in India, has been formed, under the presidency of His Highness the Agha Khan, G. C. S. I., to collect subscriptions for the purpose. To the appeal which has been made, already there has been a worthy response, and there is little doubt that within a short time the amount that is required will be forthcoming, and the committee will then be called upon to face the task of establishing the first Mahomedan university in India, and the first Mahomedan university which has ever been established under British rule and along Anglo-Oriental lines. Famous, as such, it must become, as everyone hopes it will be successful, but it will be more famous still, in that it will serve as a great Moslem memorial of the coronation of his Majesty the King-Emperor in his Indian empire—a Mahomedan tribute to the justice, impartiality and success of British rule than which none could be greater.

I have endeavoured to show that in the creation of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental college, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had in his mind the idea of its conversion, ultimately, into a Mahomedan university, and in this respect it is interesting to recall the words which were embodied in the address presented to his Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the Aligarh college :—

> And looking at the difficulties which stood in our way, and the success which has already been achieved, we do not doubt that we shall continue to receive, even in a larger measure, both from the British Government, and from our own countrymen, that liberal support which has furthered our scheme, so that from the seed we sow to-day there may spring up a mighty tree, whose branches, like those of the banyan of the soil, shall, in their turn, strike firm roots into the earth, and themselves shall send forth new and vigorous saplings, that this college may expand into a university, whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free enquiry, of large-hearted toleration, and of a pure morality.

These are noble words, they have borne good fruit already, and they will continue to bear good fruit throughout the future. They represent the aim and ideal of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and those who worked with him in founding Aligarh, of those who have laboured since in its cause, and of those who labour to-day. And with such an aim there can be no fear as to the future of Aligarh ; there can be no doubt that it will continue, as university, its great and good work as college, and that with such vastly wider scope, its usefulness will expand, and its benefits increase, to be showered not only upon the Mahomedans of India, but upon Mahomedans from every part of the world, until it shall have attained to the name, fame, and power of Cordova, Granada and

Seville, and become, as they were, the light of Islam, to illumine the path of Moslem learning, and lead to a greater goal.

From the time when, in the year 1876, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan retired from Government service and devoted himself body and soul to Aligarh and its advancement, Aligarh has made progress which pointed to one inevitable and happy result—its conversion into a university. Yet this notwithstanding, at times the goal seemed so far distant that a great spirit of optimism was necessary amongst those who were labouring towards it, though never that spirit flagged. When, in 1887, Sir Syed greeted Lord Elgin on Aligarh's threshold, he said, in his address: "The college has, during its twenty-two years of existence, made much greater progress in members, in buildings, and in reputation, than we ventured to hope. It is still, however, very far from the attainment of the ultimate end we have set before us, and of which we cannot hope to live to see the foundation in India, *viz.*, of a university for the Mahomedans of India, similar to the great English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge." The leader did not despair, however, and to the day of his death, on March 28th, 1898, he continued to work with this great end in view, and now, less than thirteen years after his passing, the Mahomedans of India are proving that his labours were not in vain. By a devoted and patriotic band of pupils, the work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was continued after his death, his enthusiasm had kindled a fire that could not be quenched, and though when he had passed away, it was felt that the master and guiding spirit—the corner-stone of the building had gone, and there was none to take his place, united effort to repair the breach, so far as repair was possible, actuated by the resolve to do, so far as lay in their power, that which he would have done, resulted in the gradual growth of a concrete and practical movement for the establishment of a Mahomedan university in India—for the realisation of the great ideal of the great Moslem.

Many may claim a share in the honour which is due to those who have battled long and stoutly in a great cause, who have endeavored to dispel the forces of ignorance with those of knowledge, and sought to set up tolerance in the place of bigotry, a tolerance which shall lead men to search for and compare the likenesses of their nature, rather than to occupy themselves with the differences imposed between them by time and environment; Englishmen, one is proud to say, as well as Mahomedans. Throughout its career, Aligarh has been sustained by the helpful and friendly co-operation of Englishmen with Indians, of Christians with Mahomedans, and the names of Beck, Arnold and Morison will live long in the memory of students of Aligarh, past and present, and all those Mahomedans of India who realise what Aligarh means and has meant to their community. And each of these has been interested in the wider view—the goal set before Aligarh, and has endeavoured to the best of his ability to prepare the way for that which was to come; each has expressed himself in terms of enthusiasm concerning the realisation of the project of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Said Mr. Theodore Beck, upon one occasion, to a correspondent, speaking of the intellectual life of Aligarh:—

> Our object is to extend, develop and perfect this life. The concourse of a large body of professors and a great number of students would stimulate intellectual life, the ideas of the students would be widened, and their character strengthened. The men would be turned out more capable in every respect. The place would acquire powerful traditions, and the hundred influences to which the student would be subjected would place on his mind a parmanent stamp. Learning would find a home. Great scholars would arise, and reside in the university; and the place would be the most distinguished seat of Mahomedan learning in the world. Students would flock in from all quarters, and an enormous impulse would be given to Mahomedan education. I believe that such a university would accomplish nothing short of the regeneration of the Indian Mahomedans.

Said Mr. Arnold, on another occasion:

> Mussulamans all over India have set their hearts on the establishment of a university of their own, and the children of those, at least, who broke down all obstacles to carve out Moslem kingdoms in the land and set up empires, are not going to be deterred by difficulties from achieving victory in the more peaceful field of educational progress. . . . The man who desires that the Aligarh college should grow into a university cherishes no airy, impractical scheme, but one of which a firm and solid foundation has already been laid—nay, one of which the superstructure has already begun to be built.

And then, in 1904, in the course of his presidential address at the Mahomedan Educational Conference in Lucknow, Sir Theodore Morison made a stirring appeal for a Mahomedan university at Aligarh, and he concluded that appeal with the following inspiring words:

> I hope the day will come when the scholars of Europe will watch with interest all the publications which issue from the university-press of Aligarh. But if Mahomedans are ever to see that day dawn, it will be only by deciding to centralise all higher scholarship at Aligarh. . . . It is folly to dream of attempting to create two such centres in India; if such a university as I am thinking of ever becomes an accomplished fact, I doubt whether another will be wanted

> for a couple of centuries in the whole Islamic world. You may build second-grade colleges and call them by big names, and you may petition Government to give them charters, but not one of them will ever become a focus of learning, for all the high-sounding titles you may coin for them. For so large a scheme as the establishment of an intellectual centre, for the creation of a soul to the Islamic community, you must all unite, without thought of petty local interests. Indeed, in such a cause there are no local interests. All Moslems, in every place, are members of one fraternity, and all of them are equally interested in having as noble a centre of national life as may be.

But it has fallen to the lot of the Agha Khan (and it could have fallen to none better suited for the purpose) to give the final impetus to the educational activity of the Mahomedan community of India. With untiring energy he has devoted himself to this end, aided by willing helpers, the Right Hon. Syed Amir Ali, C.I.E., P.C., the Hon'ble Raja Sir Mohomed Ali Mohomed Khan, K. C. I. E., of Mahmudabad, and many others foremost in the field of workers in the Mahomedan cause, and it is due to these efforts that a Mahomedan university in India is now on the eve of being established. Speaking on the subject in 1902 his Highness said:

> We want to be able to give our Moslem youths not merely the finest education that can be given in India, but a training equal to that which can be given in any country in the world. We do not wish that in future our youths should be obliged to go to England or Germany, if they wish to attain real eminence in any branch of learning or scholarship, or in the higher branches of industrial and technical learning. No, we want Aligarh to be such a home of learning as to command the same respect of scholars as Berlin, or Oxford, Leipzic or Pairs. And we want those branches of Moslem learning which are fast passing into decay, to be added by the Moslem scholars to the stock of the world's knowledge. And above all, we want to create for our people an intellectual and a moral capital; a city which shall be the home of elevated ideas and pure ideals; a centre from which light and guidance shall be diffused among the Moslems of India, aye, and out of India, too, and which shall hold up to world a noble standard of the just and purity of our beloved faith.

And seven years after, in January last year, at Delhi, in the course of his inaugural address on the occasion of the annual conference of the All-India Moslem League, the Ahga Khan made another appeal to his fellow-countrymen, one sentence of which is remarkable for the broad-minded sentiment it expresses—for the high ideal it inculcates, one which gives an ample answer to those who have any fear that a Mahomedan university in India will mean Mahomedan isolation in that country. He said: "It is our aim to develop discipline and reverence in our youth, and instil in their minds the principles of toleration, piety and charity, so that they can live in concord and harmony with other races."

With such an ideal before it, this university of the Mahomedans in India cannot fail to become not only the great intellectual centre of Islam, but a great unifying force in the land one tending to quicken the process of upbuilding national life and character, and to consolidate in the direction of progress, every force for good. Imposing no religious tests, with open doors to all, non-Moslems and Moslems, it should lead to a great revival of education throughout the country, a revival of education based upon methods which alone, in India, will be found to stand the test of time and accomplish the true aim and end of education—the elevation of the moral, intellectual and spiritual character. Islam has been, ever, the friend of learning, how, indeed, could it have been otherwise, when the Prophet said : "I am the city of learning; Ali is the gate." So well laboured Ali, that long centuries after, we find Bailly, in one of his letters to Voltaire, writing: "The nations of Europe, after having grown old in barbarism, were only enlightened by the invasion of the Moors and the arrivals of the Greeks." And the debt modern Europe owes to Arabian learning has, perhaps, never been appraised at its proper value. The followers of Islam of to-day have fallen from that high state, but they have begun the ascent, steep and difficult, which shall, eventually, lead them back to it. And it is for us, as Englishmen, to rejoice in the fact that it is our Mahomedan brothers in India who have re-kindled the fire of learning on the altar of knowledge—who have set out to light anew the path of Islam and draw its sons together, the world over, in the interests of peace and progress.

INDIA AND NEO-MALTHUSIANISM.—I.

By "Indophilus."

IT may be in the recollection of many readers of the *Hindustan Review*, that Sir James Westland, at one time Finance Minister of India, first drew attention to the subject of this paper, from his place in the Imperial Council, during the budget debate of 1900, and said in effect that some system of limitation of families was urgently called for in India to cope with the problem of poverty which exists in a more acute form in this country than in any other in the world. Some of the non-official Indian members having advocated an increase of pay to the poorly paid ministerial officers in Government employment, Sir James replied, rather bluntly, "I think they ought to restrain their procreative proclivities." At the time when Sir James made this coarse and offensive remark, the subject was all but unknown in India, but there is reason to believe that the example of the civilised countries of Western Europe and the United States of America, is now permeating the upper and middle classes of India, specially since the pointed reference to the danger of artificially restricting the birth-rate made by President Roosevelt last year and the discussion in the daily and the periodical press which followed upon that event.* As is well known, the sole object of marriage among the Hindus was the procreation of sons who offer funeral cakes to the manes of their parents and save their souls from perdition—**पुत्रार्थं क्रियते भार्या पुत्र पिण्ड प्रयोजनम्.**

But contact with the Occident has weakened our ancient beliefs and the religious sanction in favour of procreation does not carry the same weight with us as it did with our forefathers. The population of France is stationary. even diminishing. In the United Kingdom the birth-rate diminished from 34·8 per mille in 1876 to 26·6 per mille in 1910. From the colonies, Australia in particular, comes the same tale; and the United States now run France hard in the matter of a declining birth-rate. The other countries of Europe, except Russia, are rapidly following suit. It was not to be expected that these facts would make no impression upon the professional classes in India, who are able, by reason of their intellectual attainments, to follow the course of events in western countries. It has, therefore, become necessary to take cognisance of the subject and by abjuring all false delicacy to look facts squarely in face, with a view to find out whether in the interests alike of the individual and of the nation, it is necessary and salutary that Neo-Malthusian principles should spread in our country as they are doing in the West.

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* Speaking of Bengal, for instance, Mr. E. A. Gait, Census Superintendent, 1901, says (Vol. VI, Part I, page 217): —"The postponement of the age of marriage, however, cannot wholly account for the diminished rate of reproduction. The deliberate avoidance of child-bearing must also be partly responsible." According to Mr. Gait, the practice is not confined to the higher and middle classes. "It has more than once been pointed out that the size of a landless labourer's family is smaller than that of a cultivator, and there seems to be no reason why this should be the case unless preventive checks of some sort were employed."

After a close study of the subject for a number of years, the writer has come to the conclusion that in the peculiar circumstances of India, there is no necessity for artificially restricting the increase of population. Very erroneous ideas prevail among European writers and politicians on the Indian population question. It is confidently arrested that the *Pax Britannica* is responsible for an undue increase in the number of his Majesty's Indian subjects and that this is demonstrated by the growing ranks of the unemployed.* It is, however, forgotten that many avenues of employment have been closed to them since the advent of the British, and that though certain parts of India, *e. g.*, Bengal and the United Provinces, are densely peopled, having a population of 413 and 432 per square mile, respectively, in other parts of the peninsula the density is much lower, and even in Europe there are countries, Belgium for instance, which support a much heavier population, viz., 461 per square mile, and yet are in a very flourishing condition. Sir Herbert Risley in his Census Report of 1901, Vol. I, says: "It may be said that India has already more inhabitants than it can support, *but this is not the case.*" Nearly two-thirds of the population of India occupy about a quarter of the area, whereas the remaining one-third is scattered over three quarters of the area, which nowhere contains as many as 200 inhabitants to the square mile. Even in prosperous England, the richest country in the world, there are 389 inhabitants for every square mile of territory. Take again the rate of natural increase of population, that is, the excess of births over deaths. In Europe, it is 1·06 per cent.; in England, 1·37 per cent.; in India as a whole, it is 1·5 per cent., whereas in the Native States in the Central Provinces there has been an actual decline of 6·6 per cent. and 8·3 per cent., respectively. The Census Report of 1901 (Vol. I) says: "The number of Hindus is less by about half a million than it was in 1891, and the proportion per mille of the total population is now only 704 against 723 at the previous census." Under British rule, only one of the natural checks to over-production—war—has vanished; the others, famine, plague, and pestilence, are more than making up for it. According to the late Mr. Digby, between the years 1793 to 1900, three crores and twenty-five lakhs of people died in India from famine alone, whereas in the same period the mortality in the whole world from war did not exceed fifty lakhs. We have thus the appalling fact that in 1903 the death-rate in India was 34·7 per mille, as against 15·4 per mille in England, and this rate is increasing in India. The fecundity of married women from 15 to 45 years of age is 247·5 per cent. for India and 254·9 per cent. for England. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that India has to support a much smaller population than it can provide land for, that Englishwomen are more prolific than their Indian sisters, and that twice as many children die every year in India as in England. Polygamy may be supposed to be one of the causes of a high birth-rate. But it is a mistake to think, as many foreigners do, that it is extensively practised in India. Sir Herbert Risley says:—

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* This is what Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt says in his newly-published book, *India under Ripon* (London, Fisher Unwin, 1909) on the subject: "According to apologists of the Strachey school, over-population caused by the security of our rule is the sufficient reason of all distress……As applied to the Deccan it is manifestly untrue. For nothing like the whole area of cultivable land is taken up, and the population is scanty rather than excessive. The causes of distress and famine must be looked for rather in the growing impoverishment of the existing population, than in its numerical excess." (pp. 240-41).

> In the empire as a whole, among all religions taken together, to every one thousand husbands there are only one thousand and eleven wives, so that even if no husband has more than two wives, only a eleven per thousand indulge in a second helpmate. The excess of wives is greatest (31 per mille) among animists, and the next greatest (21 per mille) among Mahomedans; in the case of Hindus and Buddhists it is 8 and 7 per mille respectively.

If we take the males and females of the whole peninsula to be fairly equal in number, which is the fact, polygamy on the part of some must go hand in hand with celibacy on the part of others, and thus the former would have no appreciable effect on the rate of increase. In fact we find that the rigid caste system of the Hindus renders marriage difficult on the part of many persons, and among some social groups a heavy bride-money, and among others an equally heavy bridegroom-price has to be paid, with the result that among them men and even women (*e. g.*, among Kulin Brahmins of Bengal) are often past middleage before they can find a mate. The absence of widow—marriage among all classes of Hindus in Bengal proper and among the high caste Hindus in the rest of India also tends seriously to restrict the increase of population by preventing widows, many of whom are young, from exercising their reproductive functions.* Among other artificial restraints on marriage among Hindus, Sir Herbert Risley mentions endogomy, exogamy, hypergamy, and an unusually large number of prohibited degrees, rendered necessary by the joint family system. The result of our investigation thus leads us to hold that owing to a variety of natural and artificial checks, population in India tends to grow at a much less rapid rate than in England † and that being so, it follows that the problem of over-population, like that of the dissipation in space of solar heat and the exhaustion of the coal-bearing seams of the earth, may be left to the consideration of remote generations of Indians whose welfare need not give us any anxious thoughts, as being wholly outside the range of practical politics. Independent testimony is not also wanting to confirm the above conclusion. The Rev. J. T. Sunderland, whose sympathy for India is well-known, says in the *New England Magazine* for September, 1900 :—

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* Nor is the restraint against widow-marriage confined exclusively to the Hindus. "The marriage of widows is enjoined by Muhammadan Law...But in India the example of the Hindus has gradually created a prejudice in the other direction, and at the present day it is seldom that a man takes a widow as his first wife." (Census of India, Vol. VI, Part I, page 261). The proportion of Mussalman widows who remarry is only about 10 per cent.

† Mr. Gait, in his Benga Census Report for 1901 (Vol. VI., p. 77) refers to the prolificacy of the hardy inhabitants of the islands (*e. g.* Hatiya aud Sandip) which dot the mouth of the Bay of Bengal, and their periodical inundation by storm-waves which carry off thousand of persons as "a proof that in some way or other, positive or preventive checks on the growth of population in India, operate to a far greater extent than is usually imagined."

> The population of India is not so dense as in a number of the states of Europe which are prosperous, have no difficulty in supporting their people, and in which famines are never dreamt of. Nor is the birth-rate high in India. It is less than in England, and much less than in Germany, and several other continental countries. Indeed, it is 75 per thousand less than the average birth-rate of all Europe. India is not over-populated.

As the practice of Neo-Malthusianism is sought to be justified entirley on the assumption of an increasing population for which sufficient means of subsistence is not available, we have to admit that it is unnecessary in India, where, as we have shown above, the pressure of population on the soil cannot be said to be at all heavy. Besides, the fact that food might be made to accompany population in due proportion never seems to have entered Malthus's brain. Excess of population can never be excess of men, but deficiency of food, due to bad economic and social laws and unjust distribution of wealthy which cause the many to starve so that a few may revel in luxury. If the provisions produced by the earth are not sufficient to support her children (and with regard to India we know that even in famine years it exports millions upon millions of tons of food grains), we must increase the quantity of provisions by extending the area under cultivation and introducing improved agricultural implements. Prince Kropotkin, in his book on *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, has demonstrated how the supply of food may be almost indefinitely increased so as to support any reasonable increase of population by the adoption of a scientific system of intensive cultivation. Even in England the area of unproductive fields is equal to a fifth of its whole surface. Land should not be overtaxed or allowed to lie waste, and people should be encouraged and educated to bring it to its highest point of development. The marvellous improvement in the production of food effected by the introduction of modern machinery, and in its distribution due to the annihilation of distance brought about by steam and electricity could not have been foreseen by Malthus when he wrote his essay on population. In England, the tendency has been for wealth to increase much faster than population. Professor Marshall, the greatest living English economist, has shown in his *Principles of Economics* that excess of population need not necessarily, while decrease may possibly mean misery, and that the former may proceed hand in hand with increase of wealth. Famines may occur in a fertile land and in the midst of plenty ; they are as often as not due to misgovernment, bad organisation, defective communication and wrong distribution, both geographically and socially, and vicious, social and economic laws. There is nothing alarming, therefore, in a large population, provided that the country is well governed, and a just social and economic system prevails.

Another doctrine of Malthus is, that population doubles itself in every twenty-five years. His error was that he mistook potential for real increase. There are many causes which operate against the realisation of his theory. For instance, one in seven marriages is infertile. If population is increasing in one part of the world, generally speaking, it is found to be decreasing in another part. In the opinion of some historians, *e. g.*, Sismondi, Buffon and others, the total population of the world does not vary much at any period. Where are the teeming populations of Nineveh, Babylon and Egypt now? Their former habitations are now denuded of human life.

The merciless tooth and claw competition, the frightful fratricidal war, known as the *laissez faire* system advocated by Darwin, Spencer and others, has led to the advocacy of Neo-Malthusianism by men like J. S. Mill, Ward, Owen, Greg, Gaskell, Matthew Arnold, Bradlaugh, Miss Clapperton, Mrs. Besant (before she became a theosophist and withdrew her *Law of Population* from circulation), and Dr. Drysdale, president of the Malthusian League. The advocates of the *laissez faire* doctrine asserted that without a high birth-rate there is not a sufficiently keen struggle for existence, and that without this struggle there is not merely no progress, but actual retrogression. Hence they asked us to ignore all suffering and take no heed of those who are crushed out of existence in the mad struggle ; population, we were told, should be allowed to grow unchecked, so that the fittest may survive. The advocates of Neo-Malthusianism, on the other hand, say, let us diminish population by restricting the number of our offspring, then we shall have no competition, no want and misery, fewer numbers and more individual luxuries and pleasures. Here, as elsewhere, the *via media* will be found to contain our safest and surest guide. It is, however, necessary to mention here that Malthus himself advocated abstention from marriage as the remedy for over-population, and not the adoption of prudential checks after marriage like his modern successors, who profess to act on the principle that "it is a grave social offence for men and women to bring into the world more children than they can adequately house, clothe, feed and educate."

Every increase of population is a potential increase of wealth for the whole community. A large community, other things being equal, is capable of producing more wealth, man for man, than is possible in a small community. Population is strength, as every succeeding census is disclosing in the case of the Mahomedans, who bid fair soon to outstrip the Hindus in numbers as well as in power and political influence. Population means not only an increase of consumers as Malthus seemed to think, but also of producers. All economists tell us that if we remove the proper pressure of population on subsistence, necessity being the mother of invention, we are removing the springs of human industry and the motive power of human progress. A dense population is also better able to take advantage of inventions and organisations than countries which are thinly populated. Henry George, author of *Progress and Poverty*, says that an increase of population is often one of the most essential requisities for increasing the productiveness of industry. A large population is necessary for the proper division of employment and also to carry out great undertakings. M. Yoes Guyot says :—

> The increase of population forces progress on every people which has not, like the Hindoo, given itself up to passive resignation. Beneath this pressure the contest becomes more eager, man makes greater efforts, he develops his powers and his capacities and abilities. If we cannot say that all densely populated nations are strong, we can at least say that the nation with a spare and stagnant population has ever been less strong.

But the Hindu is waking up, and is not going to 'plunge in thought again'; hence in his case too, a large population is necessary to accelerate the rate of progress. It is an undisputed fact that only in countries of large populations are the most far-reaching inventions made. France with her diminishing population finds conquest and colonisation impossible, and her commerce as well as her influence in world-politics are on the decline. Prolific Russia is regarded by many as the coming power of Europe. There, as in India youthful marriages are the rule, and parents urge early marriage on their children in order to gain another labourer for the family.

A PLEA FOR AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIA.—II.

By Mr. H. C. Das.

HIGH personages in America feel proud that they are capable of doing all sorts of work. More than 50 per cent. of their intelligent people live in farms, and they are the backbone of the nation. Americans have made miraculous progress in agriculture and still they are strenuously striving to make further progress. In this country even the human beings do not care for pedigree, but there they have registered pedigree of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, &c., and even of grain seeds. Like pleasure gardens in this country, you will find magnificient farms around the large cities like Chicago, &c., owned by multi-millionaires. These are mostly model farms and in some the owners work themselves and encourage others. Who is a farmer there ? The farmer is a labourer in his farm, a mechanic in his workshop, a leader or a minister in the church, a senator in the senate, a governor of a State and so on. His wife is a co-worker in the farm and at the same time a leader in the church and society. We know the root meaning of the Sanskrit word *duhitri* (daughter), but it has been practically forgotten here. It is a sight to be seen when the fairy like daughters of the Western farms drive home the cows from the pasture and milk them like the *duhitas* of the *riskis* of old.

In Europe the ladies of even the Royal Families are delighted to work in the kitchen gardens. Here the ladies consider idleness as the ideal of happy life, and thus being confined within the four walls waste their time aud lose their health. They never know the pleasure of work. The people very often talk of the high ideals of the *Bhagabadgeeta*, but they forget the easiest and best maxim that peace is attainable through pure work. Any way it is better to work and live an honest life than to die a beggar or criminal for the pretension of false dignity. When the country will be adorned with thousands of farms equipped with fish ponds, orchards, gardens, cow and horse barns, granaries of grains, &c., that will be a brilliant day for the country. Above all when every body will be busy with his own duties, there will be no time for quarrel or jealousy, and then there will be no disturbance in the society.

The words which Cicero puts into the mouth of Cato gives a fine picture of the ancient Roman enthusiasm in agriculture.

> I come now to the pleasures of husbandry, in which I vastly delight. They are not interrupted by old age, and they seem to me to be pursuits in which a wise man's life should be spent. The earth does not rebel against authority ; it never gives back but with usury what it receives. The gains of husbandry are not what exclusively commend it. I am charmed with the nature and productive virtues o the soil. Can those old men

> be called unhappy who delight in the cultivation of the soil? In my opinion there can be no happier life, not only because the tillage of the earth is salutary to all but from the pleasure it yields. The whole establishment of a good and assiduous husbandman is stored with wealth; it abounds in kids, in lambs, in poultry, in milk, in cheese, in honey. Nothing can be more profitable, nothing more beautiful, than a well-cultivated farm.

The passion of the ancient Romans for agriculture survived very long; and when at length their boundless conquests introduced an unheard of luxury and corruption, the noblest minds amongst them were strongly attracted towards the ancient virtue of the purer and simpler agricultural times. Several facts in Roman history afford convincing proof of the devotion of this ancient people to agriculture in their best and happiest times. Perhaps it is not too much to assert, that many of those qualities which fitted them for conquering the world and perfecting their so celebrated jurisprudence, were acquired, or at all events, nourished and matured, by the skill, foresight and persevering industry so needful for the intelligent and successful cultivation of the soil.

But successful cultivation of the soil requires wide awake intelligence and broad knowledge. Farming is a business, and the successful farmer must be first of all a businessman. He follows his vocation primarily for the money he can make, and like other businessman should aim to get the greatest possible returns for the money and labour involved. It is not enough simply to grow crops, but they must be so produced as to yield a profit on the capital invested. Agriculture is not merely a business but an art as well; the art of producing plants and animals that are useful to man. A real knowledge of farming necessitates a knowledge of the principles upon which the art of agriculture is founded; for an understanding of this principle is essential to an intelligent and rational practice. This cannot be expected from an ignorant peasant, and if the farming fails we should not blame the soil. Pope sings :--

> Where grows?—Where grows it not? If vain our toil,
> We ought to blame the culture, not the soil.

This beautiful saying applies equally to plants and human beings, and specially to the present condition of this country.

For successful farming two thiugs are very important—good tillage and maintenance and improvement of the fertility of the soil. Tillage increases feeding ground for roots and is the most efficient means of assisting nature in the conversion of unavailable food into farms that the plant can use; it hastens chemical changes in the soil by bringing together substances having different chemical properties and thus enabling them to act upon each other and converting them into available plant food; it ærates the soil and introduces oxygen to the roots; increases amount of available water and helps to conserve the moisture of the soil; destroys weeds, and so forth. Certainly it requires intelligence and education to understand these principles and work them carefully and efficiently.

It is a matter of common experience that continued cropping results in a loss of fertility. In the beginning the productiveness of the rich virgin soil seems unlimited and for years large crops are produced with apparently no decrease in fertility. Sooner or later, however, the crops begin to diminish, gradually, to be sure, but unceasingly, until, at last the yield becomes so small that it no longer pays for the cost and labour of cultivation. This state of affairs comes about more rapidly if the same crop is grown continuously on the same field as is done in this country. The soil, however, can never be completly exhausted ; it is exhausted for all practical purposes when the crop produced ceases to be profitable. The first question that naturally suggests itself is, why does the productive power of the soil diminish ? It is evident that the virgin soil must have contained large quantities of substances that were necessary to vigorous plant growth, and these materials were removed when the crop was harvested. Something should be done to maintain the fertility, and for this purpose two things are necessary : first, to make more of the potential food available ; second, to add something to take the place of the materials removed in the crop. Tillage, drainage, irrigation, fallowing, green manuring and rotation, &c., are methods of changing potential plant food into available forms, and to maintain and increase the fertility some form of fertilizer must be used.

Barn-yard manure is the oldest and is most popular of all fertilizers. Unfortunately the dung in this country is largely burnt as fuel, and the urine which is as valuable as dung is entirely wasted. We may deplore the burning, but it is inevitable where wood is not available. In some parts of the country a kind of fuel tree is grown which matures in a few months' time. This might be extensively grown in other parts of the country.

The Americans use fireless cookers for cooking various articles which require boiling for some time. In those parts of the country where rice, dal, &c., are largely used, these fireless cookers can be introduced with great advantage. Every house can have a fireless cooker at a trifling expense. The problem of manure is much harder in China and Japan, but the Chinese and the Japanese are proving themselves equal to the task. The Chinese carefully collect even smallest bits of grass, leaves, vegetables and food articles, &c., not to speak of dung, urine and night soil, and take these to the field. If you go to a Chinese oilman's house, you will find the boy who is watching the bullocks working the oil mill always ready with a can in his hand, to hold the urine which the bullocks may happen to pass and collect it in a jar. Night soil is sold in public markets as an article of merchandise and it is regularly spread in the field. The municipality of Shanghai earns more than a lakh of rupees annually by selling their night soil instead of spending money for removing that. The Chinese use canal mud as manure, and this way they add valuable fertilizer to the field and at the same time keep the depth of the canal to its proper level. In this country materials are not yet wanting but systematic manuring is almost entirely neglected.

Dairy farming is one of the most effective practices in Agriculture for retaining and restoring the fertility of the soil by supplying valuable barn-yard manure, &c. But in this country the higher class people do not take any interest in this. Some of them keep fine horses in their stables, dogs in kennels, but they never think of preserving and improving the breeds of cattle either for pleasure or profit. They should imitate the example of the magnates of Europe and America. When the "White House" cow "Muly" died last year, the papers of the United States noticed the occurrence as is done in the case of some princes in this country. The bulls and cows are sold at fabulous prices in America, and there are thousands of Dairy farms and butter factories all over the country. It can easily be imagined how many workers are engaged in these and how much money is produced. Theoretically the cow is looked upon as goddess in this country, but one has to go to America to see how the mother cow is taken care of. The barn is lighted with electric light, supplied with purest water, kept clean like a temple, and the cows are fed with balanced rations scrupulously selected. Cows producing 100 lbs of milk per day are not rare. A large number of people in this country are vegetarians and they need pure milk and butter, but how many there are who think about increasing the quality and quantity of these articles. The finest cows in the West come from the two little islands, Jersey and Guerensey, in the English channel. They have been brought to present perfection by the organization of Royal Agricultural Society, Farmers' Club, &c. In 1834, the Royal Agricultural Society of Jersey was formed and held its first show. The result of this was—

1. Inspiration to breed better cattle.
2. To improve the production of the cattle.

Since then the improvement has continued in various ways. Here the shows are held for mere show, but in the West shows are held throughout the year with a definite purpose: to remove the defects and find out better methods to improve the objects shown.

In this country, too, fine cattle are still available in the Punjab, Sind, Kathiawar, Mysore, &c., and they can surely be improved by proper care and management. Now-a-days it is hard to get unadulterated *ghee* or milk in towns and cities. Hundreds of Dairy farms can be worked with profit around large cities like Calcutta, Bombay, &c. The rich people might undertake such work with pleasure and profit and obtain blessings of their countrymen. For successful dairy farming one will have to raise good feed, such as clover, alfalfa *(lucern), &c., and these things will help another fine industry to grow, namely, bee culture. At present the honey and wax are collected from jungles; but if a systematic method is introduced, it will furnish an occupation both for men and women. With growing business in tannery, &c., the demand for wax is sure to increase, and when the people will take honey as a regular food artiele as is done in the West, there will be a great demand for honey. Apiary is a fine industry, and it supplies both amusement and money.

In America one hears a great deal about dry farming. By this method the Americans raise rich crops in regions where the annual rainfall is 15 inches or less. It should certainly be tried in the dry areas of this land. Dry farming is nothing more than good farming. Its real meaning is good tillage; it means water saving by good ploughing and frequent effective cultivation; it means crop rotation for its sanitary effect; it means humus for the soil for its many sided benefits. Dry farming means specially these things: water is to be absorbed, water is to be saved, and plants are to be adapted to their mode of life. Average farmer, however, rarely comprehends what land management means. He ploughs of course; but mere ploughing may mean tremendous moisture loss, unless cultivation be given—the mulch making kind—so that the capillary tubes of the top and under soil may be disconnected, that the water in the reservoir beneath may not get out into the atmosphere above.

Knowledge and guidance are needed for carrying these principles into practice. Individuals here and there cannot do this, but systematic organization is necessary. Agricultural co-operation as is represented by certain primitive system of mutual assistance at times of ploughing and harvest is not uncommon here, but associations of the European type for the purchase of seed and machinery or for sale of cattle and produce, are practically unknown. By co-operation many of the modern machineries can be used, the boundary mounds between small fields can be done away with, and some of the land thus saved may be used for grazing pasture; wells and tanks can be constructed until the canal systems are extended; wind mills put up, live stock improved, suitable light machineries devised, a general stimulus given to the agriculture and a new spirit instilled into the drooping hearts of the poor cultivators. If the rich and the educated bring their wealth and culture to bear upon agriculture, the country's condition can be changed in a few years' time, and poverty and famine driven out of the country. This may be a dream, but undoubtedly a happy dream. Great Lincoln said, "we are not bound to succeed but we are bound to do our duty." Should we not try to do our duties to our

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* The Americans are sending eminent professors to Siberia, Central Asia, &c., to explore suitable alfalfa plants, and introducing various scientific processes, such as inoculation of soil, &c., to grow this plant all over America. They are devoting so much money and energy, and yet they have not succeeded to grow it to their satisfaction. Here, however, it grows abundantly without any great care; but unfortunately we do not care to know this, nor have the proper sense to use it.

poorer brethren? Let us try to perform our duties to the best of our light; we need not be anxious for the result. H. H. the Maharaja of Jeypore founded the Indian People's Famine Trust with a very generous gift to afford relief after famine occurs. Is it too such to expect that the other Princes and the people may establish a fund for preventing famine and stimulaling the material prosperity of the people? About half the population of the country are inactive and dependent on others. If half the population could earn one rupee more per head yearly, they could feed at least one crore of the people. Certainly this is not impossible.

A grand opportunity is coming forward, and we should make the best of it. H. M. the King-Emperor is coming personally at the Coronation Durbar to be held at Delhi, probably there will be various exhibitions held at the time. The Princes and the people should meet at an agricultural Durbar and find out ways and means to improve the agricultural condition. An agricultural show should certainly be held, and grains and cattle, &c., collected from different parts of the country. This is a grand opportunity to stimulate Agricultural improvement, and if this can be done, the heavy expenses for the Durbar will be amply justified. If an Agricultural Durbar can be arranged, H. M. the King-Emperor may be approached with a prayer to grace it with his August Presence. The presence of the Ruler of the Empire and the Head of a nation who are at the root of modern civilization, will surely give an unprecedented impetus to the industrial regeneration of the country. England's connection with India is providential. Nobody having a clear vision can have any doubt about this. The West and East have met here. There must be some Divine purpose in this meeting. The best of the West and East have come in contact with each other in this ancient land with their respective traditions. Is it for nothing? No sane and hopeful man will say so. This is something like the meeting of fire and water. Though opposite in nature, they can generate, if they meet in proper relation and condition, such steam as will move and shape the world into a real kingdom of Heaven. The spirit of Jesus will then exclaim in joy "Thy kingdom come." We should turn our attention to this and try our best to realise the benefit of this connection. The real problem of the human society is the problem of poverty. Mere cessation of war between different nations will uot secure peace until and unless the problem of poverty, the greatest enemy of the society, is effectively solved. Solution is not impossible. With the progress of science it is really becoming easier every day. If we proceed with a pure motive and put forward our energies, it is possible we may reach the desired goal. Lord Macaulay said on a historic occasion that it would be the proudest day in the British history when the people of India under the influence of western education would ask for western institutions. I will say it will be the brightest day in the annals of the world when the people of fallen India will enjoy prosperity under the guidance of the British Nation. I earnestly ask the leaders of the land to open their eyes. Civilization does not consist in idleness or in the multiplication of motor cars, but the highest civilization consists in the realization of the oneness of the human race. This theory was propounded in this land centuries ago, but in practice it is nowhere else in the world so cruelly neglected as in India. Degeneration has gone so far that if any one happens to get some money by chance he does not hesitate to hate his poorer brethren, though he may talk of Unity of Godhead before a distinguished audience. Pray, help your poor brethren. They want bread. Do dot give them mere words. Remember that by helping the poorer people of the country you help yourselves. An agricultural country has one advantage over a commercial country. In the former the wealth is likely to be more equally distributed than in the other, and though there may not be many millionaires, the people are likely to live more contented. This is certainly an advantage, and I would earnestly appeal to one and all to help the agricultural cause.

For this pupose an association composed of the prominent members of the country should be formed for the purpose of organizing agricultural missions which will spread the agricultural knowledge throughout the length and breadth of the country by direct instruction and distribution of literature, and devising means for creating a class of educated farmers, &c. Such associations were founded in Great Britain in the 18th century in which the high and low joined and gave an impetus to the agricultural industries. England or the British Isles have thus become the birth place of modern western livestock and agricultural knowledge. In America, besides the famous Universities, there is no end of experimental stations and associations for improving livestock and grain, &c. Professors and others always go round the States instructing the people and helping in the application of practical methods. In such works the co-operations of officials should be solicited, and I am sure such co-operation will be forthcoming. Indirectly this will lead to better political and social condition, and do away with all sorts of misunderstanding. I cannot do better than conclude with the noble words of Jethro Tull, the father of tillage :—

> Men of the greatest learning have spent their time in contriving instruments to measure the immense distance of the stars, and in finding out the dimensions, and even weight of the planets: they think it more eligible to study the art of ploughing the sea with ships, than of tilling the land with ploughs, they bestow the utmost of their skill learnedly to prevent the natural use of all of the elements of destruction of their own species, by the bloody art of war. Some waste their whole lives in studying how to arm death with new engines of horror, and inventing an infinite variety of slaughter; but think it beneath men of learning (*who only are capable of doing it*) to employ their learned labours in the invention of new (or even improving the old) instruments for increasing of *Bread*.

THE 2,500th ANNIVERSARY OF BUDDHISM.

By Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, M. A.

THE life of the great teacher, whose influence has been felt so profoundly in the vast Eastern world, has been undeservedly neglected in the land of his birth. What I want to try and sketch is the plain prose story of the life of the great prince, who so long as 2,500 years ago gave up all for his country and his fellow-beings, and set the world the greatest example of true patriotism and saintliness it has ever had. Stripped of its poetic accrections, the story has a majestic pathos, a fine simplicity, which the introduction of miraculous and irrelevant elements merely serve to obscure.

First, let us consider the state of the Aryan races when, in 620 B. C., Prince Gautama was born. In the West, deep stillness brooded over the primeval forests that covered the lands which now lead the world. Imperial Rome was scarcely noticeable: a semi-savage settlement, lurking in the protection afforded by low hills and the bend in the Tiber, was all that marked the site of the Imperial city. But further east, the dawn was breaking. Greece was awake, Sappho and Alcæus were making the isles of the Ægean resound with song; restless Athens had already expelled her kings and inaugurated a rude democracy. Thales and his followers had commenced to pry into the secrets of Nature. In Asia Minor, the great Semitic empires were tottering, ready for the onset of the Iranian conqueror. In India, the light had already shone for many a century. The Arayan tribes of the "Madhya Deshha" had already advanced far in civilization. Pleasant groves and fertile fields attest to advanced agricultural knowledge and a permanent settlement; substantial palaces, though mostly in wood and brick, pointed to prosperity and wealth. Political questions, probably, had little interest in primitive India; the conservative Aryan was content to abide by the customs of his fathers; and so little had the idea of national unity occurred to any, that the system of small city states remained unchallenged. Each tribe dwelt unmolested under its petty raja, with probably little attempt at minute political organization of any kind.

It was as the son of one of these petty rulers that Prince Gautama was born. Many stories were told of the wondrous child—his virture, his learning, his proficience in knightly exercises. His mother died soon after his birth, and perhaps that may account for the jealousy with which the widowed father superintended the upbringing of his son and heir. Particularly disquieting on this account was that tendency, so common to imaginative minds, to throw aside the cares of wordly life, and to take to religious seclusion. The Prince, however, was in due time married, and became the father of a son. But now, his wordly duties to some measure fulfilled, the old longing, the desire to break away from the traditions of a petty court, and probe to its depths the meaning of things, broke out afresh. Stirred by the unexpected sight of a sick and aged beggar, the Prince took a sudden resolve. Waiting till night had fallen, in order to avoid the expostulations he knew that such a step must arouse, he took a silent farewell of his sleeping wife and child, and avoiding the drowsy sentries, mounted his horse and rode out into the desert. Here he was soon lost to the world and set about the great quest with characteristic energy.

For the next six years he lived the life of an ascetic in the jungles and forests which then covered the country near the present Gaya. So keen was his faith, that his austerities wasted him to a shadow, and so weak did he finally become that it is recorded that on one occasion he collapsed while bathing in a stream, and only dragged himself to shore by means of a branch. Here he lay unconscious for many hours, till a poor herdsman's daughter revived him with a draught of fresh milk. But what had been the net result of his penances and fastings ? Gautama found he was no nearer his longed-for goal. His austerities had done nothing for suffering humanity ; nor had they revealed the truths he sought. Neither by the meditation of the Yogi nor the sacrifices and *mantras* of the priests lay the path to knowledge. And so he resolved to abandon austerities, to start afresh. And now the third phase in the life of Gautama began. Weary and disillusioned, deserted by his companions, worn out by his years of self-denial, and oppressed by the sense of the futility of his efforts, the poor, tired student was seated beneath a giant pipal tree. Suddenly a marvellous change overcame him. Students of psychology may have read Professor William James's fascinating book on the *Varieties of Religious Experience.* They will remember that curious psychic phenomenon which is known as conversion, which suddenly changes a man's whole aspect of life, and dedicates him till death to a religion which up till then he has utterly despised. They will recall the instances of Paul of Tarsus, of Ignatius Loyola, of John Wesley, of a hundred others, of all lands, ages, and religions. It was something like this that came upon Gautama ; like a flash of divine inspiration he realised the true object and meaning of life. He saw that neither gods, nor prayer, nor sacrifice could avail anything; that penance and austerity were selfish and useless; that the human soul was not a permanent entity, but an everchanging complex of many causes—environment, parentage and past experience; and that the true release lay not in supernatural intervention but in man's own effort. Man is man's own saviour, and only by the life that is entirely altruistic, that is wholly devoted to humanity—pure and passionless and selfless—can we quench the thirst for earth-life that binds us to material existence, and reach the blessed haven of Nirvana.

And then to the excited and ecstatic mind of the seeker, it seemed that the powers of darkness gathered for a final attack upon his soul. The evil spirits were, we may believe, the product of an overwrought brain, but the temptation which beset him was real enough. Emancipation was now within his reach, and why not take the rest he had so richly earned? But the teacher stood firm; and when at last the evil obsessions vanished like clouds at daybreak, he found himself alone, victorious. What a prospect was his! Free from sorrow for ever, the conqueror of self, a world of sin and suffering to save in front of him! It was then that he broke out into the divine triumph song: "O Maker of the Tabernacle of the Body, thou art detected, thou shalt not make this tabernacle again. Broken are thy rafters, and thy ridgepole is snapped in twain: *The Mind, approaching the Eternal, hath attained Extinction of Desire.*" Henceforth the Sage was Gautama no longer; he was the Buddha, the One who knows; his was Nirvana already, for with the passion-thirst quenched, the way was clear before him. The lamp of life had but to burn to extinction, and never again would the flame be relighted.

And now the Buddha, full of the new-found truth, started upon the fourth and last phase of his career—the forty-five years during which he wandered about the country of his birth, disseminating the doctrine of the extinction of suffering, preaching, comforting, enlightening. Appropriately choosing Kashi (Benares), the sacred city of his race, as the starting point of his new career, the Buddha set forth on the long journey which lay before him. So transfigured, we are told, was the face of the saint, that a Brahman turned and asked him way his countenance was so perfect and peaceful, and what system of religion had imparted to it such unearthly joy? To which the Buddha replied that he had found the secret of the conquest of ignorance and desire. On arriving at Benares, the Buddha's first thought was to tell the good news to those disciples who had forsaken him in his hour of need, and to them he preached that evening his famous first sermon in the Deer Park at Benares, the words of which have been preserved for us. And so the "Wheel of the Dharma" was set rolling. Disciples flocked to the Master's side, amongst them being the beloved Ananda, the faithful companion of his Master's trials and wanderings from thenceforth till his death. Abhorring solitary penance and extravagant austerity, as not only useless, but actually selfish and harmful, the little band led a simple, industrious, and pleasant life. The Master, we are told, rose at five, and dressed unassisted. Then, till daylight he would meditate. When the day was broken, attended by his followers, he would take the begging-bowl and go to the neighbouring villages to beg for food and alms. After the meal was over, he would preach to the villagers, comfort the afflicted, and answer questions upon spiritual difficulties. And then, when the folk had departed, the Buddha would talk with his disciples and dismiss them for meditation, till the people again began to crowd about his lodging place in the cool of the evening, when the Master would preach to them upon some ethical subject and dismiss them. Right conduct was the subject of his discourses; metaphysical speculation was always discouraged as profitless and a waste of time; for the Buddha's view of life was entirely a practical one. In the rains, when travelling was impossible, the band withdrew to a grove, and building little huts, spent the time of inactivity in discourse and meditation and instruction. In Ceylon, the ancient custom is kept up, and still at the time of "was," the folk build little "mandaps" of palm-leaves and sit in the bright moonlight while a yellow-robed monk intones the sacred texts, or reads the naive "Birth Stories" of the Buddhist canon, which the audience receive with perennial delight.

And so for many pleasant, useful years the time passed on. The "Wheel of the Law" was rolling far and wide, and the land rang with the glad tidings of the Middle Path. But the Master was getting old; already past eighty, he began to feel the effects of nearly fifty years' incessant exertion, mental and physical. In the forty-fifth rainy season, an attack of dysentery warned him that the end was near. Speaking long and earnestly to his disciples, he told them of his approaching death, and exhorted them to keep the rules he had laid down. The story of moments is told us in a very old Pali book—"The Book of the Great Decease." The fatal illness was brought on by a meal prepared in the Master's honour by a poor goldsmith. With his usual kindly courtesy, Buddha partook of it alone, excusing his disciples with a few tactful words. Then he set out on his last journey, but by the side of a stream, weary and sick, he lay down to rest. Refreshed a little by his rest, he managed to reach a neighbouring grove, where the final and fatal attack overtook him, and he knew the end was near. Poor Ananda, dismayed at the approaching loss of his lifelong friend and guide, forgot all that he had been taught about the inevitable impermanence of earthly things, and broke into bitter weeping. "I am not yet perfect, and my Master, who was so kind, is leaving me," he cried. But the dying Saint rebuked him in words of kindly comfort. "Ananda," said he, "do not weep. The very fact that I exist contains in itself the germ of my dissolution, for what is born must also die." And then, turning to the disciples, he spoke of his old friend's kind and loving disposition. The night was wearing on, and the Master was evidently sinking. A philosopher who had come to ask some questions was turned away by Ananda, but the Buddha called him to him, and instead of answering his enquiry, preached to him of the Law of Righteousness. Thus to the end the Teacher upheld his lifelong contention that conduct alone matters in life. Speculation may be left to the curious; to the righteous man, it is a hindrance. His last words epitomize his system. "Brethren, work out your salvation with diligence; and remember, that *decay is inherent in all component things.*" With these words the soul of the great Saint found the rest it had earned so well. The poor, worn body was burned in great solemnity, in a manner worthy of a King of Kings. For he was ever a King, princely by birth, a prince and master of souls. Now, in looking at the gentle and beautiful life of his great teacher and reformer, what are the chief lessons which we may derive from it?

First, I think, we are struck by its intensely *practical* character. The ideal of the Buddhist religion is two-fold, (1) to cleanse one's own heart, (2) to love and help our fellow-men. "To cease from wrong-doing, to get virtue, to cleanse one's own heart, this is the religion of all the Buddhas."

Secondly, its *independence*. Man is man's own saviour. "The true Shekinah is Man." We must not look to God for help, but to ourselves. Our present life is the result of the past, just as the future will be the result of the present. *Karma* is the inevitable determining factor :

> The moving finger writes, and having writ,
> Moves on, nor all thy piety and wit
> Can lure it back to cancel half a line,
> Nor all thy tears blot out a word of it.

Hence, every minute is important ; we must be for ever working out our salvation, and our slightest act has untold consequences for endless ages. Man's task is infinitely hard, but his privileges are infinitely high.

Thirdly, I would call attention to its splendid *altruism.* It is not by solitary penance, by sitting and repeating the name of God in ecstatic trance, that salvation comes, but by going into the world, enlightening the ignorant, healing the sick. We must be ever up and doing. Buddhism leaves man no time for speculation. Rest, cried Carlyle, have we not all eternity to rest in ? And the Buddha never rested. For half a century he taught and preached, and his last thought was for his friends and order. The crowning virtue, the mainspring of all the rest, is *Love.* Love for all men, and the power of inward culture over the human heart, these are the keynotes of the Buddhist's faith.

Finally, I would draw attention to the *cosmopolitan* character of the Buddhist creed. Its doors are open to all men, all creeds and castes and races. Hinduism is conservative, and has never strayed far from the banks of the sacred Ganges. Buddhism has crossed the Himalayas and spread to the millions in the great plains of China. Its huge monuments stand like sentries in the forests of far-off Java and Ceylon ; its sublime indifference nerved the Japanese in the distant Manchurin battlefield, and perhaps if ever the East finds unity and lasting peace, it may be under the great creed which expresses in so universal a form the mighty truths of Indian wisdom. And so, I make no apology for repeating an oft-told story. Its perennial freshness, its beauty and simplicity carry with them their own justification.

KALIDASA: A STUDY.—I.

By Prof. Ramavatar Sarma, M. A.

IN my larger work, "Kálidása: His Mind and Art," which is still in preparation, I have maintained the theory that Kálidása lived partly under Chandra Gupta II (Bikramáditya), and partly under his successor Kumára Gupta. The same theory is advanced in this thesis. It is an expansion of a mere hint from Messrs. Smith and A. Macdonnell, who suppose that the poet was connected with Chandra Gupta II, but have not yet adduced arguments to establish this supposition. The arguments adduced here in support of the theory are, it is hoped found to be, mostly original and based on a critical study of the history of the Guptas (including their inscriptions and Fa Hian's travels, and of the poet's own work.)

More than one Kálidása is known to the student of the Sanskrit literature. It appears that more than one thousand years ago the word Kálidása became synonymous with a great poet. Some poets preserved their names but affixed the title of Kálidása to these. Others discarded their original names altogether and assumed this new name. There were still others who called themselves Abhinava Kálidásas. Three Kálidásas are known to Rájasekhara, (¹) the Jaina author, whose mnemonic verses about poets are quoted by anthologists. One of these is certainly the illustrious author of the Raghuvansa. Who the other two are, cannot be definitely ascertained.

After the author of the Raghuvansa, (²) Padmagupta, the author of the Navasáhasánka-Charita, is the earliest poet who assumes the title of Kálidása. This poet calls himself Parimala Kálidása, and is perhaps better entitled to bear the great poet's name than any other of his successors. Padmagupta was the court poet of Vakpati Raja, otherwise called Munja of Dhara, and continued to hold the same position under his successor Sindhurája, father of the well-known king Bhoja. (³) Another poet, named Kálidása, was patronised

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(1) ए कोपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनाचित्सो शृङ्गारे ललितो द्गारे कालिदासत्रयी कि

राजशेखरस्य सूक्ति मुक्ता वल्याम् ।

This Rajasekhara is a Jaina author and ought not to be confounded with the great author of the Balaràmàyana.

(2) See the colophon of any canto.

(3) दिवं पिया सूर्मम वाचि मुद्रामदत्त यां वाक्यतिराज देवः ।
तस्पानुजन्मा कविबान्धवस्य भिनत्ति तां संप्रति सिन्धुराजः ।
—नव साहसाङ्क चरितस्योपक्रमे

by king Bhoja himself. He has left no works except a few stray verses cited by writers of fabulous histories of Bhoja (4). The writers of the astrological works Jyotirvidábharana and Satruparábhava (5) also call themselves by the name of Kálidása. In comparatively recent times the authors of the Sankaravijaya and the Bhagvata Champu have been known under the title of Abhinava Kálidása (6).

The great poet of the Raghuvansá and of some other works who transformed the proper name Kálidása into a title, through his merits, is distinguished by the anthologists as the Dípasikhá Kálidása. This title was suggested by his beautiful verse " Sancháriní dípasikheva, etc." (7) Bharavi, Magha and Ratnákara are respectively called in the same way Atapatrabhàraví, Ghantámágha and Tálaratnákara after their verses in which the words Atapatra, Ghantá and Tála occur (8). Parallel passages cited by S. P. Pandit in his introduction to the Raghuvansa clearly show that the great Kálidása is the writer of the Raghuvansa, the Kumára-Sambhava the Meghadúta, the Sakuntalá, the Vikramor-Vasíya and the Malavikagni-Mitra. Besides these great works he appears to have written in his early days the Ritusamhara and some other minor works(9). From the date disclosed in these works and from some other sources much real information can be gathered about the poet and his times. But it it somewhat strange that these facts have not yet been collected systematically and utilised in framing a connected account of the poet, who still remains a fictitious figure in the history of the Sanskirt literature.

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(4) See Vallala's Bhoja Pabandha.

(5) आसीत्कश्यप वंशा जोर्क तनया तीराधिवासो द्विज; श्री तमतार्त विचार सार चतुर. श्री भानु भट्ट; सुधी; । तत्पुत्रो हार भक्ति निर्मलतनु ज्योति र्विशाम् मणी; शास्त्रं शत्रु पराभवाख्य करो च्छी कालिदास: कवि: इति शत्रपरा भवस्यान्ते ।

(6) The real name of the author of the Sankaravijaya is Madhava. The author of the Champu gives no other name.

(7) संचारिणी दी पशि खेव रात्रौ यं यं व्यतीयाय पतिंवरा सा । नरेन्द्रमार्गा ट्टइव प्रपेद विवर्णभावं सस भूमिपाल: । रघुवंश षष्ठे सर्गे ।

(8) उत्फुल्लस्थ लनलिनी वनाद् मुष्मायादु द्धत: सरसिज संभव पराग: वात्य भिर्वि यावि विर्तित समन्तात्स धत्ते कनक मया तयत्र लक्ष्मीम् ॥ किराते उदयाति विततो र्ध्वरश्मिर ज्जावहिम रुचौ हिम धामि याति चास्तम् वहति गिरिरयं विलम्बि घण्टाद्वय परि वारित वारणो न्द्रली लाम् शिशुपालवधे ।

अस्तावन्न म्बिरवि विम्बतयो दयाद्रि-
चूडो न्मिषत्सकल चन्द्र तया चसायम् ।
संध्या मनृत्तं हरहस्त गृहीत कांस्यताल--
द्वयेन समलक्ष्यत नाक लक्ष्मी: ॥—हरविजये

(9) Sringaratilaka, Syamaladandaka and Pushapabanavilasa are also attributed to Kalidasa,

The first question that occurs to a critic about Kliádása is that of his date. The poet's connection with some Vikrama (10), his admiration of Valmiki (11), his mention of the Hunas, Yavanas (12), and other non-Indian tribes, the mention of his own name in inscriptions and other writings (13), the peculiar close of his Raghuvansa (14) and the date of his contemporaries (15) spoken of either by himself or by others, are the data ordinarily relied on for deciding his date. We shall see presently that these are not the only data available for fixing the date of Kálidása. But critics have often been satisfied with one or more of the facts mentioned above and have never tried to combine these with other relevant facts before conjecturing the poet's date. The chief theories advanced by different critics about the date of Kálidása are as follows :—

1. The history of Agnivarna's posthumous child. (16)
2. The Vikrama era theory. (17)
3. The Skanda Gupta theory. (18)
4. The Korur theory. (19)

Besides these, there are some other theories such as the identity of Matri Gupta and Kálidása, placing Kálidása in the 11th century under Bhoja, etc. The identity of Matri Gupta, king of Káshmíra, with Kálidása, was the work of Dr. Bháúdáji's fancy(20);

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(10) Indian tradition supported by Abhinanda see *infra.*

(11) तामन्वगच्छद्रुदितानुसारी कविः कुशेध्माहरणाय यातः । निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥ रघुवंश

(12) तत्र हूणा वरो धानां, यवनी मुख पाद मिति रघौ—

(13) कवितांश्रित कालिदास भार विकीर्ति रिति पुलके शिलेख; कालिदासस्य सूक्ति षिति हर्षचरितोपक्रमे ॥

(14) With the death of Agnivarna.

(15) Bhàsa, Dhàvaka, Kaviputra and Saumilla are mentioned in Màlavikàgnimitra.

(16) Theory of Fanche, B. B. R., A. S., Jour., 1861.

(17) Peterson's Intr. to Subháshitàvali.

(18) Theory of Chakravati, Jour., A. S. B.

(19) Fergusson, MaxMuller and Hoernle.

(20) Literary Remains of Dr. Bhaudaji.

and those who did not know that there were many Kalidasas relied on the Bhoja Parabandha and thought that Kálidása lived under Bhoja of Dhara in the 11th century. These views are therefore apparently absurd and hardly need a lengthy criticism, and now we pass at once to the four theories mentioned above which hold the ground and come up now and then in some form or other. It was supposed by some early critics that Kálidása lived under the posthumous child of Agnivarna. Had this not been the case why should Kálidása have closed his Raghuvansa with Agnivarna? The poet brought the history of the Raghu race down to his own times and left it off there. This would place Kalidasa some eight centuries before the Christian era, as some suppose (21). In the first place it is highly probable that Kálidása saw that after Agnivarna the Voluptuary, the glory of the Raghu race was gone and he avoided the disturbances that followed that king's reign. Besides had the poet continued the poem after Agnivarna (as S. P. Pandit thinks he did) the Raghuvansa would have become a huge unmanageable work, instead of the perfect, finished masterpiece that it is, and Kálidása is the last person to commit such a folly. It is natural, therefore, to suppose that the great poet closed his masterpiece with Agnivarna for æsthetic and not for historic reasons as Dr. Fauche (22) fancies. It is also urged against this theory that had Kálidása flourished under Agnivarna's son, he would have rather closed the poem with his patron's history and not with that of his father. In reality Kálidàsa cannot be thought to have lived either under Agnivarna or his son, for had he been under any of them, how could he have painted Agnivarna (23) as a reckless voluptuary, if the latter was either his patron or his patron's father. This one consideration is sufficient to refute the theory that Kálidàsa lived about or just after the time of Agnivarna and the great fuss that has been made about it by critics appears to be quite useless.

The theory that Kâlidàsa lived under Vikramaditya in the first century B. C. is grounded merely on popular opinion and a chronological mistake (24). It is wrong so far as its date is concerned, but we shall presently see that the supposition that the poet is connected with some Vikrama is correct.

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(21) See S. P. Pandit's Introduction to his edition of the Raghuvansa.

(22) Jour., B. B, R. A. S., 1861.

(23) रकांच

वेयम पश्चिम कलास्थि तेन्दुवा पङ्क शेषमिव वर्म पल्वलम् ।
पाहितत्कुल मभूत्तया तुरे नामनार्चि रिव दीप भाजन मिति रघुवंशी योन विशसर्गो रघुवंश
कोणं वसान मासन्न प्रायं स्त्राचिन कविना

The main argument of those who place Kálidása at the end of the fifth century under Skanda-Gupta is based on the mention of the Hunas (25), by the poet in the Raghuvansa. But the meanings of the words Huna, Yavana, Saka, etc., as used by Indian authors are quite indefinite, and it cannot be maintained that the historic Hunas are meant by the poet. Besides the Huna tribe might have been known to Indians even before their first invasion about 458 A. D., by their raids and incursions on the borders of India, and there is no reason to suppose that Kálidása would have been ignorant of this tribe, had he lived earlier than their first invasion of India.

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(24) Fergusson's theory that Harsha Vikrama of Ujjayani founded the era in 544 A. D. and threw it back by 600 years is not accepted here.

(25) See Raghuvansa conto. IV.

MORAL TRAINING IN INDIA.

By Mr. J. L. Chatterjea.

THE question of providing for the moral training of Indian boys in schools has been discussed with more or less vigour from time to time. But despite the good intentions underlying the idea, the importance of which is realised equally by the Government and the leaders of the different communities, nothing in practice has been so far achieved. To some extent this is plainly attributable to a certain amount of apathy, a lack of zeal of that particular sort which does not rest content with evolving a theory but finds means to translate it into practice at the earliest possible opportunity. It has at the same time to be frankly confessed that the difficulties in the way are not quite so trivial that may be brushed aside with ease, so that want of zeal and the readiness to sleep over carefully sketched-out plans which is unfortunately too marked a characteristic of the slaggish oriental, are not the only factors responsible for the non-fruition of the scheme in question. What these difficulties and drawbacks are will be briefly indicated below; but let it not be supposed for a moment that the difficulties are absolutely inevitable or insurmountable. On the contrary, without taking an unduly optimistic view of the matter the assertion can be safely made that provided not only the leaders and the official class but the educated community in general set themselves up in right earnest to solve the problem, due regard being had to its urgency and almost all-absorbing importance, the drawbacks which at present seem so disheartening will grow less and less and at last cease to operate as a real deterrent.

The subject of moral training has been to some extent brought to the fore by the English Moral Education League under the vice-presidentship of Mr. Fox-Pitt. We read :—

> In response to the general expressions of opinion by prominent Indians of all shades of thought that steps should be taken to introduce definite moral teaching into Indian schools, Mr. Fox-Pitt, the vice-president and one of the most active working members of the English Moral Education League, has come out to India to endeavour to organise the movement and so bring pressure to bear on the educational authorities to adopt a system of moral instruction on scientific lines. It appears that Mr. Fox-Pitt has been on a visit to India to acquire direct knowledge of the conditions of teaching, etc., obtaining here, and help the latent movement to organise itself. He discussed the question with several representative men of the different provinces, such as the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharaja of Mysore, Messrs. Gokhale, Sir Guru Das

Banerji, Mr. R. N. Madholkar, Sir Narayan Chandvarkar and Sir V. D. Thackersay. He interviewed several officials as well, and as a result was deeply impressed with the keenness of demand for moral education on really sound lines. His scheme, as formulated up to date, is apparently based on a speech made last year by the present liberal-minded Governor of Bombay at the Moral, Civic and Sanitation Conference. His Excellency observed : "What is needed are books .....in which the moral lessons should be drawn wholly from Indian life, history, biography, mythology and literature. The atmosphere, the colour, and the forms of expression must be Indian...The spirit should be essentially that of the East. The materials are rich and varied. The Sacred Books of India contain moral precepts of universal value to all mankind which rust forgotten or unknown."

Accordingly Mr. Fox-Pitt's idea is to place in the hands of the boys a book compiled by Mr. F. J. Gould on the model lines enunciated by Sir George Clarke, inculcating brotherhood, modesty, patience, fortitude, sincerity, courage, devotion and such excellent ideals in an attractive form so as to arrest the pupil's attention and by awakening his mental qualities, seek to perpetuate the impressions on his mind at that early and plastic stage. Mr. Fox-Pitt is naturally not without certain misgivings as to the feasibility of his scheme. He regards it as an experimental one for the present, to be modified or revised according as may be found necessary after the scheme has run for some time and to suit local conditions and the habits of the pupils of different provinces. In order that the experiment may have a fair trial, he invites the cordial co-operation of the Indian society in creating a strong public opinion in favour of undenominational, but nevertheless, religious, moral instruction. Here, unquestionably, Mr. Fox-Pitt touches a sore point.

In a paper read before the Indian section of the Royal Society of Arts, Mr. C. H. A. Hill, C. S. I., recently pleaded for the provision of moral training in India on the lines of the Moral Education League. He spoke of the complaint of Hindu, Mahomedan and Parsi parents on the score of a deplorable change in the attitude of children, and suggested that inasmuch as the educational policy of 1854 imposed no bar on religion in aided schools, endeavours might be made to impart that kind of instruction in primary schools particularly, and if such instruction could not well be based on religion, that a scheme of secular moral instruction might be introduced, so far as all Government schools were concerned. Lord Northcote, who was in the chair, agreed with the speaker and recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the subject. Sir Theodore Morison, an educationalist, well-known in India, and now a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, argued that despite the secular basis on which English education had proceeded, it had vastly improved the moral tone of the country, its only disappointing result being that it had produced loss of reverence or insubordination. The above will indicate the interest that is being taken in England in the subject, so that we may look forward to a move being made in the direction before long.

It would be well to point out at the outset that it is not English education that is responsible for the mischief it is loosely alleged to have done, but the system in which education has been imparted at home and in public schools. That the system is wholly rotten so far as character-making is concerned, admits of no doubt or dispute. If the reading of good books containing any number of moral precepts be considered sufficient to produce the desired effect, there would scarcely be this cry for moral training. Practically all the books taught in the lower classes are full of moral instructions, and the fact that this has not been to much purpose plainly indicates where reform is wanted. In the first place, the teachers of the lower classes are usually selected for the sake of economy without reference to their fitness for the peculiarly delicate and responsible duties to which they are called. The vast majority of them are imperfectly educated and wholly ignorant of the art of teaching little boys. Neither can the starvation wages given to these teachers be expected to tempt a better stamp of men. The school authorities—the university, let it be remembered, is an examining body, and where it at all pretends to be more than that, it concerns itself with "higher education,"—seem to imagine that the lower classes can be coached in any manner and are content with leaving them in charge of beggarly, uneducated youths or dotards who either sleep through the hours when they should be alert or flog the unhappy boys when they should be patient with them. The poor little pupils at first wonder what the capricious conduct of their mentors may mean, but soon coming to regard it as invitable, take up an attitude of indifference and insolence combined. Still, in the towns, the conditions are distinctly better. In the village the *gurus*—what a hopelessly miserable lot they are! Their ways are well-known and have passed into proverbs, and it would be waste of time to describe them in detail. In brief, some of them set before the youngsters all sorts of bad example—petty thieving, smoking, idling, deception, bad manners and what not. It is not strange that under the above circumstances the boys should develop in later years, some into successful men no doubt, but without character and as undesirable citizens and intolerable limbs of the society. As in schools, so in colleges in a modified degree. The professor gets no opportunity and is often little inclined to appear before his pupils otherwise than in the *role* of his profession, strict, stern and lofty. He thinks and cares for "exams and passes" as exclusively as his flock, and the not too distant picture of his pupil as a member of the society and citizen of the state seldom rise before his mind's eye. Depressing facts these but fortunately they are not unalterable, and it is in this direction that reform is needed.

Next we have to consider the other important side of the story, the home life of the average boy. Unpleasant to a degree though it is, it has got to be admitted that in the majority of cases this homelife is even less promising than school life. Much of the mental and physical degeneration of our youths is attributable to the manner in which they are brought up by their parents or guardians, to the surroundings where they live and the experiences through which they are led. And all this, again, is mainly the result of want of education of the right sort among women. Hardly anything better can with reason be expected of mothers who are ignorant of their proper duties and are unfit to discharge them. Some, owing to ill-health brought on mostly by repeated child-bearing at an early age, are physically unable to bestow the requisite amount of care and thought upon the upbringing of their children; others are either too ignorant or too indifferent or too conservative to move out of the accustomed rut, or, warned by their own fates, to try to adopt healthier lines than those in which they were reared by their more antiquated mothers. The children almost, as a rule, are overfed, and either petted immoderately or kept under such a disciplinary surveillance that it cramps their mind, dulls their intellect and receptive powers and makes them shy. The product after all is a sickly set of spoiled darlings or morose lads who, to the reasonless but unfeigned astonishment of their parents, turn out failures. Very often the school and the home are at cross purposes, the boys unlearning at home what they learn in school and *vice versa*. Little wonder, again, that between such a scylla and such a charybdis the marinerless vessel should be foundered at the critical moment.

In consideration of the facts mentioned above, the first essential would appear to be to popularise and introduce on a much larger scale than hitherto attempted or undertaken the education of women on healthy and suitable lines. There should be many more girls' schools and girls' teachers, sedentary and peripatetic, than now—not so much to turn out fashionable female scholars, versifiers, politicians and suffregettes,—not certainly motorists, levee-hunters, ball-dancers, "At Home" lovers, stage dummies, street strutters, globe-trotters, laced upstarts and stylish epicures—we have a surfeit of these fluttering butterflies of the hour;—but sober, modest Hindu or Moslem women, proud of and sympathetic with their own ideals and traditions, alive to a sense of their household and other duties, trained to direct their family affairs well and smoothly, allay strife and bring peace in their families, conversant with how to tend and nurse the moral, mental and physical growth of their children, and to shape their character—in short, fit in every sense to be mothers, sisters and mistresses of the house. The model may seem too flighty and pretentious, but it is by no means impossible, and female education should aim at this. There is in truth no reason why well-conducted girls' schools should not be able gradually to turn out what the country wants so much. In India, at least, the Moral Education League of Mr. Fox-Pitt would therefore do well, instead of putting the cart before the horse, to start at the right end by opening girls' schools for the diffusion of sound education among females and providing for house-to-house training of females by means of peripatetic teachers.

The home organised, the school requires to be attended to. The best results cannot be expected unless boys are made to live in residential hostels. Just now we have practically no such hostel attached to public schools, but they are so important that the sooner they are opened the better. The value of a hostel where the students are in close and constant touch with their mentors cannot be over-rated, but the pity is that this is not fully realised. Financial considerations of a flimsy nature are allowed to wreck several schemes calculated to do lasting service to the State and the country at large, and so far as our wealthy men, their inability to find funds for really worthy objects only betrays the feebleness of the public spirit and patriotism of which they brag so much. In fact education and sanitation would scarcely have been at such a low level if the lolling zamindars and upper middle classes, whose purse-strings automatically go loose at the call of the Government in expectation of titles to adorn their sesquepedalian names or decorations to cover their ample breasts, were duly mindful of the supreme importance of these matters and their obligations in respect thereto. It is besides very often conveniently forgotten that all schemes of utility mean expenditure as much as pleasure trips, dinners and gambling. Neither is there any unwritten code prescribing it that the State alone is to bear the expenses of securing for every one of its subjects a sound mind in a sound body. Self-importance demands self-exertion and taxation too, and the sly fox pays his skin only to the furrier. It is necessary that the public and the Government should co-operate with the Moral Education League in the matter of education in all its aspects.

The question of suitable text-books on the lines proposed by Mr. Fox-Pitt now comes in. Without a sound system of training at home and in school, as has been pointed out above, it is vain to trust to text-books alone to accomplish the object in view. The need of text-books is thus secondary, for it goes without saying that moral books and copy-book maxims can no more create good citizens than a Parliamentry law lying as a dead letter can make a nation great. Text-books are needed after the field has been prepared. We thoroughly agree with Mr. Fox-Pitt, however, regarding the models on which the text-books are to be prepared. The present plan is to give to the moral books an undenominational character. The idea has emanated, no doubt, from a desire to avoid the pitfalls existing in India caused by distracting religious differences, but whether undenominational text-books serve the purpose is a debatable point. It is on the other hand probable that denominational instruction will meet with public support as being not only necessary but safer in the sense that in that case there will be no chance of different religions being unconsciously taught to the progress of a particular religion. For instance, the Moral Instruction Movement should not be open to the suspicion of being used as a means to propagate the Christian religion, and it would not do for the Government or the Missionaries to use it as such. The missionary schools for boys and girls and the missionary propaganda have not so well succeeded because of Hindu and Mahomedan parents fighting shy of the institutions lest their children should go astray. The Hindu parent would naturally like and insist on his children being taught to be good Hindus ; so in regard to Mahomedan, Christian and other religious bodies. Besides, lessons drawn from the religious works of a particular community would more readily be understood and appreciated by and make a deeper impression on the minds of learners of that community than on others, and would likely be objected to by the latter on religious grounds. The modern demands for denominational universities serves as an eye-opener, and it is useful also to note in this connection the indirect support the demand is getting from the Government. Lord Hardinge has spoken favourably of the proposed Moslem university, and Moslem employes in Government offices have openly called meetings to raise subscriptions in aid of the scheme. Undenominational moral instruction has thus little chance of being popular. Moreover, the plan on which text-books have been proposed to be prepared, though avowedly undenominational, must necessarily comprise references to particular religions. The lives of the Christian, Hindu and Moslem prophets, sages, and religious reformers, for instance, cannot be taught without inculcating therein their religious principles. While, therefore, denominational moral text-books on the lines proposed by Mr. Fox-Pitt are needed for boys and girls, similar books but containing instructions on domestic and household matters as well and elementary sanitary rules, etc., are wanted for grown-up women to serve a very useful purpose by teaching them much that they know nothing about but should know perfectly well.

I need hardly add in conclusion that the whole scheme is eminently praiseworthy and deserves wide and active support for the sake of the future of the country. Public, social and communal life in all parts of India is so disappointing and often so baneful now-a-days merely because sufficient attention has never been paid to the formation of character on sound principles. Co-operation, fellow-feeling, integrity of motive and purpose, are for the same reason so lamentably absent in this country, whether among our publicists and platform reformers of all things evil or private individuals and officials. Between knowledge and wisdom, book-learned skill and commonsense, there is a wide gulf fixed, and if the League succeeds in narrowing it, it will have achieved a result which will mean the uplifting and regeneration of India.

ISLAM AND SOCIALISM.—III.

By Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai, Bar-at-Law.

MUHAMMAD'S SOCIALIST DISCIPLES.

IN fact Muhammad charged the very atmosphere of Arabia with Socialistic ideals and made every individual among his followers a fit member of a highly Socialistic society.

It was more than once that Ali—the hero of Islam, who,—like Christ, prayed for his own murderer,—gave away all the property he possessed to the public Treasury for the use of his fellow-men. On one occasion he demonstrated the victory he had personally gained over Individualism in a very marked way. He was fighting for the people and his sword was about to sever the head of one of the enemies when the latter spat at him to show his personal contempt for the son-in-law of the Prophet. Ali merely sheathed his sword saying that he was not there to avenge personal wrongs. Individualism was not a plank of his platform.

The same was the case with Omar who, even as "king" of the Peninsula, used to sleep on the foot-steps of a mosque with homeless people, and shared his camel with his servant riding turn by turn when he went to "conquer" Palestine. Even a very bigoted writer has said of him, "Omar was the first who bore the title of 'Prince of the Faithful,' and though his Empire extended from the Orontes to the Arabian sea and from the Caspian to the Nile, he effected no regal state, was the friend and companion of the beggar and the poor and in his mud place at Medina was ready to share his meal with the humblest brother in faith."

Abu Bakr Siddique, about whom the same writer has said that he "was a man of the purest character, and his friendship for Muhammad and unswerving belief in his mission are a strong testimony to the sincerity of the prophet," when elected a leader of the Commonwealth made his *debut* with words to the following effect :—

"Behold me charged with the cares of governor. I am not the best among you; I need all your advices and all your help; if I do well, support me; if I err, counsel me. To speak truth to a person commissioned to rule is faithful allegiance; to conceal it is treason. In my sight the powerful and the weak are alike; to both I wish to render justice. As I obey Allah and his

Prophet, obey me. If I cast behind me the laws of Allah and the Prophet, I have no more right to your obedience."

It might not be considered amiss to give a quotation from Abu Bakr's directions to one of the generals of his army to show the spirit of his "rule." He said to Yazid Ibn Sophyan :—

> "Be sure you do not oppress your own people, nor make them uneasy, but advise with them in all your affairs, and take care to do that which is right and just, for those who do otherwise shall not prosper. When you meet with your enemies quit yourselves like men and do not turn your backs, and if you get the victory kill no children, nor old people, nor women, destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, excepting only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. You may eat of the meat which the men of the land shall bring unto you in their vessels making mention of the name of Allah. As you go on you will find some religious persons, that live retired in monasteries, who propose to themselves to serve God that way, let them alone, and neither kill them, nor destroy their monasteries."

To another general of the "citizen army" that Socialist leader said,

> "Take care to live religiously, and let the enjoying of the presence of God and future state the end and aim of all your undertakings, and look upon yourself as a dying man and always have a regard to the end of things, and remember that we must in a short time all die and rise again and be called to an account."

Even the weak and aged Osman was strong enough to conquer Individualism. At much personal expense he bought wells and made them public property for the good of his people. Among the early Musalmans nobody emancipated so many slaves. When he was besieged by his enemies his men came to him to obtain permission to fight for him but he insisted on not allowing himself to be the cause of blood-shed and emancipated all his slaves who, he thought, might be carried away by the impulse of faithfulness and devotion to fight with the besiegers in spite of his orders to the contrary. Osman after being starved for ten days was killed but he demonstrated by his act a wonderful triumph of Socialism over Individualism in the beginnings of Islam.

Other incidents can also be profitably quoted to show the spirit with which the Muslim leaders of old were imbued. After Abu Bakr had put Omar before the people to elect him their Khalifa, he lifted up his hands and prayed,

> "O God ! I intend nothing by this proposal but the people's good. I fear lest there should be any difference among them and I have set over them the best man amongst them. They are Thy servants ; unite them with Thy hand,

and make their affairs prosperous, and make him a good Governor; and spread abroad the doctrine of the Prophet of Mercy, and make his followers good men."

When in his turn Omar was asked to propose his own son to be the future Khalifa he answered :—"It was enough for one in a family to have an account to give for so weighty a charge as governing the Musalmans." However he left the following advice to him who would be elected :—

> "Give it as my dying bequest that he be kind to the men of this city which gave a home to us and to the faith; that he make much of their virtues and pass lightly over their faults. Bid him treat well the Arab tribes, for, verily, they are backbone of Islam; the tithe that he taketh from them, let him give it back unto them for the nourishment of their poor. Let him faithfully fulfil the covenant of the Prophet to the Jews and Christians. Oh! Allah, I have finished my course; to him that cometh after me I leave the kingdom firmly established and at peace!"

About this great socialist leader Professor Ockley says :—

> "He never used to save money in the Treasury, but divided it every Friday at night amongst the people, according to their several necessities in which particular his practice was preferable to Abu Bakr's, for Abu Bakr used to proportion his dividends according to the merit of the persons that were to receive it but Omar had regard only to their necessities saying 'that the things of this world were given us by God for the relief of our necessities and not for the reward of virtue, because the proper reward of that belonged to another world.'"

The colloquy between Heraclius and his patriarch on one side and Raphia and his Muslim co-religionists who were taken prisoner by the Emperor's army on the other is worth particular notice. The patriarch is said to have asked the Musalmans, "What hinders you from turning Christians?" They replied, "The truth of our religion." He represented to them the danger they incurred by displeasing Jesus Christ. Raphia replied "that it would one day be determined which party was rejected and which in the favour of God." Heraclius told them that he had been informed that their Khalifa used to wear very mean apparel although he had gained enough from the Christians to afford himself a better dress and asked what should hinder him from going like other princes. Raphia said, "the consideration of the other world and the fear of God hindered him." The Emperor asked them, "What sort of a palace your Khalifa has?" They said that it was made of mud.

"And who," said the Emperor, "are his attendants?"

"The needy and the poor."

"What tapestry does he sit upon?"
"Justice and uprightness."
"And what is his throne?"
"Abstinence and knowledge."
"And what is his treasure?"
"Trust in God."
"And who are his guard?"
"The stoutest of Unitarians."

They added :—

> "Dost thou not know O King that several have said unto him, O Omar, lo! thou possessest the treasures of Cæsars and kings, and great men are subdued unto thee, now therefore why puttest thou not on rich garments? He said unto them, "Ye seek the outward world but I seek the favour of Him that is Lord both of this world and that to come."

It should be interesting to the Labourites and Socialists of England to-day to read the following words of Professor Ockley which he inserts after translating the above dialogue in his history of the Saracens. He says :—

> "To the other questions proposed by the Emperor, they answered in a cant so very much like what our ears have for some late years been used to that were it not for the difference of the language, we might justly have suspected them to have been nearer neighbours."

Musalmans also can perhaps appreciate the remark as a compliment to their modernity,

Historians write that Heraclius once sent Omar a costly jewel the value of which was above the estimation of the inhabitants of the barren country of Arabia. The Musalmans would have persuaded Omar to have kept that priceless jewel for his owe use, but he said he could not keep that as it belonged to the public. So the jewel was sold and its price put into the public Treasury of which the Khalifa was only the Steward and from which he could draw only in a way that it might do most service to the public.

Omar, whom Mr. J. Pool has admitted to be "truly a great and good man, of whom any country and creed might be proud," invented the system of making nocturnal visits to people's congregations in order to be in close touch with them. It is said that one night he found a woman complaining that while Omar was enjoying himself with his wife and children her husband was away for a long time from his house waging her country's war. The Khalifa next day sent for the woman's husband and issued an order that no husband be separated any more from his wife for more than six months continuously.

On another occasion Omar heard an old milk-woman telling her daughter to mix water with the milk. The daughter, who was imbued with the spirit of the age of honesty and straightforwardness, refused, upon which her mother remarked, "At this time neither the Amir-ul-mominin is here nor his men. Why dost thou fear then?" She replied, "I fear Amir-ul-mominin's presence as much as his absence and would not do anything in his absence which I should not have done in his presence." The socialist leader on hearing these words came forward and proposed an alliance between the girl and his own son inspite of the social difference between the two. The marriage between Amir-ul-mominin's son and the milk-woman's daughter was duly celebrated, and it was their descendant who gave birth to the renowned Umar bin Abdul Aziz—who, when he ascended the throne, gave away to the public treasury all the wealth he had possessed and took out of it only two *dirams* per day for himself and his family.

On yet another occasion Omar heard an old destitute woman crying, "May God take Omar to task in whose Khilafat I am helpless and starving and who does not take sufficient care of the people in his charge so as to relieve every sufferer of his or her trouble or want." Omar was grieved when he heard this and immediately came back to Bait-ul-mal and took all the eatables he could carry on his shoulders to the woman. She gratefully thanked him for his kindness and said, "O stranger whom I know not, thou art more fit for the Khilafat, than Omar is."

One day Omar was seen searching in the hot weather for a camel which was public property and had been lost. The people asked him to leave the search to other persons as that was a work beneath the "dignity" of Amir-ul-mominin. Omar replied, "I am in-charge of the public property and it is I who am accountable for it, therefore I cannot entrust the search of this lost camel to any other person."

Omar's socialistic genious utilised the annual pilgrimage to Mecca for a political and administrative purpose. He called all the "Governors" of different provinces to come to pilgrimage, at a time when thousands of men from those very provinces came and he made them face the complaints of the "governed" in his presence. Annual pilgrimages were thus made days of reckoning for the "rulers" and the people freely censured those of them who deserved it. Those whom people did not like were replaced by others more popular.

The following incidents related in Rauzat-ul-safa and translated by Major Price show how scrupulous the leading Muslim Socialists were in safeguarding the interests of the public in regard to the money and property under their charge as against the private interests of even their own nearest and dearest relations. Aukil, the brother of Ali, took an opportunity of complaining to his brother, the then Khalifa, of the slenderness of his means for the support of a numerous family, and requested him to make some trifling addition to his pension from the public treasury. This Ali refused to do because of that incorruptible integrity with which he applied the resources entrusted by the public to his discretion, saying, that he had already assigned him the portion to which he was entitled, and that it was not in his power, however he might be disposed, to give him any part of that which was the property of others. But on Aukil continuing to urge the necessities by which he was impelled to solicit relief, the Khalifa affected to acquiesce and desired that since there appeared to be no alternative, he would attend on him that night, when they would break into the house of a certain wealthy neighbour and find an ample supply for all his wants. Aukil demanded with a mixture of surprise and indignation, if he could seriously propose to relieve him by so gross a violation of the laws of society. "On the great and solemn day of account," replied Ali, "how much easier shall I acquit myself against the accusation of a solitary individual, than against the united cry of the whole community of Islam, individually possessed of an equal claim in that property which thou hast endeavoured to persuade me to divert to private purposes?" Aukil unsatisfied by his noble brother's strict impartiality deserted him for a time and joined the rank of his less scrupulous rival Moawiah thus greatly strengthening the latter's position. But even this desertion on the part of his own brother did not induce Ali to shew any leniency in applying his Socialistic principles.

On another occasion when informed that his kinsman, Abdul Abbas, had appropriated part of the public treasure of Basrah, Ali, though he could ill afford to lose on that precarious occasion the sympathy or help of any of his friends and relations, wrote at once to Abdulla Abbas to assure him that if he had presumed in any instance to lay his hands on that sacred deposit beyond what was strictly warranted by the law, he might expect the utmost punishment. When the accounts were accordingly subjected to the severest scrutiny but no embezzlement was found, Abdulla considered himself so deeply injured, that he immediately relinquished his charge and withdrew to Mecca, desiring it to be understood that he had never coveted authority, much less was the Government of Basrah of such importance to him that he should continue to hold it under such circumstances of degradation.

The history of Islam would have been far more brilliant if Ali, a man of spotless character, of noblest principles and purest thought, had been spared the assassin's dagger and given a free hand to conduct the government of Musalmans on truly Socialistic lines. It was a Socialist who killed him and it was the cause of Socialism in Islam that was shattered by that blow. After Ali's death the form of socialistic government was changed but Muhammad had so profusely imbued Musalmans with socialism that its spirit lingered tenciously even after that formal change. The following story translated by professor Ockley from authentic Arabic sources relating the removal of Khalid, the sword of God, from the command of the Muslim army is also instructive reading. He writes :—

> " Omar liked Abu Obeidah for his piety, but had no opinion at all of Khalid. One day he was speaking to the people from the pulpit (as it was usual for Caliphs then to talk about what concerned the public in a very familiar manner) he mentioned the taking away of Khalid's commission, and conferring that charge upon Abu Obeidah. A young man who was present, took the freedom of telling him, that he wondered he would remove such a person, as Khalid had been the instrument of so good success to Musalmans, aud that when Abu Bakr was moved by some about Khalid to depose him, his answer was :— 'That he could not lay aside nor sheath that sword, which God had drawn for the assistance of the true religion,' and withal told Omar that if he did, he must answer it to God. Omar made but very little answer, but came down from the pulpit, and considered of it that night. Then next day he came again, and told them that since the care and charge of the Musalmans was committed to him, he thought himself obliged to take the best care of them he could, as one that must give an account, and for that reason was resolved to dispose of places of trust to such as deserved them, and not to such as did not : that he would give the command of the army to Abu Obeidah, whom he knew to be a man of a tender and gentle disposition, and one that would be kind to the Musalmans : that he did not approve of Khalid, because he was prodigal and extravagant." The author further adds that " they all wept when they heard of Abu Bakar's death. Khalid swore that though there was nothing upon earth dearer to him than Abu Bakr, nor had he greater aversion to any man than to Omar yet since Abu Bakr was dead and had appointed Omar his successor, he was very willing to submit to God and to Omar."

The qualifications of Muhammad's followers given in the contemporary records of the *Quran* are the following :—

> Happy now the believers, who humble themselves in their prayer, and who keep aloof from vain words, and who are lovers of charitable deeds, and who

> restrain their appetites, (save with their wives, or those whom their right hands possess: then they shall be free from blame: but they whose desires reach further than this are transgressors: and who tend well their trust and their convenants, and who keep themselves strictly to their prayers. These shall be the heritors, who shall inherit paradise, to abide therein for ever.
>
> [Sura XXIII.]

> And the servants of God of Mercy are they who walk upon the earth softly; and when the ignorant address them, they reply, "Peace!" They that pass the night in the worship of their Lord prostrate and standing, and that say, 'O our Lord, turn away from us the torment of Hell for its torment is endless': it is indeed an ill abode and resting place'! Those who when they spend are neither lavish nor niggard, but keep the mean:—Those who call no other gods with God, nor slay whom God hath forbidden to be slain, except for a just cause and who commit not fornication (for he who doth this shall receive punishment.)
>
> [Sura XXV.]

> Who fulfil their pledge to God, and break not their compact. And who join together what God hath bidden to be joined, and who fear their Lord, and dread an ill reckoning; And who, from desire to see the face of their Lord, are constant amid trials, and observe prayer and give alms, in secret and openly, out of what we have bestowed upon them, and turn aside evil by good: for them is the recompense of that abode, gardens of Eden—into which they shall enter together with the just of their fathers and their wives and their descendants: and the angels shall go in unto them at every portal saying: "Peace be with you because ye have endured all things"! Charming the recompense of their abode.
>
> Sura XIII).

Only a brief study of the above qualifications and characters of Muhammad's disciples and followers will be enough to convince one that Muhammad had formed a splendid material for socialism and that once the material was ready and the individuals were taught their duty towards one another, it could not, and did not, take long to erect the whole edifice of socialism. The mathametical result of elevating the morality of individuals and ennobling their character was socialism.

CHAPTER V.—INSTANCES OF ISLAMIC SOCIALISM.

(1) A MELANCHOLY EXAMPLE OF EARLY MUSLIM SOCIALISM.

In the history of Islam there is an unfortunate incident which has caused great bitterness of feeling between the two well-known sects (Shiahs and Sunnis) of Islam but which illustrates in a very vivid manner the extent of Socialism in Islam. Muhammad had a garden called the garden of *Fidak*. After his death his own beloved and only surviving daughter Fatima—the pride of all that is best in womanhood—claimed it as her property by right of descent, but the president of the Commonwealth, though her devoted servant and that of her father, contested her right on the ground that Muhammad had no personal or private property, that all he had left must become public property. So the garden became public property much to the grief aud personal loss of the descendants of the Prophet.

Imagine the great reverence, and self-sacrificing devotion which Muhammad's Musalman contemporaries felt for him; imagine also the personal characters, most loveable and sublime—of his beloved daughter and his disciple, cousin and son-in-law, Ali, then think of the history of the *Fidak* garden, and other similar incidents in which the interests of the Prophet's descendants and his nation clashed; and it becomes impossible to avoid the conclusion that in coming to his decisions as he did, the Musalman ruler of the time must have had extremely painful struggles between his personal inclinations on the one hand and the spirit of socialism as imbued by Muhammad on the other. History records that it was invariably socialism that triumphed asserting itself as an all-subduing, all-conquering power, and Musalims may well doubt if there is anywhere a better recorded instance of the victory of socialism than the early history of Islam.

(2) TRACES OF DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT IN MUSLIM AUTOCRACY.

Strange though it might appear, it is, however, a fact that even Muslim autocrats could not shake off altogether the democratic spirit of their religion and endeavoured instinctively to conquer Individualism and to act for the common good. Several Muslim sovereigns went round in disguise like the great Socialist Omar to find out the grievances of the poor, and made vows to abstain from luxuries until they had righted the wrong of their subjects. They endeavoured to govern the people for the good of the people and considered kingship as a sacred trust. Perhaps that great genius of our own times, Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan, II, stands alone among Muslim sovereigns for his great passion for absolutism and complete centralization of all authority and power into his own hand. Aurangzeb of India attempted to do so, but even he could not give up altogether those notions of fraternity and socialism which Islam inculcates. In his letters to his sons Aurangzeb has acquitted himself most creditably on that subject and declared sovereigns to be religiously bound in duty to serve humanity. He says that every ruler is responsible to God to secure the good of the people who are in his charge and that any deed of oppression which his officials and agents do is put down to his account by God.

The spirit of democracy and socialism had pervaded even the Muslim army. Khalid, the Hannibal or Napolean of Islam, of whom

Professor Ockley writes that "he was the best general of the age he lived in," when commanding the Muslim army against the Grecians, was asked by an envoy of the opposing army whether he was the general of the Muslim army. His reply was :—"They look upon me as such so long as I continue in my duty towards God and the observance of what He ordered us through His Prophet Muhammad of blessed memory; otherwise I have no command or authority over them." Recent events in Persia and Turkey have distinctly shown the innate democratic spirit in Islam. That in both places democracy has triumphed although it had very adverse circumstances to contend with is a credit to the democratic genius of Musalamans.

The order of the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid, who had exercised an absolute ruler over the whole Ottoman Empire for thirty-three years, to his body-guard officers, not to shed his people's blood on his behalf and to give up arms without resistance to the investing army is a striking instance of the sacrifice of self for the interests of the people and community which the religion of Islam inculcates in every Musalman howsoever habituated to absolutism and individualism he be.

Another recent striking example of that instinctive democratism can be found in the corpses of those valiant Muslim women who fought in the disguise of men with army of Nationalists in Persia against the despotic Shah.

It would be a surprise to many to learn that during the times of absolute rule in Turkey all the factories in Constantinople—the glass factory, the cloth factory, the boot factory, the iron-works, etc., were owned and worked by the State, the wages of the labourers were fixed and some of the factories were worked to give employment to youthful orphans and destitue unemployed. The great Harika cloth factory in which the majority of wage earners were females had comfortable residential quarters in addition.

(3) THE *Personnel* OF THE MUSLIM CITIZEN ARMY.

Men like Khalid and Zerar bin Azoor formed the *personnel* of the citizen-army of the Muslim nation and those anti-Socialists of to-day who doubt the efficiency of a "citizen-army" would do well to read a page from the history of the conquests of Egypt, Persia and the greater part of the Roman Empire by the citizen-army of Musalmans. Although the Muslim soldiers had not sufficient clothes for themselves and the majority of them had to fight without armour while their mercenary antagonists in the Christian as well as pagan armies were clad in coats of mail, helmets and breast-plates, their enthusiasm carried every thing before them.

The conquests of Omar through his "citizen-army" have been unparalleled in history in their vigour, extent and rapidity. The army was like a torrent, or an avalanche, irresistible in its force.

The chief characteristic of the Muslim citizen-army was that each individual was selfless. This made them careless of their own lives for the sake of their brethren.

When Khalid had to resign his "commission" and Abu Obeidah took the whole charge of the army and the affairs of the Musalmans in Syria in his hand, he was afraid that Khalid would be disgusted at his removal but as personal aggression or greed for acquiring selfish reputation were not the guiding motives of Musalmans of those days the heroic Khalid made the contrary appear sufficiently in that great action performed at Dair Abil Kudus. He fought, as an ordinary soldier, as zealously and bravely for his religion and his State, as he used to when he was commander of the army. On one occasion, immediately after his removal from the command, when Abu Obeidah asked him if he would go to rescue his brother Musalmans in a dangerous country he swore that if Omar had given the command of the army to a child he would have obeyed his orders, and prepared at once for the perilous task. It must not be forgotten that Khalid was but one of the thousand others who were ready to sacrifice personal interests for those of the community. Even the soldiers were socialists and that of no mean order.

In the words of the late Archbishop of Dublin "not Khalid alone, but every Muslim warrior felt himself indeed to be the 'Sword of God.' Comparing what they now were with what they had been 'in those times of their ignorance,' when they worshipped dead idols, they felt that they had been brought into a new spiritual world, now at length had learned what was the glory and dignity of man, namely, to be the servant of the one God, maker and ruler of all, that such servants they were, whose office it was to proclaim his power, themselves submitting and compelling others to submit to His will. What a truth was here to have taken possession of a multitude of souls! No wonder that in the strength of this, innumerable tribes which had hitherto done little but bite and devour one another, were presently knit together into a nation, and the worshippers of a thousand discordant falsehoods into a society which bore some sort of similitude to a church."

(4) DIGNITY OF LABOUR AMONG MUSLIMS.

In Asia generally and to a certain extent even in Europe trade and certain other professions are considered to be somewhat beneath the dignity of men of high rank and good blood. Sometimes the fact of earning one's livelihood by the sweat of the brow is considered humiliating. Such notions sin greatly against the laws of Socialism and Islam has strongly denounced them and taught the dignity of labour and work.

The QURAN'S warning to Musalmans is :—

Those believers who sit at home free from trouble, and those who make valiant exertions in the cause of God with their substance and their persons, shall not be treated alike. God hath assigned to those who contend earnestly with their persons and with their substance, a rank above those who sit at home. Goodly promises hath He made to all. But God hath assigned to the strenuous a rich recompense above those who sit at home, in rank near Him and forgiveness, and mercy, God is indulgent, merciful."

[Sura IV.]

Some of the sayings of Muhammad run thus :—

"He who earns his living by some art or manual labour is the friend of God." ("*Al kasibo habeeh Allah.*")

"Whoso is able and fit and doth not work for himself or for others God is not gracious to him."

"Verily it is better for any of you to take your rope and bring a bundle of wood upon your back and sell it, in which case God guardeth your honour, than to beg of people, whether they give or not ; if they do not give, your reputation suffereth and you return disappointed ; and if they give, it is worse than that ; for it layeth you under obligation."

"God is gracious to him that earneth his living by his own labour, and not by begging."

"He who neither worketh for himself nor for others, will not receive that reward of God."

The autocratic and all supreme Aurangzeb, Emperor of India, used to write the holy *Quran* with his own hand and sell it in order to comply with the above injunctions of Islam.

It is related that during the Khilafat of Ali bin Abi Talib, who though of the noblest family in Arabia, was one of the greatest socialists of his age, a foreign sovereign sent a spy to find out the ways and manners of the then advancing Arabs. The spy on reaching Medina enquired about the king's palace, and on being directed to Ali's mud hut he was greatly astounded. He then wanted to know how and where to see the Khalifa. The ladies of the house sent one of their male relations to lead the man to the place where the great Khalifa, who held sway over a large empire, was doing his day's work. It was the garden of a Jew where Ali was found watering the plants from the water-can which he carried on his own shoulder, and it took some time for the thunder-struck spy to believe that the man who weilded greater power than even the Emperor of Rome, was toiling before him in order to earn his living.

INDIAN MUSSALMANS: THEIR PRESENT SITUATION.

By Mr. S. M. Masud Ally Khan.

THERE is a an all-pervading conviction among the Muhammadans of India, that symptoms of awakening and progress are discernible among them. A major portion of them believes that they have traversed fairly the path of progress. Taking our present status, it appears to be a matter of paramount importance to decide whether these ideas are founded upon substantial and hopeful grounds or upon mere presumptions and probabilities.

The mainspring of a peoples' conception of freedom and advancement lies in its intellectual capabilities and educational attainments, in the self-sacrifice, restraint, and self-denial of its members, in their genuine and mutual sympathy, in its moral and mental elevation, and in all other virtues that are the characteristics of a civilised and advanced community. The elements of freedom do not mean the adoption of fashionable vices, or the assumption of things decent to look at the surface only. Its component parts are rather sundry virtues and the development of moral, mental, and spiritual faculties, which are the passport of a plain, honest, and honourable course of life.

In order to make a true estimate of the real state of affairs we have to scrutinise to what extent the members of our community have furnished themselves with an ample share of things material so as to rank as a progressive community. A close and minute observation reduces our claims to our equality with or superiority over other communities, both from a physical or educational standpoint of view, to a mere nullity.

In fact, our physical, social, educational, and political conditions are not more than a farce. The martial spirit which is the essential requisite of a peoples' existence has almost become extinct, in the Muhammadans of India. It is because we have sunk deep into degeneration and vices. The constitution of our youths is generally found to be delicate. They frequently suffer from indigestion, and numerous other complaints, too many to mention here.

How do we generally pass our leisure hours? How many reading-rooms, clubs, and societies, are there in India, for our useful entertainments, innocent recreations and the improvement of the mental backwardness of our people? The answer is a modest, shameful "few." The congregations in mosques, was an excellent medium of exchanging our thoughts, for the saying of our prayers, and, for establishing and promoting brotherly feelings among our co-religionists. How many people assemble at the mosques? All these questions are hard to be positively answered,—not from the point of number, but from the point of broad and intelligible distincion,—not at all warranted or recognized by the law of Islam—that is gradually widening among the Muhammadans under the effects of social importance. The churches are always found full with soldiers, civil and military officers, students, and almost every class of Christians. Our mosques are scarcely attended by a Tehsildar, even a Munsif, a Subordinate Judge, a Deputy Collector, or a rising Vakil, feels it derogatory to his position to attend a mosque. A mosque is frequently attended by uneducated and poor people, who are simply looked upon by the fashionable with contempt and ridicule.

The next source of our frequent gatherings was Giarhwin Sharif, Milad Sharif and Majlis, in commemoration of the great martyrs of Karbala, who died for truth and devotion to the cause of Islam, and cared not even when their infant children, and women were put to the most cruel tortures and heart-rending calamities and indiginities, only indescribable, and revolting to think of.

Now to Milad. It has simply become a crusty programme of narrow and confined traditions, and the singing of some odes. The real object this pious gathering was intended for, is absolutely different from what it now is. The main object was to teach the Muhammadans the unprecedented perfections of our Prophet so practically demonstrated by him, to persuade us to higher and nobler ideals of life, and to propagate union and sympathy among the believers of the faith. Our educated people have first of all discarded this system and if perchance a Milad is held somewhere our Prophet is levelled to the position of a Reformer of his century.

Our children are practically set at large to pick up fragments from all sources, whether Islamic or foreign. The attack so recklessly made by the non-believers are creeping into their belief as true, though they may not have the moral courage of asserting them generally. You cannot expect them to repose their confidence in the spiritual power of the Muslim saints. They would gladly accept the frivolities of Mesmerism, and the wonders of Hypnotism. They would lay to heart the recommendations of the Christian writers, if any, in favour of the Islamic tenets and the dictates of religion, but not actually believe them in general, notwithstanding the fact that the world-renowned Muhammadan Doctors like Imam Abu Haneefa and Imam Gizali devoted themselves to years of unceasing toil in piling arguments to support the most perfect, thoroughly elaborate and lucid laws of Islam, suited to the requirements of every phase of honest life, and time, which no religion can ever boast of.

I am bound to say that our Sufis and Ulemas are to a considerable extent responsible for this galloping evil and the gradual extinction of faith.

To be called a Muhammadan in name only, is not conducive to any fruitful results unless we are actually so. It is the bounden duty of our scholars to undertake the mission of remedying these evils instead of fighting over minor points bearing little or no value.

It is really shocking to hear our youths say, with a look of triumph, that certain dictates of our religion were not congenial to the soil of India, and the requirements of the Indian Moslems to-day, that in fact they were well suited to the Desert Island and (in some cases) particularly for the period that marks the foundation of our religion. The Aryas and the Christians are making constantly attacks upon our religion and its founder, but unfortunately we engage our attention towards the Sunni and the Shia faction rather than return them home to our opponents. The Nadwa and other so-called Institutions are equally silent on the matter for causes known to themselves only.

The fact that the Aligarh College contains little space for every-year-increasing number of our youths, the fact that the Muslims are securing higher posts, and the fact that the Muslim League has been established, all these things have convinced a major portion of the Muhammadans that they have almost made up their deficiency in point of education. No other idea can be more hurtful to our interests than this. The Educational Conference Report tell us how fearfully the Muhammadans are backward in education as compared with the wonderful activity of the other communities of India. Unless we have at least fifty per cent. of educated Muslims in every province of India, our salvation seems to be a fabulous dream or a sheer myth.

We should have our own university,—the greatest desire of our late and much lamented, the venerable Sir Syed—(be peace upon him), and we should expect our Muhammadan youths to be great men not for themselves but for Islam and its adherents. Let us see, when the time comes, when Mussalman professors would like or prepare themselves to work for their communal well-being and prosperity, on a trivial salary, as Mr. Gokhale, that very sincere and honest personage did, on Rs. 75 a month, till quite lately, in the Fergusson College. Much similar is the instance of Mr. Paranjpae.

The most important source of a people's prosperity has been all along deemed to be industry and commerce. The Muhammadans were a little better, on the whole, in this respect, but their avarice for service checked them from sticking to commercial pursuits in which they could have made their mark. The major portion of the Muhammadans who do some business is uneducated. They have entertained the very wrong notion that the object of education is to become a lawyer, a doctor, an engineer, a barrister, or to serve as an official or a petty clerk. Business cannot be carried on very successfully by an ignorant mass of people, and to this I should ascribe the great drawback of the Muhammadans in business. During the time of the Congress and the Educational Conference in Calcutta and Dacca, I had the opportunity of seeing all the leather factories in Calcutta, near Sealdah. Most of them were carried on by Muhammadans. My friends and I visited a new factory started a couple of months back only. We found this two months old factory in a much better and more flourishing state than those carried on by the Muhammadans. The Manager, a Hindoo, was an accomplished and a polite gentleman. He had been a journalist, a professor, and in other useful walks of life before taking up the charge of the leather factory. The Muhammadans were generally ignorant and a rough lot.

Our behaviour with our relations, friends, and the uneducated Moslems is capable of great improvement. We generally assume a very disagreeable air of patronage and superiority. There is no trace of earnestness and brotherly sympathy, and sincerity, our families are always involved in some complications or other, which is due to the selfishness or high-handedness of one or the other. Generosity, sympathy, and toleration which were the great principles of Islam, and which were practically demonstrated so often, are fast disappearing. We do not help our fallen and down-trodden relations and friends as we ought to do as Moslems. The England-returned barristers (as they are generally so) think it beneath their dingnity to mix with those educated in India. They read the *Pioneer* or some other Anglo-Indian paper that suits them most, because they have little anxiety to know the condition of their middle class people, or people in straitened circumstances. Our rich people squander lakhs of rupees on dancing girls, but would not like to contribute a pice for the general welfare of their relatives and community.

Asre-Jadid was a very useful monthly journal edited by Khawja Gulam-Us-Saqlain, but which owing to the inattention of the Musalman public ceased to exist. We have a limited number of journals and papers, and there is a general clamour that they are not supported, and read. We dispose of a lot of money and property in useless expenditure at the time of marriages and minor ceremonies. Numbers of landholders and Nawabs have been reduced to chill penury by the misuse of their money, and nothing has been done for these irremedible defects. The use of intoxicating liquors is getting wider and wider among the Moslems. This evil should be checked, otherwise the consequences are bound to be fearful. It is shameful that while the Hindus are gradually giving it up, the Muhammadans are taking to it in their place in spite of a stern prohibition.

In short, we have a and derrable amount of work before us to dispose of, before we can be entitled to be called the worthy sons of a great people, who in a few years' time had upset kingdoms, and levelled the mighty nations of the world to the position of " our subjects", not only by their invincible sword, but by their learning, training, and accomplishments all round. Let us wake up once more, free ourselves from the serfdom of our own misdoings, and let us observe the wonderful doings of our Hindu brethern in the way of industry, commerce, education, national sympathy, and co-operation. Let us open our eyes, shake off our leathargy and set ourselves to the reform and the betterment af our community, by an honest, conscientious, and sincere discharge of the functions and duties entrusted to us, whether collectively or individually. Let us sacrifice our personal desires for the good of the community, and die true patriots and Muhammadans. This is our trying hour, and we have to overcome all the insurmountable difficulties and barriers, that stand in our way. Steady work, perseverance, unflinching determination, self-confidence, hope and above all dependence on the Omnipotent, should be our fast and firm principles.

THE

Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

THE ENGLISH PRESS IN INDIA IN 1910-11.—II.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

V.—DAILIES—ANGLO-INDIAN, ANGLO-MUSSALMAN AND INDO-ANGLIAN.

THE English press of the United Provinces has stood, in the year under survey, at the same figure as in the previous year, namely, at four—comprising the Anglo-Indian daily of Allahabad, the *Pioneer* ; the Anglo-Mussalman daily of Lucknow, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* ; the Indo-Anglian daily of Allahabad, the *Leader* ; and the Indo-English semi-weekly of Lucknow, the *Advocate*. The last—edited by the Hon'ble Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma—has held its own as the premier Indo-Anglian paper in the province of Oudh and one of the leading organs of Indian public opinion in the United Provinces. But there is nothing more to chronicle about it, and our sketch will, therefore, deal with the three English dailies mentioned above.

THE PIONEER.—The *Pioneer* has continued to be under the experienced editorial control of Mr. G. M. Chesney, the veteran Anglo-Indian journalist, who has been connected with the paper he so ably edits for now over a quarter of a century. It has been conducted, during the period under survey, with all those well-known characteristics which we have learnt to associate with Mr. Chesney's editorship of the *Pioneer*. Readers of the late Mr. Marion Crawford's famous Anglo-Indian romance, *Mr. Isaacs*, will remember that the *Pioneer* is characterised there in as the *Daily Howler*. That is a description of the *Pioneer*, as it was, we suppose, early in the eighties of the last century. Much water has flown down the Ganges since then, and the *Pioneer* of to-day—though occasionally lapsing into, what it itself called a few years back, "the tiger qualities of an Imperial race"—is conducted, on the whole, as a paper for gentlemen, written by gentlemen. Its occasional lapses were recounted recently by Miss Hilda M. Howsin, on the 30th of January last, in the course of a paper read before the East India Association, London, on "Race and Colour Prejudice." In the course of the debate that followed, Sir Arundel Arundel said :—"Although I differ from Miss Howsin on many points, I entirely agree with her in her disapprobation of the language she has quoted from the *Pioneer*, as such language is absolutely indefensible."

The enterprise of the *Pioneer* in starting the vernacular weekly, the *Fauji Akhbar*, for the Indian soldiers, seems to have been successful, as three editions of it are published in the Persian, Nagri and the Gurmukhi characters. The editor of the paper received the title of Khan Sahib in the last *Honour's Gazette*. About the only notable departure from the traditions of the *Pioneer*, during the year under survey, has been the publication of advertisements interspersed with reading matter, which was till now scrupulously avoided. This is evidently a manifestation of the "new spirit" in the *Pioneer*. During the year under survey the *Pioneer* has lived on terms of peace and amity with its contemporaries, and there have been few occasions when it has been pilloried by them. About the only occasion when it came in for something at the hands of its Calcutta Indo-English contemporaries was when it found fault with the Karachi authorities for proceeding against the local Anglo-Indian daily—the *Sind Gazette*—under the Press Act. The following extracts from the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* will explain matters :—

> Neither criticism of Government measures nor the use of strong language is a monopoly of the Indian Press. Even the Anglo-Indian Press, not excepting its extreme wing which is represented by the *Englishman* in Calcutta and the *Pioneer* in the United Provinces, does not hesitate to criticise official measures with as much severity as any Indian paper, only if its interests are affected by such measures. The *Pioneer*, as we know, did not say one word in criticism of the Press Act when it was passed, no doubt because it thought its own interests and those of its constituents were safe enough. It looked on with absolute unconcern when the Press Act was being misused in the Bombay Presidency, and papers and presses, which had not committed any offence under the Act, were being called upon to deposit security, merely because they wanted to renew their declarations. Now, however, that an Anglo-Indian paper has been affected by this sort of operation of the Act, the *Pioneer* is up in arms against the authorities. What was the *Pioneer* doing so long? Are we to understand that the *Pioneer* has one code of fairness and justice for the Anglo-Indian community, another for the general community? And yet this is the paper which tells us in season and out of season that the Indian is incapable of rising above racial considerations.—The *Bengalee*.
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> If the Anglo-Indian papers had joined with their Indian contemporaries in protesting against the Press Act, it might possibly have been divested of some of its most objectionable features. But they evidently thought they were quite safe; and if the "Native" papers suffered, well, what did it matter to them? They also committed a similar blunder when the Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878. They gave unqualified support to this measure; and it was only when the official papers were published that they came to discover to their horror and disgust that there was a strong feeling among the bureaucracy, including Lord Lytton himself, to bring them also in due course within the meshes of that law. Under the new Press Act, however, no distinction has been made between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian Press. And the case of the *Sind Gazette* shows that the executive authorities, at least in particular localities, will administer the law impartially, irrespective

of creed and colour. One of the points which the *Pioneer* urges ought to tell on the authorities. Our contemporary justly remarks that, when a paper falls under official displeasure and is made to deposit security, its usefulness, so far as the Government is concerned, is gone; for, its support of the latter will be regarded as "extorted by the fear of stronger penalties".—The *Patrika.*

THE INDIAN DAILY TELEGRAPH.—The late editor of the *Indian Daily Telegraph*—Mr. E. G. Long—vacated the editorial chair of the Lucknow daily in April last year and it has been since edited by Mr. K. Schumacher who had, we believe, been from before on the staff of the paper. Soon after the new editor assumed charge, we published our survey of the English press last year, in which it was our disagreeable task to express our strong disapproval of the lines on which the paper had been conducted in the previous year, and in support of our contention we reproduced lengthy extracts from the editorial columns of the *Telegraph.* Perhaps this process did not find favour with our contemporary, which in an editorial note inveighed against us in a way that hardly seemed to us justifiable. Just then it also turned its attention to some of the Indian papers of Lahore, and before we could say anything on the subject, one of our Lahore contemporaries—the *Tribune*—dealt with the whole subject in a leading article, which we reproduce below. The *Tribune's* rejoinder is so well-reasoned and exhaustive and deals so ably with the points in controversy between the *Telegraph* and ourselves, as also between the Lucknow and the Lahore papers, that we thought at the time and still think that there was nothing left for us to say on the subject The *Tribune's* article was headed "A Study in Journalistic Ethics" Here it is :—

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* has recently taken the aggressive against the Indo-English press of the Punjab. Referring to certain changes in the staff of some of our papers, the Lucknow daily has assumed the offensive and delivered itself of the following diatribe :—"The press of that province is coming once more under Bengalee domination. Mr.—"who edited the — in the nineties and gained some notoriety there as a journalist has once more been appointed its editor." "All the Babus who formed the staff of the—before the breaking up of the Bengalee monopoly, have become members of the—. Thus while the —has once again submitted to the Bengalee yoke, the—has now become a misnomer and deserves the title of the 'Bengalee of Lahore.'" We have quoted these passage verbatim, with the obvious suppression of names to enable our readers to realize the depth of scurrility to which some papers under Anglo-Indian control descend in dealing with the Indian press. We have no desire to emulate the vulgarity of the writer in the *Telegraph* by indulging in retorts against the staff of the Lucknow paper, but apart from personalities, the view propounded by the Lucknow paper raises an interesting point in journalistic ethics, which may be discussed with advantage.

If the *Telegraph's* contention be correct, then a Lahore paper, if conducted by a Bengali staff, can only be characterized as the "Bengalee of Lahore." Be it so ; but what about the paper which, though edited by Anglo-Indians, is owned and financed by a Mussalman Taluqdar and who—on the principle, we suppose, of "he who pays the piper has the right to call for the tune," is acclaimed by and eulogised in his organ as one of the foremost public men and political leaders ? Who but a casuist would indulge in the thin sophistry that the fact of the proprietorship makes no difference and that a paper owned by a Musslman, may yet claim the privilege of masquerading as an "Anglo-Indian" paper ? Strange as it may sound, that is exactly the position of the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, which has recently been perpetrating the subtle journalistic casuistry that in spite of its being owned and financed by the Hon'ble Raja Sir

Muhammad Ali Muhammad of Mahmoodabad—the representative in the Imperial Council of the Mussalmans of the United Provinces,—it is and has ever been an Anglo-Indian paper. We had better let the Lucknow paper put its own case before the public :—

"We see that the *Hindustan Review*, in the notice of "The English Press in India" in its June number, repeats the mischievous error of referring to us as an "Anglo-Mussalman daily." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is not, and has never been, an Anglo-Mussalman daily. It is an Anglo-Indian daily ; and if the *Hindustan Review* does not really know this it appears it has a great deal to learn. Again it displays want of taste by dragging in the name of the proprietor of this paper. As this piece of information has never been given in our columns, and moreover, as the proprietor has no concern whatever with the policy of this journal, we do not quite see why the *Hindustan Review* should have referred to the matter. We would not point out these obvious errors, but for the fact that the *Hindustan Review* claims to be one of the leading Indian monthlies.'

The statements of the Lucknow paper have already been challenged by our esteemed contemporary of the *Advocate*, and it is obvious that they raise issues which materially affect journalistic ethics and are not only such as may be said to be mere matters of personal controversy between the Lucknow daily and the *Hindustan Review*. If we thought the discussion came under the latter category, we would have left it to our ably conducted contemporary of the *Hindustan Review* to defend its position, which we are sure it is quite capable of doing. But the question whether a newspaper proprietor is or is not to be held, by the public, responsible for the policy of the journal he owns, is one of great importance to all interested in the progress of high class journalism in this country, and we therefore make no apology for discussing the question propounded by the Lucknow daily. Before we address ourselves, however, to the question, it is desirable to recapitulate certain facts which have a direct bearing on the point at issue.

It is now for some years past that the *Hindustan Review* has been publishing annual surveys of the English press in this country. These sketches have been highly appreciated by Indian and Anglo-Indian publicists and the critical appraisements of the Anglo-Indian papers have been regularly reproduced by some of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies. The present writer remembers how some years back in Calcutta, a handbill of the *Empire* being thrust into his hands, he found printed on one side of it, a long appreciation of the Calcutta paper, then just started, which had appeared in the course of the *Hindustan Review's* annual survey. It is very unusual to find Anglo-Indian papers of the position of the *Empire* not considering it beneath them to quote testimonies of their work and worth from their Indian contemporaries. The reason why the critical appreciations of the *Hindustan Review* have been so largely quoted and used as advertisements on handbills, even by Anglo-Indian papers, is evidently due to the fact that the remarks of our Allahabad contemporary are characterised by critical acumen, discrimination and fairness of a high standard. There is concensus of opinion on this point. Genuine and not *pseudo* Anglo-Indian journals have eulogised these annual sketches in the *Hindustan Review* as "at once sympathetic in tone and discriminating in criticism" and as marked by "friendly but discriminiating criticism." We quote from the *Indian Daily News* and *Capital* respectively. The former paper has also declared that the subject is discussed "with skilful clarity and pleasing enthusiasm." Even the *Madras Times* found in the *Review's* survey nothing but "a most liberal appreciation" of its views. Let alone these, we find on a reference to the back numbers of the *Review* that even the *Indian Daily Telegraph* described these sketches as "exceedingly interesting and useful" and only last year said that apart from its politics there was "a very appreciative criticism" in the *Review's* survey about the Lucknow paper itself ! In the face of these admissions of the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, it is amusing to read its charges against the *Hindustan*

Review that it has indulged in "mischievous error," that "it has a great deal to learn" and that "it displays want of taste." These frivolous accusations as also the insinuation conveyed in the last line that these "obvious errors" would have been magnanimously allowed to pass unnoticed by the *Telegraph*, but for the fact that the *Hindustan Review* "claims to be one of the leading Indian monthlies," will not go down with the public, which is no doubt aware of the positions occupied in the ranks of journalism by the Lucknow daily and the Allahabad monthly.

Now what is the grievance of the *Daily Telegraph* against the *Hindustan Review?* It is that in its last issue it has brought together a large number of extracts from the columns of the Lucknow paper in which all those who are opposed to the policy of that journal—Hindus, Mussalmans, and Anglo-Indians—were attacked in language of the coarsest invective and vulgarity, and it had the impudence to call the King's subjects as "our Indian subjects." It is noticeable that the Lucknow journal has not a word to say in its defence on this point and its silence is truly significant. But it falls foul of the *Hindustan Review* for mentioning the well-known fact that the Hon'ble Raja Sir Ali Mahomed Khan is the proprietor of the paper and for its stating the obvious fact that "many people have felt surprised that the proprietor should be so regardless of the great traditions of his family and of his own high position in life as to allow his paper to degenerate into a vehicle of violent invective and gross vituperation against not only Hindu leaders and the educated Hindu community, but also against some of the foremost Mussalman publicmen."

What is the "mischievous error" in all this! Is or is not the Raja the proprietor of the paper? If he is, does it make any difference, if "this piece of information has never been given in" its own columns? The fact that the Raja is the sole proprietor of the paper—entitled to the profits and liable for the losses—has gone the round of the press many times over and it was distinctly stated in the *Hindustan Review's* sketch last year—the same which the *Telegraph* described as "a very appreciative criticism." Why didn't the Lucknow paper protest last year? For the obvious reason that the criticism this year is perhaps less "appreciative" and has told as it was meant to do. Hence all the fuss about the so-called "want of taste," on the part of the *Hindustan Review*! And if the paper is owned by the Raja and Anglo-Indian staff which conducts it is merely mercenary—we use the expression in no offensive sense—can the paper be said to be Anglo-Indian? As the *Advocate* so well puts it :—

"A paper carried on by the funds supplied by a Mahomedan Taluqdar and edited by an Englishman cannot surely be called an independent Anglo-Indian newspaper. We know the Raja of Mahmudabad disowns the politics of the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, but as proprietor of the paper, is he or he is not responsible for the line of conduct of the newspaper financed by him? Is it a fact or not that last year an appeal was made to the Mahomedans for support in the interest of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* on the ground that it was devoted to the Mahomedan interest, and that it secured Mahomedans support on the ground that the paper was conducted in their interests?"

That clinches the whole question. The journalistic ethics of the *Indian Telegraph* is delightful, though by no means edifying. Funds for its support may well be supplied by a Mahomedan Taluqdar, it may ask for the support of Mussalmans on the ground of its being a paper devoted to their cause, it may in the name of furthering their interests roundly abuse all and sundry from the Government downwards, but when it comes to be described as an "Anglo-Mussalman" paper, it kicks the ladder by which it has risen from dirt to dignity, and ignoring the individuality of the proprietor and his many claims on its gratitude has the hardihood to maintain that it "is not and has never been an Anglo-Mussalman daily!" We fear our contemporary protests too much and his protestations, be they ever so earnest, are not likely to go down with any one who knows the true inwardness of the situation. That they have fallen flat is evident from the remarks of the *Advocate*. We dare say the Raja—as stated by the *Advocate*—"disowns the politics" of the paper he owns. That is by no means surprising, considering what the politics of his paper are and have been. Any man of fine sensibility would be ashamed of such politics as is affected by the *Daily Telegraph*. But whatever the legal liabilities of a newspaper proprietor and whatever his opinion of the politics of his paper, the public is bound to hold him responsible for the misdeeds of the paper, in which he either sinks money or out of which he derives profit. To finance a paper or to make money out of it without being considered, at any rate, morally responsible for the policy of the journal, is obviously to lay down a condition, which no one is likely to assent to, and the Raja of Mahmudabad need not be surprised to find himself pilloried for the policy of the *Telegraph*. He may further rest assured that all such sophistry as his paper has indulged in on this subject will not reconcile the public to the view that his paper is an "Anglo-Indian" and not an "Anglo-Mussalman" paper. If the Raja really—as is given out—disowns the policy of the *Telegraph*, he should see to it that the present policy which has caused so much bitterness and roused so much indignation, is at once changed for the better. If he does not do that, the public will draw their own inference as to his so-called disclaimer. We hope he will even now be wise after the event.

The above article appeared in the *Tribune* in August last. Since then it is a pleasure to acknowledge that the policy of the *Telegraph* has been marked by a great improvement. It has of late been far from militant and the fire-eating and swashbuckling, which were rightly objected to, have been conspicuous by their absence. It is at present conducted with sobriety and moderation and, on the whole, it serves its constituents faithfully, without being aggressive against those not sharing its views. Its news service is quite as good as that of any other daily in Northern India, but there is evidently room for improvement—from the standpoint of the Indian reader—in its editorials, which are more concerned with foreign and non-topical, than Indian and current affairs.

THE LEADER.—An exhaustive account of the inception and the policy of the *Leader* appeared in the course of our last year's sketch. At the time it was published, the paper was under the joint editorial control of Mr. N. Gupta and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. Shortly after, the former resigned his post and went to Lahore, a little later, to occupy the editorial chair of the *Tribune*. Just then Mr. Chintamani suffered a break-down in health and had to go on long leave. The paper was conducted during his prolonged absence by Mr. C. Hayavadan Rao, B. L., a well-known South Indian publicist. In November last, Mr. Chintamani resumed work and has been since then the sole editor of the paper. He has brought to bear upon the conduct of the *Leader* all those high qualities which the newspaper public have long learnt to associate with his name. In the course of our annual survey of the English press for the year 1906-7, we wrote as follows about Mr. Chintamani: "It is the barest justice to say that of the younger generation of Indian publicists, there is none more brilliant, none better-informed and none more zealous in the discharge of his duty than this young Telugu, who is truly a born journalist. For careful work; accurate information; clear, cogent reasoning; and above all a telling and incisive style, commend us to the writings of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani." Writing now four years later, it is very agreeable to be able to say that there is nothing to withdraw from what we then wrote. By his editorial control of the *Leader*, Mr. Chintamani has firmly established his reputation as one of the leading Indian journalists, and the daily he so ably edits, is rightly regarded as one of the foremost and most influential organs of Indian public opinion, both by reason of its great enterprise as a newspaper and the general soundness of its views on many of the public questions of the day. During the period under survey, the *Leader*, while professing adherence to the Congress creed, has taken a prominent part in stirring Hindoo public opinion for organizing Hindu Sabhas in the several provinces. It has played the part of an enthusiast in this matter, with the result that its policy, in this respect, has been marked by both the virtues and the limitations, characteristic of a zealot's work.

THE PANJAB.

VI.—DAILIES—ANGLO-INDIAN AND INDO-ANGLIAN.

The number of the English press in the Panjab has remained at the same figure as in the previous year, namely, at six—including the two Anglo-Indian dailies (The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, and the *Morning Post of India* of Delhi), the Indo-Anglian daily (the *Tribune* of Lahore), and the three Indian-edited papers, the tri-weekly *Panjabee*, the semi-weekly *Observer* (both of Lahore), and the weekly *Khalsa Gazette* of Amritsar. Of these the last is seldom heard of, except when some special question is being ventilated, which has interest for the section of Sikhs whom it professes to represent.

THE MORNING POST OF INDIA.—The *Morning Post of India* has been under the editorial control, during the year under survey, of Mr. J. Renton Denning and has kept up the placid and even tenor of its way. About the only occasion when the question of its policy came before the public was in connection with certain remarks recently made about it in the *Review of Reviews*. The following paragraph from the *Tribune*, which appeared under the heading "Retraction," will explain itself:—

> Our attention has been drawn to a note which appeared in our issue of the 8th March last, entitled "Mr. Stead on the Coronation Durbar," and in which we quoted certain observations of Mr. Stead from the February number of the *Review of Reviews* in which the suggestion was made that the representative of the *Morning Post* of Delhi should be excluded from all functions in India in connection with the approaching Royal visit on account of the *Morning Post* having recently declared certain unfriendly feelings towards the people of this country. We regret that we should have permitted ourselves to allow the quotation from the *Review of Reviews* to appear in our columns. We are satisfied that, as a matter of fact, the present editor and proprietor of the *Morning Post*, ever since he assumed control of the paper, has conducted it in such a manner that nothing can be more untrue than to represent to the public that the *Morning Post* has "recently" made such a declaration as that attributed to it in the quotation from Mr. Stead's journal. We unreservedly withdraw the allegation that was quoted and frankly express our regret to our contemporary.

The *Morning Post* claims to be an "independent" paper, and it must be said to its credit, that on some Indian questions it does take a view which is "independent," in the sense that it is not characterized by the prejudices inherent in the average Anglo-Indian paper. One thing is certain; it is free from cant.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE.—The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore has maintained its position as the leading organ of Anglo-

Indian public opinion in the Panjab and the frontier provinces. It has been ably conducted, during the year under survey, by Mr. F. S. Wilkins, who was long on the staff of the *Pioneer*. It must be said to Mr. Wilkins's credit that he has conducted the *Gazette* on lines to which hardly any exception can be taken from the Indian standpoint. Of course, it is and remains a conservative Anglo-Indian paper out-and-out, but the policy of the *Gazette* under Mr. Wilkins has been one of fairness to all and of considerable moderation in the expression of its opinions. During recent years, under some of Mr. Wilkins's predecessors, most objectionable matter had found publication in the paper, and our readers will remember that the attention of Sir Charles Rivaz and the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson having been drawn to these, they expressed their unqualified disapproval the latter taking so strong a view as to lead to a change in the occupant of the editorial chair. It is, therefore, a pleasure to acknowledge the marked improvement in the tone and policy of the paper—improvement which we sincerely trust will be maintained by Mr. Wilkins and his successors.

THE TRIBUNE.—Since the resignation of Mr. Alfred Nundy of his post as the editor of the *Tribune*, the paper had been in every sense " on the descent," and improvement in it was urgently called for. In writing last year we said that " it must be noted that of late it has not shown sufficient enterprise and unless it does so soon, there is a chance of its being outstripped by its younger rivals." Fortunately for the *Tribune*, its ex-editor, Mr. N. Gupta, who was then joint-editor of the *Leader*, resigned his post at Allahabad and was at once appointed as the editor of the Lahore paper. Mr. Gupta thus returned to his " first love, and we have reasons to believe that he is quite happy, at last. Of Mr. Gupta's capability for his work as the editor of a leading Indo-English daily, it is idle to attempt to write anything, since it is too well-known to the newspaper public in this country. Suffice it to say that he is truly a veteran publicist with over a quarter of a century's journalistic experience, gathered in almost all the provinces of Northern India, from Bengal to Sindh. Above all, he is not only one of our best, informed journalists, but, by common consent, perhaps the most brilliant writer in the Indo-English press. He wields the resources of the English language with a command and facility which are, indeed, marvelous. It is not surprising, therefore, that since he took charge of the *Tribune* last year, there has been a remarkable improvement in that paper, and it has not only regained its position as the premier Indian paper of the Panjab, but come to occupy, so to say at a bound, a very prominent position amongst the Indo-English dailies. It is now a power in the Panjab and a power for all that is good, healthy and sound. While giving full support to all movements and institutions calculated to advance and accelerate the progress of the Hindoos, of its province in particular, it has not—like several of its contemporaries—cast to the winds those great deals which are associated with the Indian National Congress movement. It has well maintained its balance between the rival claims of national and communal progress, and it would be well indeed if some of its contemporaries emulated it, instead of preaching sectarianism out-and-out, under the high sounding designation of " national progress." We have reasons to think that the *Tribune* under Mr. Gupta's editorial control has yet a career of great usefulness before it.

VII.—"THE PANJABEE" AND "THE OBSERVER."

The two remaining Lahore papers, the tri-weekly *Panjabee* and the semi-weekly *Observer*, may be grouped together, because they both represent—each in its own way,—opposite schools of thought and as often as not adopt lines of activity which are not very different, .

THE PANJABEE.—The *Panjabee* ceased to be the property, at the beginning of the year under survey, of its founder, and became the property of a syndicate connected with the Hindu Sabha of the Panjab. Mr. Amrita Lal Roy—who had been practically the editor of the paper, even under the old regime, ever since the resignation of Mr. K. K. Athavale, the first editor,—was appointed formally the editor, by the new proprietors. Recently, however, owing to ill-health Mr. Roy has had to resign his post and retire altogether from the profession, of which he had been for about a quarter of a century an honoured member. The following note sent to some of the papers by a Lahore correspondent gives, on the whole, a faithful and accurate record of Mr. Roy's career as a journalist :—

> Mr. Amrita Lal Roy, a leading Indian journalist, has for many years been working at Lahore and is now relinquishing his position as editor of the *Panjabee*. He began his career at Calcutta some twenty-five years ago as the editor of a weekly journal called, *Hope*. That paper was one of the most successful publications of the time and had a remarkably large circulation. But Mr. Roy began to wield real power when he joined the *Tribune* of which he was the editor for more than eight years. It was Mr. Roy that developed that paper into a daily although it had soon to pass into other hands within a few months of the change. But his services to the cause of Indian journalism were availed of not long after by the *Panjabee*. It is an open secret that when both the editor and the proprietor of that paper were in jail, Mr. Roy guided its policy and not only helped it to keep its head above water but maintained its reputation as a thoroughly independent critic of men and measures. The retirement of such a man is a loss to the cause of Indian journalism.

The following appreciative note about Mr. Roy's work and worth appeared in a recent issue of the *Light of India*, the periodical connected by "Baba Bharati," in America, and may fitly be reproduced here :—

> Mr. Amrita Lal Roy is a distinguished Indian journalist, known and appreciated throughout India for his sturdy advocacy of his country's cause, unflinching courage of his convictions, the illuminating originality of his robust thoughts, and wonderful finish of his masterly style of English. He was educated in the Calcutta University and also for three years in England, wherefrom he crossed over to the United States and finished his education as a journalist in New York where he was a frequent and welcome contributor to the press of the Empire City. Before leaving America for home his spirited article in the *North American Review* on "British Rule in India," made him famous by a bound, in America, England and India. On reaching India he started a vigorous English weekly called *Hope* which soon commanded a large number of subscribers and a larger number of most appreciative readers. He soon published his *Reminiscences of England and America* a volume which received the highest enconiums from the press. It was through this little paper, *Hope*, that Mr. Roy roused his countrymen into forming a stock company, which launched the first private railway enterprise in India. Since, Mr. Roy has been the editor of the Lucknow *Express*, the *Tribune*, and lastly of the *Panjabee*. He may now be called the greatest of living Indian journalists. What, however, has been the strongest point of his character, is that though he lived for three years in that whirl-

pool of materialism, New York, when a very young man, it failed to make any impression on his mind. He has been a staunch Hindoo in his spirit and consciousness all through his career and now his ripe inner spiritual experiences, intellectual and practical, entitle him to interpret Hinduism with authority.

Since Mr. Roy's retirement, the paper has been conducted by the staff. It is, of course, no longer what it was regarded to be in its earlier days—an extremist paper ; on the contrary, it has latterly been not only a moderate but in every sense a " loyal" paper. It is, however, a matter of regret that on what are called Hindu-Moslem questions, it sometimes writes with that extreme acerbity which one has learnt to associate with its local contemporary, the *Observer*. On such occasions, we fear, it runs amok—as witness, the following utterly unjustifiable attack on the present Law Member, which is not only concieved and written in singularly bad taste, but is a gross misinterpretation and perversion of the views of the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam : —

> We take at random just one passage from his speech to show how violently anti-Hindu at heart Syed Ali Imam is. He said :—
>
> " If sedition is lying low, it is by no means certain that it is not biding its time. We have evidence that it is encouraged and incited by organisations abroad. There is reason to believe there are secret societies in conspiracy to make British rule impossible in India. Can it be supposed that these societies can hope to succeed without tampering with the loyalty of the people generally and seducing them from allegiance to our sovereign ? Their methods are well known. These have been exposed in some of the political trials in our law courts. Their emissaries, in the garb of teachers of religion, of social reformers, learned pundits, or even jugglers and musicians, go forth in search of audiences. When an audience is found, which is mostly composed of the simple folk of the country, meetings are held that ultimately furnish the recruiting ground. The blind fanatic, the ardent, enthusiastic and the impressionable youths fall easy victims to the wiles of these representatives of organised sedition. It is an evil which in time of danger the provisions of the Bill under consideration will effectively resist."
>
> The references to social reformers, learned Pandits and others are as uncalled for as they are baseless and untrue. Mr. Ali Imam knows that some Europeans in this country suspect Hindus of sedition and disloyalty, and he thinks that he has found in this a capital opportunity of doing a service to his own community. Be that as it may, in repeating the parrot cry of 'sedition' and 'disloyalty' against Hindus, Mr. Ali Imam has certainly not enhanced his reputation either as an official or as an Indian. The cloven hoof of partisanship of a grossly objectionable character is apparent in every word and line of his speech. His best friends will regret that Mr. Ali Imam spoke in the way that he did. But the Hindus should in a way be glad that they have seen him in his true colors. They will know now what value to place on his perfervid protestations of friendship for Hindus. He said the other day that his educated countrymen should show that they are Indians first and Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, afterwards. But Mr. Ali Imam has shown that he is a Mahomedan first and a Mahomedan last, and is an Indian only to keep appearances.

So long as such writings appear in any Hindoo paper, it is idle to expect any improvement in the Mussalman papers. We doubt if in writing as it did, the *Panjabee* voiced the sentiments of any appreciable section of the educated Hindoos of the Panjab, and we sincerely trust that the Directors of the paper will keep a jealous eye so that writings like that quoted above, may never again see the light.

THE OBSERVER.— The *Observer*, the organ of the educated Muslims of the Panjab, has, during the year under survey, kept very much to its old moorings and has scarcely shown any improvement in its tone or policy. It is perhaps the most militantly truculent and aggressive Mussalman paper in the country and has been notorious for its bellicose attitude towards all those who may venture to differ from its papal bulls. In our last year's sketch we printed a detailed characterrization of this paper and quoted several passages from its columns by way of illustrating our remarks. We regret we cannot record any improvement in it so far Recently it turned its attention to the Hon'ble Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya, having in the previous year pulverised Lord Morley, Mr. Hobbouse, Sir Louis Dane, Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji and that " traitor "—as it called him—the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam. It is unnecessary to print here the full text of the *Observer's* article on Mr. Malaviya, but the following extract from the *Leader* will convey to the reader the " interesting " points :—

> The *Observer* of Lahore, the organ of the Mahomedan community in the Punjab, has a leading article in its issue of the 28th January, which for the edification of our readers we have thought it well to reproduce in another column. It will be seen that for the violence of its attack and the offensiveness of its language the *Observer* fairly beats its own record. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is charged with a ' deplorable soreness of sentiment, ' with following a double-faced policy which is a challenge to the whole Islamic population in India, with declaiming 'against the Musalmans for the offence of not being Hindus,' with 'animus, ' with being a person ' whose one aim in life appears to be to work for Hindu self-aggrandisement at the expense of non-Hindu interests.' He is said to have ' betrayed a lamentable lack of political insight and historic perspective to the humiliation, we are afraid, of the offic which he occupies.' His position was ' so outrageous ' that ' he even failed to impresse his colleagues, Mr. Gokhale finding it difficult to accord whole-hearted support to this apostle of the creed of self-aggrandisement. And then the *Observer* winds up by saying that 'Mr. Malaviya's conduct tends to discredit the policy of the party to which he belongs, and it remains to be seen if the latter has the wisdom to escape from the net spread for it by dissociating itself from his fanaticism' We have given enough to our readers to judge for themselves the character of the criticism. We have no doubt that this unjust nature and insolent attack on Mr. Malaviya will fill the entire Hindu community of Upper India with indignation, and we trust that those who preach conciliation and peace will show by their conduct that they dissociate themselves from the vulgarities and scurrilities of a paper like this.

But it is not only individuals who are attacked by the *Observer*, if they dare to differ from it ; communities as a whole are not exempt from its rancourous onslaughts. Burke may have thought and said that you cannot indict a people, the *Observer* snaps its fingers in the face of " Mr. Burke," as witness the following in its issue of 29th April last :—

> Hinduism is admittedly a vague term It is a geographical rather than a religious expression. From the infancy of their existence which, by the way, is looked upon by them as a Golden Age, the Hindus have been almost proverbial for their intolerance. To put the statement in a nusthell, as it were, Hinduism has been brought up in the cradle of intolerance. In the words of a political wag, the only lullaby with which the Brahmanical nurse seems to have sweetened Hindu children's ears seem to be
>
> ' *Hate the Foreigner*, Hindu be,
> *Bharat Mata* prayeth thee,"

It is not surprising that writings like the above have strained to the breaking point the relations of the Hindoos and the Mussalmans in the Panjab, and we think it is time that those responsible for the policy of the paper realized that by conducting it on its present lines, they are not advancing the cause they have at heart—for as pointed out by His Excellency Sir George Clarke, such extravagant writings and speeches are likely to alienate the sympathy of the Government and the non-Moslems alike, from a just appreciation of Mussalman claims.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

The number of the Anglo-Indian dailies in the Western Presidency has remained, in the year under survey, at the same figure as in the previous year—namely, at four. These are the *Bombay Gazette*, the *Times of India* and the *Advocate of India* (all of Bombay) and the *Sind Gazette* of Karachi. There is no Indo-English daily now, the first and the only one—the *Indu*—which had come into existence at the beginning of last year, ceased to exist before its first anniversary. Thus the Bombay Presidency is now once again without an Indo-Anglian daily—a state of affairs which is distressingly unsatisfactory. The following remarks of the *Leader* are of interest :—

> It is announced that the *Indu Prakash* as a purely English daily is stopped as it has not been a financial success, and that henceforth it will be an Anglo-Marathi daily as it was before. With this difference, however, that while there used to be two pages of English matter, there will be only two columns. The experience of the *Indu Prakash* shows that the time has not yet come in India for cheap English dailies, for the maximum limit of circulation and of advertisements is soon reached, and it does not suffice to keep the paper going. The reading public is limited and the purchasing section of it still more so. Bombay, *urbs prima in Indis* as it delights to style itself, will again be without an Indian daily in the English language. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's ambitious project of an Indian daily which will in nowise be inferior to the *Times of India* has not come to fruition, and perhaps never will. If it had been planned on a more modest scale, it would probably have been an accomplished fact by now.

VIII.—THE ANGLO-INDIAN DAILIES.

The *Bombay Gazette* and the *Times of India* have both flourished under the editorial guidance of Mr. J. A. Plinston and Dr. Stanley Reed, respectively. There has occurred nothing worth specially noting in the career of either, during the year under survey. Both have fully maintained their respective positions—the latter as the foremost and most influential organ of Anglo-Indian public opinion in Western India and one of the leading dailies in the Indian Empire, perhaps in all Asia. It gave its support to the satisfactory settlement of the difficulty caused by the literal interpretation and rigorous working of the Press Act last year and earned the gratitude of all connected with the press in this country.

THE SIND GAZETTE.—The *Sind Gazette* came into some prominence in connection with the demand made upon it to deposit a security of Rs. 1,000 under the Press Act. At the same time two other Karachi papers—both English weeklies, the Phœnix and the *Argus*—were similarly dealt with. The orders passed against the latter would not perhaps have been heard of, but for the Anglo-Indian daily, the *Sind Gazette*, having also been proceeded against. It was the following remarks of the *Pioneer* which elicited the remarks of the *Bengalee* and the *Patrika*, which are reproduced in our sketch of the Allahabad paper :—

> It has been generally understood that the Government had quite made up its mind, in reference to the working of the Press Act, that deposit as security was not to be exacted from papers existent before the passage of the Act except in case of their doing something to suggest that they required looking after. Especially was this supposed to be a settled principle in the case of the Bombay Presidency where Mr. Gokhale would appear to have obtained a demi-official assurance that this was the intention of the Local Government. Evidently, however, this cannot be so, or the intentions of the Government do not commend themselves to all its officers; for it appears that at Karachi the Collector has descended upon the *Sind Gazette* and insisted on its furnishing the maximum security deposit af a thousand rupees. The paper in question is an old established journal under European management and ownership, and we are not aware that subversive or mischievous tendencies have ever been as much as imputed to it. There is nothing whatever to explain why it should have been marked out for exceptionally rigorous treatment, unless it is that the views of the local authorities as to the application of the Act differ from those of head quarters. It goes without saying that the enforcing of the Act should either be universal or it should not be exercised without cause given. To select a paper here and there at random for disciplinary treatment is highly invidious and in effect a grave injury to its influence. It casts it in the eyes of the general public under suspicion of having offended; and if thereafter it should support the Government its support goes for nothing because it is supposed to have been extored by the fear of stronger penalties.

Many other papers—Anglo-Indian and Indo-English—wrote in a similar strain, but the *Sind Gazette* far from feeling grateful administered to them severe reproof for their interference and expressed the following curious views on the subject :—

> We notice that some interest has been excited in our contemporaries by the fact that the *Sind Gazette* has been asked to furnish security under the new Press Act. We had not regarded the fact as of any importance, nor should we have referred to it but that errors have crept into the opinions expressed by these same contemporaries upon the question, which, in justice to the local authorities, must be corrected. The *Pioneer*, in its issue of May 25, in an editorial note published elsewhere, says: "to select a paper here and there at random for disciplinary treatment is highly invidious and in effect a grave injury." As a matter of fact no such selection has been made in this district, as *all* papers and presses within the jurisdiction of the Collector of Karachi have been asked, or are being asked, for security. The Collector, in making the demand, expressly stated that in asking any paper to furnish security no reproach was intended by the authorities. All papers and presses in the district were alike being asked for such security, European and Indian, with the express object of giving equal treatment to all and of avoiding the faintest suspicion of favouritism. Whether the local Government is rightly interpreting the intentions of Government in asking security at all of papers existing before the passage of the Act is another question altogether. In the debate on the Press Bill in the Legislative Council both Mr. S. P. Sinha and Sir H. Risley expressly stated that existing newspapers and presses were not to be touched by the operation of the new Act. We commented upon this at the time expressing our opinion that such exemption was a mistake. The furnishing of security, we said, should be binding on all presses and papers, European and Indian alike, and the rule should be applied to existing concerns as well as to such as came into existence after the passing of the Act. The evils which the unfettered liberty of the Press in India had brought upon the country at the time of the passing of the Bill were so grave and so alarming that it was abso-

lutely necessary that the Government should have some check upon it and we believe all well conducted and responsible journals were perfectly ready to submit to the operation of the Act in order to strengthen the hands of Government and to assist it in exercising a salutary control. It is obvious that the local authorities can exercise this control very much more effectively if they have taken security from all presses and papers under their jurisdiction before any offence is committed than if they have to wait to do so till after the offence. It is equally obvious that it is most desirable that this more effective power of control should exist. Holding this view, and holding that it is the duty of all responsible pressess and journals to support the Government in this matter, we have not thought it worth while to enquire how far local Governments are justified in asking security from existing presses, nor what would be the result of an appeal against their decision.

THE ADVOCATE OF INDIA.—The *Advocate of India* has been before the public in connection with the election last year of its proprietor and editor, Mr. F. F. Gordon, to the Bombay corporation, and the appearance in the Mahratta weekly, the *Jagat Virtta*—which is owned by him and is subsidized by the Bombay Government—of an attack on the Mahratta Brahmins, and that of the expression "our subjects" as applied to the people of India, in the *Advocate* itself. On the occasion of his successful return to the Bombay corporation, the Bombay correspondent of *Capital*, wrote as follows in the Calcutta journal :—

> Mr. Gordon will hardly embarrass any chance he may have of civic distinction by undue sympathy with Irish political aspirations (Nantionalist brand) or Irish religious prejudices (Roman Catholic pattern). The *Advocate of India*, it is true, is the only Anglo-Indian daily paper of this city, which has a good word for Mr. Asquith and his party. Its political complexion is Liberal and it has not altogether cut adrift from the Indian National Congress in whose interest it was started by the the late Dr. Blaney and the Andersons. It gave much offence to the Congress Party when it threw over Sir Peroshah Metha for Mr. Harrison in the famous dispute of nearly four years ago. For all that the *Advocate* is a Liberal paper, both in English and Indian politics, and therefore a refreshing change from the hot Conservatism and Protectiontism of the morning papers. I do not believe Mr. Gordon will ever be so great a man in Municipal affairs as Grattan Geary or Thomas Blaney, but he may be trusted to rise above the dull level of mediocrity comprehending nearly fifty out of the seventy-two members of the Corporation, and possibly prove the most useful of the non-expert European members.

As regards the appearance of the attack in the Mahratta subsidized weekly, we are not directly concerned with it in the present sketch, which deals with the English press alone. We may refer, however, to the use of the expression "our subjects" pretty frequently, in the editorial columms of the *Advocate*, with reference to the people of India. This highly objectionable expression—the use of which is in law a treason against the King Emperor—is often indulged in by the "yellow" section of the Anglo-Indian press, and against which we have more than once strongly protested in our previous reviews of the English press. But we confess we were not prepared to find the expression used by a respectable paper like the *Advocate*. Attention was drawn to the passage containing the expression by an interpellation in the Imperial Council in March last, and the Hon'ble Mr. Earle, the Secretary to the Home Department, speaking on behalf of the Government repudiated the implication of the *Advocate* and suggested that the word "fellow" had probably dropped out before the word "subject," by mistake. It is to be hoped that no Anglo-Indian paper will, hereafter, be guilty of calling the King-Emperor's subjects as his own. The following humourous remarks of the *Comrade* will interest our readerrs :—

> At question time nothing eventful except the question of the "Cross-Bencher" whether the *Advocate of India* was incorporated into the *Sovereign of India*. The evening paper of Bombay had evidently thought that His Majesty must be busy in arranging for the Coronation in England. The other two Realms of the Empire were busy fighting each other. So here was the chance of the Fourth Realm. If the *Advocate* annexed that neglected 99 per cent. of the British Empire, called India, no one would notice it. Journalism had the right of pre-emption also as only kings and editors were entitled to the use of the first person plural. So commenced the imperceptible transfer of India from the Crown to itself by calling Indians "our subjects." "Cross-Bencher" greatly perturbed. Torn between the claims of His Majesty whom his law books had taught him to obey, and the pretensions of Mr. Gordon to whom *espirit de corps* required him to adhere. At last decided to get the point cleared and asked Government if it could tell him who was his liege lord and sovereign. Sandow II. however, astonished the Cross-Bencher. The transfer of India from the Crown was a thing for which neither his Government nor the *Advocate of India* could be held responsible. It was all the work of the Printer's Devil. Poor Devil, he is often the scapegoat, and no one need be astonished now to hear that he has written all the leading articles of Anglo-Indian journals without even the chance of a straggling C. I. E. coming his way. It was he who had omitted the word "fellow" between "our" and "subjects."

IX.—THE INDIAN WEEKLIES.

Whereas all the English dailies in the Bombay Presidency are Anglo-Indian, the English weeklies in that province are all Indo-English, the only Anglo-Indian weekly of any consequence being the *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, which—apart from its illustrations—is mainly a reprint of selected matter from the issues of the daily *Times*. The principal Indo-English weeklies are the *Indian Spectator*, the *Indian Social Reformer* and the *Oriental Review* of Bombay and the *Mahratta* of Poona. There are besides, in Bombay, a number of Anglo-vernacular weeklies, mostly Anglo-Gujeratee, the best known of which the *Parsi*. This journal has lately made great improvements, the following editorial note about which, will be read with interest :—

> The outstanding feature of comparatively short but strenuous career of this journal has been its rapid and enormous growth and its readiness to adapt itself to its changing requirements. Since its first appearance as a monthly, the *Parsi* has undergone more than one change, and with the present issue it once more appears in an enlarged and improved form. In June, 1906, the small demy quarto in which the *Parsi* then used to appear was replaced by the now familiar super-royal quarto size in which it appeared for the last time a week ago, and much as we should have wished to continue a size with which the reading public had become familiar for a number of years, it has been found absolutely necessary to effect further alterations in the form of this journal. At first an English monthly, it subsequently appeared an English weekly, and later on it carried the additional weight of an eight-page Supplement in Gujerati, averaging nearly 32 pages to an issue. Large as was the paper then for a weekly, it soon proved too small for its own particular requirements and it continued to increase in bulk till it more than doubled its pages. For a long time past the journal has kept up the large average of sixty pages to an issue, in addition to its Illustrated Supplement. Further demand on our space, however, has made it necessary to utilise a larger form, which, we are sure, will be appreciated by the reading public,

There is also another and a more important change to be noted. With this number the *Parsi* appears from its own Press—a modern, up-to-date plant capable of turning out superior and high-class work. The establishment of "The Parsi Press" is a substantial step in the rapid career of this Journal, and we trust that with its assistance, before long, we shall be able to take another definite step forward in the ultimate development of this journal.

Though an Anglo-Gujeratee journal, the English portion of the *Parsi* is important enough to justify its inclusion in the English Press of the Bombay Presidency. As for the purely English weeklies, the *Indian Spectator*—long honourably associated with the name of Mr. B. M. Malabari—is too well-known to require any characterization. It is edited with most consummate ability by Mr. H. Narain Rao, B. L., a distinguished publicist and man of letters.—The *Indian Social Reformer* is deservedly appreciated all over the country for the good work it does, year in and year out, in moulding public opinion amongst educated Hindus on absolutely sound, healthy, liberal and progressive lines and in representing faithfully the views, social and political, of the most advanced and cultured classes of educated Indians. Though nominally confining itself to questions of social reform, the *Indian Social Reformer* deals critically with all aspects of Indian activity and progress. It is edited by Mr. K. Natarajan, with most remarkable sanity of judgment, and he brings to bear upon his journal a ripe scholarship and a very catholic temperament. Altogether educated Indians have good reason to be proud of Mr. Natarajan and the *Reformer*. The *Oriental Review* is an organ of the most advanced and liberal section of the Parsees. Its editor, Mr. K. Rustomji, is an experienced journalist and a vigorous writer. His journal is very independent in its criticisms and is respected for its outspokenness. It is one of the principal organs of the Congress party in Western India. Apart from it, the *Oriental Review* is one of the best Indo-English weeklies and deserves to be more widely known than at present, outside the Western Presidency. Outside the city of Bombay, the only English weekly of any consequence is the *Mahratta* of Poona. It is well-known as the ablest and most moderate exponent of the party founded by Mr. Tilak. It is edited with great ability and cleverness by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, B. A., LL.B. Its politics are, of course, those of the most advanced section of Indian politicians. Making allowance, however, for its standpoint, it is a journal which can be read with pleasure and profit by even those who do not see eye to eye with it on current questions.

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

The number of the English press in the Southern Presidency has stood, during the year under survey, at the same figure as in the previous year, namely, at six, including the five dailies published in Madras and the one well-conducted weekly, the *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly. The last had made considerable improvement in its reading-matter and other features during the course of the year, and it is now undoubtedly in the front ranks of Indo-English weeklies. Its talented editor, Mr. S. M. Raja Ram Rao, who conducts it with great ability, received in the last *Honours Gazette* the title of Rao Saheb—a distinction which was well deserved.

X—The Indo-Aglian Dailies.

Of the five dailies in Madras, three—the *Hindu*, the *Madras Standard* and the *Indian Patriot*—are Indo-English, while the remaining two the *Madras Mail* and the *Madras Times*—are Anglo-Indian. The three Indo-Aglian dailies have all done good work during the course of the year. The *Hindu*, under Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, has worthily maintained the great traditions associated with the name of that paper. The *Madras Standard* has had a new editor in place of Mr. V. Ramman Pillai, who had very ably directed the fortunes of the paper for a number of years. The new editor is Mr. A. Ramasesha Aiyar. Mr. Aiyar was closely connected for several years with the editorial work of the *Hindu*, when the late Mr. Viraraghavachari was the sole proprietor of that paper, and he has thus considerable experience of Indian journalism. We have noticed with satisfaction that the new editor has well kept up the paper at the high level attained by it under Mr. Ramman Pillai—who, by the way, it is said is contemplating to start a new daily in Madras before long. Advance Madras! The editor of the *Indian Patriot* received last year, the title of Dewan Bahadur—truly a high distinction and well worthy of the good work done as a publicist by the recipient of the honour. His paper, however, came in for some severe handling at the hands of some of its Indian contemperaries for its having supported the government of Travancore in its having deported out of the State, the editor of a vernacular journal. For the rest, the *Indian Patriot* continued to occupy, during the course of the year under survey, the position it has acquired for itself as one of the leading Indo-English dailies.

XI—THE ANGLO INDIAN DAILIES.

The *Madras Mail* under its talented editor, Mr. E. A. Lawson, continued to be the premier Anglo-Indian daily of Southern India. Its editor's appointment as the Sheriff of Madras was a graceful acknowledgment of his high position in the Anglo-Indian society of Madras alike as a publicist and a public-spirited citizen, and it therefore gave great satisfaction to his many friends and admirers all over the country. The *Madras Mail* is justly appreciated by educated Indians as one of the fairest Anglo-Indian papers. Though it often freely and frankly criticises Indian affairs from a standpoint other than that of the educated classes, its spirit of fairness and moderation are nevertheless highly appreciated, and it is justly regarded as an organ of all that is enlightened, liberal and progressive in the Anglo-Indian community of Southern India. Apart from its views and policy, it is, to our mind, the best-edited and most well-arranged daily in India.

The *Madras Times* has completely changed hands. Last year it was given out, more than once, that the paper had become the property of a Zemindar, but no confirmation of it was forthcoming. We are now in a position to authoritatively state that by far the larger number of the shares in the Madras Times Printing and Publishing Company, Limited, were purchased about the middle of last year by the Zemindar of Sivagiri, who thus virtually became the owner of the paper. Mr. George Romilly, who had been the editor for the last seven years, retired recently, when the staff and a number of his personal friends met to bid him farewell at the office of the paper. An address and a souvenir were presented to him, which Mr. Romilly most cordially acknowledged. At the same time, a highly appreciative, long leading article, headed " Mr. George Romilly, " appeared in the *Madras Times*. It was stated therein that in 1904, when Mr. Romilly assumed the editorial charge of the paper " the *Madras*

Times, though the oldest English paper in South India, had at that time fallen upon very evil days." Considering that Mr. Romilly seldom let go an opportunity of having a "fling" at the *Madras Mail*, in the columns of his paper, it was in consonance with its high traditions that it published the appreciative comments it did, on the eve of his departure. With reference to Mr. Romilly's work as editor of the *Madras Times*, the *Madras Mail* said :—" Mr. Romilly assumed the editorship of our contemporary, the onerous and novel duties of which he has discharged with enthusiasm and skill. By all his many friends his departure will be greatly regretted, and by none more than by overselves, for, a thorough sportsman, in the best sense of the term, he has ever been a courteous and generous rival, besides a genial and delightful friend." None of the Indo-English papers of the Southern Presidency noticed Mr. Romilly's retirement at all. The day after Mr. Romilly's departure, the *Madras Times* published a long editorial on "Our Policy," but in which there was scarcely anything new to those who have been reading the paper for the last few years. In effect, it was reiterated that Mr. Romilly's policy would be kept up, though not obviously with the same spirit and method of aggressive truculence, which brought down upon the paper last year the censure of the Madras Government. The new proprietor—the Zemindar—has entrusted the control of the paper to the other Directors of the company, who are Mr. W. F. Grahame and Mr. A. J. Buckle (the joint Editors) and Mr. Subramanyam Rama Rau, (the Assistant Editor). Besides the gentlemen already mentioned, the staff of the *Madras Times* has been joined by Mr. R. W. Brock, an English journalist of considerable experience and ability. Mr. W. F. Grahame, the joint editor, is a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, who held the editorship of the paper for a time, immediately before Mr. George Romilly. Mr. A. J. Buckle, who is also Managing Director, was before his arrival in India for some time a member of the staff of the well-known London daily the *Standard*, and is largely responsible, in conjunction with Mr. Rama Rau, for the evolution of the policy of the *Madras Times*. No review of the history of the paper would be complete without an appreciative reference to the campaign it has recently led, on the subject of the "Laws Delays". These articles deservedly attracted wide attention in the Southern Presidency and were the subject of a question in the provincial council.

XII—MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD ON THE ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS.

It is very seldom, indeed, that an unprejudiced critic is found to speak about the Anglo-Indian press. The sins of the "Native" press—English and vernacular—are constantly being dinned into our ears, but one very seldom comes across any criticism of the Anglo-Indian press. We, therefore, make no apology for reproducing below the following passages from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's book—the *Awakening of India*—which deal with the subject. We have preferred to print the remarks as a connected whole, instead of picking out the passages about the different papers and printing them in the sketches of those papers. By our doing so, the "unity" of the subject would have been lost. Read as a whole, they will be found to contain a more or less just and accurate survey of the striking characteristics of some of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies and of the attitude of the Government towards the different sections of the press in this country. Those who have read the previous sketches of the subject in this review will have no difficulty in recalling instances which would support Mr. MacDonald's allegations as to the marked difference in the attitude of the Provincial Governments towards the Anglo-Indian and the Indian press respectively :—

Amongst the influences that have done most to make Indian Nationalism a menace has been the press, and a sentence or two must be written about it. Nothing reveals more plainly the ineffectiveness of the Indian administration than its attitude towards sedition. It allows the Anglo-Indian press to publish day by day " highly objectionable and provocative articles against the children of the soil " (1) which not only incite those children to reprisals but stuff the minds of the administrator themselves with stupid prejudices and blind them to the real nature of their responsibilities. But this is done with impunity, whilst the Indian reply is regarded as sedition, as stirring up racial enmity, as bringing the Government into contempt. The whole of the special Press Law of Indian, and more particularly the latest attempt to strengthen it, must fill with despair the heart of any man who understands political agitation. Two members of the Anglo-Indian press have been conspicuous for their offensiveness, so conspicuous indeed, that had the Press Law been impartially administered in India the editors of both would have enjoyed the privileges of calm reflection within prison walls. I refer to the *Englishman* of Calcutta and the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore. The latter used to be edited by a Jew whose patriotism was of the most demonstrative type, but recently it has fallen from its high estate ; it seems to be feeling the effects of age. When under its late editor, however it was an active agent in alienating the Indian from the official and in stirring up racial strife. The *Englishman* also is feeling the effects of age, but, like a decaying old virago it still shows its teeth. One goes to its columns for the most ignorant criticisms published in India on Indian affairs. Day by day, it freely publishes its pernicious impudence and inflames feelings on both sides. I was assured by journalists and officials that it now " represents no influential section of the community," as the *Bengalee* had it, and one is very glad that this should be so. The *Pioneer* is only a shade better, It is superior, it is Conservative, and it never does an English Liberal or an educated Indian justice, if it can help it. The *Times of India* is a little better than the *Pioneer*, although, again, its position is that of the immaculate Anglo-Indian, irreproachable, above criticism. I may have been unfortunate, but I never saw a really sympathetic article on Indian affairs in it, whilst it gave amusing evidence that it was sadly mesmerised by the jingle of " Pagett, M. P. " As an extremist pro-official paper it would be admirable if it had as a competitor an organ like the old *Statesman* but it holds the field alone and its methods do all the more harm. The *Statesman* has been for long the most valuable interpreter in India of English opinion to the Indian, and the great services it has rendered to our rule in this respect, when other papers were bouncing and spluttering their Imperialist and racial impertinences, cannot be too highly prized. Recently, however, it has changed and while an independent organ has become a suspiciously steady apologist for every thing which the Government says and does. It would really be a calamity if the *Statesman* were to abandon its old position for good and take its stand side by side with such papers as the *Pioneer* or the *Times of India*—a position which for the moment it occupies.

It is a serious reflection on our administration rather than on the Indian character that any responsible official should ever think that papers like the *Bengalee* or the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* are seditious or objectionable. They have written in wrath, they have sometimes misrepresented us and they have said hard things, but neither of them at its worst has been so great a menace to our peacable rule as the *Englishman* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, when by our officials they are supposed to be at their best.

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(1) **Presidential Address** to the Third U. P. Conference, by **Ganga Prasad Varma.**

RECENT HINDI LITERATURE.

1. "*Swami Aur Stri.*" By Babu Mahabir Prasad, assistant editor of the "Bharatamitra." Pp. 225. Price Re. 1 (Publisher: Bharatamitra Press, 97, Muktaram Babu's Street, Calcutta.)

2. "*Griha-Prabandha-Shastra*," or a Manual of Domestic Economy and Hygiene, by Pandit Janardan Joshi, B. A., Deputy Collector, U. P., pp. 159, Price 8 annas. (Publisher: Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad.)

3. "*Maithil Kokil Vidyapati*," or a Life and Lyrical Songs of Vidyapati, edited by Babu Brajnandan Sahai, with an English introduction by Babu Brajendra Prasad, M A., B. L. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 1-4-0, (Publisher, The Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Arrah.)

4. *Proceedings of the First Hindi Literary Conference*, Part II. Published by the Reception Committee of the Conference, Benares. Price 12 annas.

5. *Sahitya-Shiksha.* By Pandit Murlidhar, B. A., Puraniganj, Monghyr. Price 8 annas.

6 and 7. *Bir-Balak.* By Lala Bhagawan Din, and *Bala Bichar*, by the late lamented wife of Lala Bhagwan Din. Lakshmi Press, Gaya. Price 6 annas and 3 annas, respectively.

8. *Jita Jivan Charitr.* By P. Munshi Suryamul, Balarampur. Printing Press, Lucknow.

9 and 10. *Shak-Bhaji.* By Lala Debi Deyal. Imperial Book Depot Press, Chandani Chowk, Delhi. Price Rs. 1-2-0; *Khetibari*, by Pandit Anandi Prasad Misra, Ayurvedic Physician, Tikari Raj, Gaya. Price Rs. 2.

11. *Bharat-Varsha-ka-Itihasa.* By Profesor Ramadeva, Garukul Mahavidyalaya, Kangari, Hardwar. Price Rs 1-4.

12. *Rajasthan Ratnakar.* By Mr. Ram Narayan Dugar, Udaipur.

I.

S*WAMI AUR STRI* is, strictly speaking, a translation from Bengali, but the translation carries with it a spirit of originality which goes to exhibit the high command upon language and the superior scholarship of the translator. He has made it a genuine Hindi book treating of the modern Hindustani life. The traces of Bengalicisms are altogether absent. It is an ideal book for modern Hindu homes. The table of contents covers almost all the subjects of importance and the book itself furnishes information and instructions on all matters which make up among Hindus, domestic life useful, beautiful and by far the most happy and joyous. The treatment is scientific and the inter-connection between one subject with another is based on the evolution of thought which an intelligent study of the book is sure to work out in the reader's mind. Domestic life, domestic economy, conjugal life, æsthetic culture, moral and spiritual disciplines are at length dealt with. The book ought to be preserved in every Hindu home, and should be read by all who wish to make their home beautiful. The chapters on health and conjugal life are very important and illuminating. In the latter the writer has tried to illustrate the evolution of love and happiness through the various stages of married life in a way altogether novel but not in the least objectionable. The illustrations are taken from the western countries. There are, however, certain defects in the publication, but they are mainly the defects in its execution. The language at many places appears to be difficult. No foot-notes are given. The printing and the quality of paper are inferior, and though the book is published in a well-known metropolitan press, the get-up is not attractive.

II.

Such, however, is not the case with the next book, *Griha Probandra-Shastra*. Its get-up is excellent, the type large and the paper good. The theme of the book is similar to the first in some points. The author, Mr. Joshi, is a reformer—an ardent social reformer. His enthusiasm is visible in every page of his book. Astrology, priest-craft, useless expenditure and insanitary living are accorded equally severe treatment. His language is generally simple and homely. His attack on Vedanta is unjust. It is not the Vedanta which preaches idleness and inertia. Rightly understood, the Vedanta condemns idleness. The Bairagis, the most inert class of Sadhus of the present day, are not Vedantins. But they also were not originally meant to live as drones. The institution was founded for rendering social and religious service to the country. Mr. Joshi has tried to carry his teaching to his reader's heart by introducing short stories in the book. All the stories are well-written. Mr. Joshi connects debility and constitutional weakness with our poverty. But when Mr. Joshi is hard upon our taking *ghee* with our food, we are persuaded to disregard him, for he has here disregarded the Hindu medical science so far as the use and utility of *ghee* is concerned. Because Europeans do not take *ghee*, its use by Indians should not be condemned. The waste in marriage expenses is very rightly attacked. The book is a pleasant reading, and I agree with a review of it in the *Pioneer* that " there seems no reason why it should not be placed in school libraries of all kinds throughout the United Provinces. The point of view from which it is written is distinctively Indian, and its tone is sensible and kindly. The fact of its being the work of an Indian writer will, no doubt, make it more acceptable to the generality of readers in this country than if it embodied the criticisms of a foreign observer".

III.

Babu Brajnandan Sahai has edited a collection of the writings of the poet Vidyapati and has prefixed thereto a life of the poet which is both learned and critical. Space forbids noticing this life at length and a discussion on the life-story of Vidyapati would require an elaborate treatment which is not possible here. This publication is epoch-making, and it has done honour to the editor, to the Arrah Nagri Pracharini Sabha at whose instance it is published and to the province of Behar to which Vidyapati belonged. Vidyapati was a poetical genius. His poetry breathes of life, freshness and sweetness. Some of his lyrical poems are of intense religious character and really soul-enthralling. We have, however, to bear in mind that Vidyapati was a poet employed in the services of a Raja. His compositions were intended mostly to amuse or to feed the fancy of his patron. He was not like Surdas, a poet and recluse or like Tulsi Das a religious poet and reformer. Therefore all Vidyapatis poems are not devotional. To call him a religious teacher would therefore be a mistake. But Vidyapati as a poet stands on the pinnacle of poetical genius. He is the pride of Tirhut. The Government of the Lower Provinces has contributed Rs. 200 towards this publication, and this is very encouraging.

IV.

It was no doubt a very happy idea to organize the Hindi Literary Conference, the first sitting of which met in Benares last year, under the presidency of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The usefulness and importance of such an annual gathering to consider measures and exchange views for the advancement of the Hindi literature cannot be over-estimated. In view of the fact that *Hindi* has been declared, by its partisans, to be the most suitable language for being the *lingua franca* of this country, it would be the duty of such a Literary Conference to consider the various styles in which this language is written—highly Sanskritised on one hand, and highly Persianised on the other—and to evolve a style which would be at once popular and intelligible to the people. We have received a copy of the Second part of the Proceedings of the First Hindi Literary Conference, containing a collection of papers—prose and poem—written by some eminent Hindi writers for the occasion. Out of 22 articles published in the book under notice, five are poems and the rest are prose, and they cover a very comprehensive range of subjects. Among the contributors are Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra, who contributes a very interesting paper on Common Language and Common Script, Pandit Sridhar Pathak, The late Mahamahopadhya Pandit Sudhakar Dirvedi, Pandit Radha Charan Goshwami, Munshi Devi Prasad, Rev. G. J Dann, Babu Govind Dass and others. The publication embodying as it does the writings of some of the best Hindi writers on subjects on which they are competent to speak would, we doubt not, prove very interesting and useful to the people, interested in the development and enrichment of the Hindi language.

V.

The *Sahitya Shiksha* has been written in accordance with the regulation of the new scheme of education, suitable for the boys of the Upper and Middle Classes of Indian schools. We congratulate the author, Pandit Murlidhar Sharma, B. A., on the judicious selection of subjects inculcating lessons on morality, duty, hygiene, and other object lessons, written in fairly good and simple language. The elementary rules of Hindi Grammar, appended in the end of the book, make the book very useful for those for whom it is intended, and we trust the Education Department will extend to the author the encouragement he deserves.

VI and VII.

The two books, named *Bir Balak* and *Bala Bichar*, written by Lala Bhagawan Din, and his late wife, respectively, are collections of poems, written with a view to create in the minds of the readers a spirit of admiration, for all that is ennobling and inspring in the traditions of ancient India, and, as such, they are quite suited for children. Incidents from the lives of Ram, Krishna, Abhimanyu, Ranjit Singh, have been narrated in vigorous Hindi lines in *Bir Balak*, while *Bala-Bichar* contains useful iustructions for girls, written by the talented wife of the Editor of the *Lakshmi.*

VIII.

The *Jit-Jiwan Charit* has been written by Munshi Suryamal as a tribute to the life and life-work of Babu Sarbajit Lal, late Inspector of Post Offices Fyzabad Division. Besides containing a very exhaustive sketch of his life and his religious and devotional pursuits, it contains a collection of his songs and poems. The language of the book is not free from serious defects.

IX and X.

We have great pleasure in commending the two recent publications on Agriculture and Horticulture, *Shak Bhaji* and *Kheti Bari*, to those who are interested in the subjects. The cultivating classes of this country do not yet know that there is such a thing as a systematised knowledge in the art of cultivation and gardening, based on scientific experiments and researches into the productive capabilities, nature and capacity of the soil. To enable the peasants and cultivators of this country to avail themselves of the advantages of scientific Agriculture and Horticulture, treatises on the subjects written in simple and plain language in the different vernaculars of this country are a very great desideratum. Lala Devi Dayal has, in his book entitled *Shak Bhaji*, brought together a mass of useful information on the successful cultivation of the different vegetables, Indian and foreign, which can be grown in this country. The other book entitled *Kheti Bari*, is an equally useful publication on Agri-Horticulture, for the successful compilation of which, credit is certainly due to Pandit Anandi Prasad Misra, Ayurvedic Physician, Tikari Raj, Gaya. In a short compass, the author has given all necessary and practical informations on subjects connected with Agriculture. It gives a clear idea of the quality of the soil, its ingredients, chemical elements conducing to the growth of crops, vegetables and fruits, methods of ploughing and manuring lands, agricultural implements required, preparation of the soil, quantity of seeds required per bigha, &c. In short, the book has been written on a very systematic plan, and is calculated to give a clear, practical knowledge of the subject to the readers. We trust it will have a large circulation.

XI.

One would be sorely disappointed if he hopes to find in *Bharat-Varsha ka Itihaasa*, written by Professor Ramadevaji, any systematic, critical history of India. The chief value of this work lies in its giving a clear and fairly detailed account of the life and manners of the Indo-Aran during the Vedic and Epic Ages, and the references given to the scriptures, in support of the statements have their own value. We expected from a man of the scholarship of Professor Ramadeva to have brought to bear on the work a critical and historical spirit, which we are sorry to note, the book entirely lacks. Apart from lacking these essentials, it is written in a very narrow spirit—a spirit of belauding as the very best all that is supposed to have existed in Vedic India. None the less, the work is one which should be in the hands of Hindi-knowing readers, and we trust the second volume, dealing with Buddhist India, would be more satisfactory, particularly in respects of width of outlook and critical insight.

XII.

Mr. Ram Narayan Dugar, of Udaipur, is to be congratulated on the enterprise he is displaying in bringing out in Hindi a history of the Native States of Rajputana. His *Rajasthan Ratnakar*, the first number of the first Part of which—a booklet Royal octavo of 104 pages—has been sent to us for review is no mere translation of Tod's Annals of Rajasthan. Very great credit is due to Tod for having saved from oblivion the history of Rajputana and for having created an interest in the history of the Rajputs, but modern archæological and numismatic researches and the deciphering of inscriptions have brought to light several facts which were not known to Col. Tod, and these results of modern investigations have been embodied in the book before us. It is a happy idea of the author's to write the book in Hindi so as to appeal to a wide circle of readers, specially to that large class of people of the deeds and glorious achievements of whose ancestors the book professes to be a record. Considering the labour entailed the book is chiefly priced at annas twelve only.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We congratulate the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press on the completion of their great undertaking—the *Cambridge Modern History*. The great work is at last done, except for charts and indices, Fifteen years ago the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press decided that the time had come for the publication of a monumental history of modern times, written by specialists in various fields and based upon original sources or authorities of highest rank. The working out of the general plan into details was committed to the care of the most erudite man in all England, Lord Acton, and with great enthusiasm he set about his appointed task—dividing and subdividing the field and finding for each part the man who knew it best. Unfortunately, Lord Acton died before the actual publication was far advanced, but his plans were fairly rounded out and the work was readily carried forward by a board of three able scholars, Dr. A. W. Ward, as editor-in-chief, Prof. G. W. Prothero and Mr. Stanley Leathes, to whom the completion of the undertaking was entrusted. Under these high auspices the first great co-operative history in English has been brought to an end (except for the maps and index) in the volume bearing the title *The Latest Age*—covering principally the period since the Franco-Prussian War. The whole work, which brings under survey the world since the Renaissance, is divided into twelve stout volumes of approximately a thousand pages each: *The Renaissance*, *The Reformation*, *The Wars of Religion*, *The Thirty Years' War*, *the Age of Louis XIV*, *The Eighteenth Century*, *The United States*, *The French Revolution*, *Napoleon*, *The Restoration*, *The Growth of Nationalities*, and *The Latest Age*. It is thus apparent that each volume is devoted to a period of years, but considerable freedom has been given to the several contributors to run forward or backward as the exigencies of continuity required. Within the limits thus somewhat roughly set, each volume is laid out into divisions referring to separate countries or special topics which are treated by the specialists deemed by the editors best qualified to deal with the themes assigned them. A veritable host of eminent scholars drawn from every portion of the world has been drafted into service, so that what we have is a high grade encyclopædia of history done in a chronological rather than alphabetical order. As might be expected, there are wide differences in methods of treatment, style and firmness of touch. There are occasional chapters of engaging elegance and fine critical writing, and there are others that do not rise to the level of high school text-books. As a whole, the work is done in straightforward pedestrian prose, accurate, informing, but seldom moving or illuminating.

The History of Caste in India : Evidence of the Laws of Manu on the Social Conditions in India during the Third Century, A. D., Interpreted and Examined by Mr. Shridhar V. Ketkar, A. M. (Cornell), Vol. I, is the first instalment of a larger work on the subject meditated by the author. As he states in his Introduction, his aim is not merely the investigation of the existing institution of caste ; he writes as a reformer anxious to discover from its history the best means of modifying or eventually abolishing it in modern Hindu society. The writer is at variance on some points with the conclusions of European scholars, and states his objections to their theories very freely. One of the most interesting contributions he makes himself to the subject is the endeavour to discover the fundamental human feelings forming the basis of caste. According to him, caste rests primarily on endogamy and hierarchy. The rigidity of the caste system in India is due largely, in his opinion, to the system of early marriages. Free choice in love would, he believes, have proved a great solvent of caste, but the inexorable nature of parental control in the matter of marriages has strengthened the barriers of caste. The main part of the book, as the title suggests is taken up with an examination of the laws of Manu and their treatment of the question of caste. In the Appendix the writer attacks ethnologists with regard to the meaning which they give to the word " race. " His objections to the loose way in which the word is frequently used are probably justifiable, while his strictures on the abuse of the terms " Aryan " and " Dravidian " deserve the attention of writers on Indian subjects. We look forward with great interest to the second volume of this work by a competent Indian scholar.

In the *Influence of British Rule in India on Home Politics* : The Chancellor's Essay, 1909, by Mr. Herbert A. Smith, late Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, the author comes to the conclusion that India has exerted hardly any appreciable influence on English politics, and he gives the reason why such an influence is absent. These he finds in the geographical separation of the two countries, in the fundamental difference in character and ideals between the Englishman and the Indian, and above all in the financial and governmental independence of India. In the author's opinion this isolation has its advantages. It removes the danger of Indian methods of administration gaining favour at home, and exerting in consequence any modifying influence on British insititutions—a point of great importance in the author's eyes, since India is governed by a Bureaucracy, while the

Government of Britain is practically Republican in character. In the repugnance of the Western to let himself be influenced by Eastern ideals, the author sees nothing but a healthy symptom quite in accordance with tradition.

Mr. E. B. Havell has written yet another book an Indian art, and Mr. Murray will shortly publish it. One can imagine what will be the tenor of the *Ideals of Indian Art*, for Mr. Havell has a peculiar style and manner of his own. The publisher informs us that Mr. Havell in this book "protests strongly against the depreciation and misrepresentation of Indian art which at present obtains official sanction in our National Museums, and, treating it as an intimate revelation of Indian life and thought, insists that, as such, it demands the most careful and sympathetic study of those who are entrusted with the administration of our Indian Empire. The central ideas of Indian religious belief as revealed in its great sculptured monuments, are clearly explained. The book, illustrated with the finest examples of Buddhist and Hindu sculpture from the time of Asoka down to the XVth century, will be an indispensable guide to the student of Indian art and to all who wish to gain an understanding of Indian ideals." As to other forthcoming books on Indian Art, Miss MacCarthy is engaged on an important work on Indian music, which the Committee of the India Society (London) hopes eventually to publish. Dr. Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* is now in the press, and will be published in due course by the Clarendon Press of Oxford. These three books are expected to be notable contributions to various aspects of Indian Art.

The Transit of Souls, by J. H. Willmer (John Long, London) is a work that will interest readers in India, the home of Occultism. Western nations find it hard to believe that the living can discourse with the spirits of departed friends, and yet in that holy book of theirs, the Bible, instances have been recorded. But it must be remembered that the Bible was written by Eastern authors, whose minds had been attuned to that level to hear sounds penetrating from depths beyond. Mr. Willmer is a writer from the West, but he knows of such things—he feels the signals telegraphed and in his entrancing story tells of curious incidents connected with telepathy and the power which the soul possesses of quitting the body, before death, for a space. This is his main theme, but he clothes it with an interesting narrative introducing Nawabs, Begums and others. Some might, perhaps, object to the way he handles the subject of harems; but be it remembered he is not writing an historical account of a nation, but a story of a fanciful Nawabi family. That there have been such Nawabs, as there have been wicked men and women in western countries depicted in almost every novel that one takes up, goes without saying. The book is written with much charm. At times it appeals to the senses, but the predominating note is that virtue, is preferable to vice. *The Transit of Souls* is a book that ought not only to be read by Englishmen but Indians as well.

Our esteemed friend, Mr. Satya Chandra Mukerjee—the first instalment of whose brilliant sketches of Delhi appears in the present issue of this Review—has just brought out, through the Indian Press, Allahabad, a beautifully illustrated volume called *Allahabad in Pictures*. In noticing last year his no less interesting *Agra in Pictures*, we characterised at some length the special features of the series in which these volumes are published and which was inaugurated by the Rev. Edwin Greaves with his *Benares*. To put it in brief, while the letterpress is an important feature of the books in the series, it is more or less subordinate to the wealth of splendid illustrations with which they are embellished. In this respect, the book under notice is the best of those hitherto issued, and great credit is due to Major B. D. Basu (I. M. S., retired), who is responsible for the photographic reproductions. Major Basu has done his work judiciously—with taste and discrimination, and the illustrations—which are done in the very best style of the Indian Press—certainly add to the interest of the letterpress by Mr. Satya Chandra. The book is brilliantly written and is a comprehensive and interesting sketch of the antiquities of Prayag and the modern institutions of Allahabad. It is so well got up as to be an ornament to a drawing room. We commend it to all lovers of Allahabad—residents of the city as well as visitors to it. We way here announce that when the present series of his sketches of Delhi is completed by October next in this Review, they will be brought out in an illustrated volume, by the author, in time for visitors to the Great Delhi Darbar.

DELHI : THE CITY OF THE CORONATION DURBAR.—I.

By Mr. Satya Chandra Mukerji, M. A., B. L., Author of Agra in Pictures.

I.—Introductory.

" To the Indian imagination, Hindustan is still the centre of India and Delhi is still the metropolis "—Keene's *Moghul Empire.*

FOR the next few months the eyes of all India will be turned towards Delhi, the scene of the coming Coronation Durbar in December next, which is likely to be the grandest and most impressive show of its kind ever held even in the gorgeous East. It has pleased His Most Gracious Majesty King-Emperor George V, to direct that a Durbar be held at Delhi on Tuesday, the 12th December next, to solemnise the auspicious event of his accession to the throne of the British Empire, at which function His Majesty with his Imperial consort would preside. The news has been received with a thrill of joy by all classes of His Majesty's subjects throughout the length and breadth of the Indian Empire, and arrangements are now proceeding apace to give a fitting reception to Their Majesties at such places as would be honoured by their presence or by the presence of either of them. The desire of His Majesty that his subjects in this far-off dependency of the British Crown should become personally acquainted with their sovereign and participate in the glories of the British Empire has met with loyal appreciation, and all India is united in offering prayers that the reign just commencing might be long and prosperous, and that Providence might vouchsafe to His Majesty that enlightening and that ennobling grace which would enable him to be equal to the strain and the responsibilities of his exalted position, at a time when the demands on the time and attention, even of a constitutional Sovereign like that of England, must be heavy and exacting.

The city of Delhi has no doubt been selected as the place where the coming Durbar is to be held on account of its historic importance and the hold that its splendid past has still on the minds and imaginations of the Indian peoples. The honour of being the scene of this great state function, which had been given to Delhi by His Majesty's own command, has made other Indian cities sullen and jealous, and there were audible protests in Calcutta where the city fathers approached the Viceroy with an address praying that Calcutta might have the honour of having the Durbar in its midst, as it was the Metropolis of India, the second city of the British Empire and a living monument of the progress which India has achieved under British Rule. The address, in pointing out the unsuitability of Delhi for this state function, spoke of it as an effete and decaying city, bound up with the unsavoury memories of the Sepoy mutiny aud in every way unfit to have the high honour proposed to be conferred on it. All discussions on the subject which had but just been started and which would have increased in volume as time went on, were set at rest by the gentle hint given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the effect that the matter had been finally settled by His Majesty himself, and it would be hardly respectful to desire to have it reopened. On reading what the city fathers of Calcutta had to say of Delhi one is reminded of the compliments paid to Calcutta by Sir John Lawrence (who had spent the greater part of his service as a Civil Servant of the East India Company at Delhi) when he was called upon to reside in Calcutta, on his taking charge of the Indian Viceroyalty, on the premature death of the first Earl of Elgin. Sir John Lawrence, who had visited Calcutta only once to bid good-bye to Lord Dalhousie before he became the occupant of the Government House in his own right, sighed when living in Calcutta (regarding which he did not use polite and parliamentary language) for the crisp air, the bracing climate and interesting life of the city of the great Moghul as opposed to the pestilential atmosphere and the perpetual vapour bath of that city, which, notwithstanding the absence from among its midst of the Government of India for seven months in the year proudly claims to be the Metropolis of the Indian Empire,

II—HISTORICAL.

Educated India is familiar with those lines in the eleventh book of the *Paradise Lost* where Milton takes a birds'-eye-view of the cities of old and modern fame in the mighty empires of the East and where he speaks of Agra and Lahore of the great Moghul but does not make any mention of Delhi. Critics and commentators of that great poet conjecture that Milton derived the information which he utilized in those stately lines from the journal of his travels to the East by William Finch Merchant who visited Agra and Lahore between 1609 and 1611 A. D., and gave a description of those places which can be read with interest even at the present day. Finch visited India during the reign of Jehangir when Lahore had the largest share of Imperial favour and when that great city was in its meridian days. Modern Delhi which may be properly called Shahjehanabad dated from the middle of the seventeenth century and its palmy days vanished with the departure from it of Aurungzeb for the south and the gradual declining of the successors of that monarch in power and prosperity. But Modern Delhi is but the last of the many cities and palaces which had been built on the fine plain between the Jamuna river and the Aravelli Hills, which have here their northernmost extension, terminating at about three miles to the north of the present city. The rocky uplands, some of which had been utilized for building the far-famed palace fortress and the Jama Musjid, serve as effective barriers against the encroachments of the river. The strip of land between the broad blue waters of the classic Jumna, associated in every Hindu mind with the semi-divine frolics of the Shepherd God and the Aravalli Hills which had witnessed some of the bravest and the most romantic deeds of Indian History, had been recognized to have peculiar advantages for being the site of a great river-city and had been built upon from the dawn of civilization. We find great cities and palaces standing on it from the first faint beginnings of authentic history. The ruins of several of such cities stand still and would be described in detail later on. They extend up to the Kutub Minar and Toghlakabad about twelve miles south-west of Delhi in one direction and to the Jahanuma palace of Firoz Shah Toglak in another.

Of these cities built during the last ten centuries the most well-known are (i) Firozabad, founded by Firoz Shah Toglakh, (ii) Indrapat, which was inhabited by Humayun and Sher Shah, (iii) Jahanpanah betweeh Siri and Old Delhi, (iv) Old Delhi containing the Fort of Rai Pithora and the Kutub Minar where the Pathan Kings of Delhi resided, (v) Siri otherwise known as Shahpur, and (vi) Toghlakabad where Mahomed Toglakh sought to transfer the capital of the Pathan empire about 1320 A. D., which is now a mass of ruins testifying to the vanity of human wishes. Modern Delhi is less than three centuries old and was in the shade during the reign of the early emperors of the Mogul dynasty. We all know how Baber, the sixth in descent from Timur, after his struggles with the last king of the Lodi dynasty and the Rajputs under the leadership of Rana Sanga at Biana, settled down at Agra where he spent his time in consolidating his conquests, in the rude pleasures of the nomadic races of Central Asia and in that literary culture to which his Tartar nature was not an utter stranger. His son Humayun's lot was cast in troubled times, and he spent the greater part of his life after his accession to the Moghul throne as an exile and an unwelcome guest in foreign capitals. He returned to Delhi to die and his mausoleum at a short distance from the modern city, which is generally believed to have furnished the model for the immaculate Taj Mahal of Agra, is one of the finest architectural monuments that arrests the attention of the traveller. The reign of Akbar who is generally considered to be the greatest sovereign of the Moghul dynasty is closely associated with Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, and he does not seem to have bestowed much attention on Delhi. Jehangir seems to have turned his attention to Lahore and to the lovely vale of Kashmir and he gave those places some of the finest specimens of saracenic architecture. Those who have visited Lahore are well aware of the fact that its forts and palaces, its domes and minerets, its tortuous streets and its crowded bazars all sudded with relics of bygone ages recall the palmy days of Moghul rule before the great Gurus of the Sikhs appeared on the scene or the Lion of the Punjab despoiled the Mughul monuments to beautify the golden temple at Amritsar.

Delhi, however, regained its prestige as the Imperial city of India shortly after the accession of Shah Jehan. The far-famed royal palace at Delhi which contained the inimitable peacock throne was ten years in building and was completed about 1648 and the Jama Musjid and other public buildings date from about the same period. From that period to the departure of Aurengzebe in 1680, Delhi was the most magnificient place in the East, the place where was centred the fabulous wealth of Hindustan and where were gathered the poets and writers, statesmen and philosophers, warriors and divines, wits and musicians, whose names are yet household words in Upper India. Bernier has given us a lively description of the scene he witnessed in the great hall of audience at Delhi in July, 1663, and Tavernier has given us an equally fine description of the progress of the Mogul Emperor from the palace to the Jama Musjid on Fridays, in a solemn procession where the barbaric pearl and gold of Ind were tastefully exhibited in the royal paraphernalia or the magnificient robes of the attendant nobility. The splendours of the Chandni Chauk were also at their zenith during this period. As is well-known, Aurengzebe died before he could complete his conquest of the Deccan and was buried at the place of his temporary sojurn far away from his capital city. Although several of the Moghul generals had thrown off the yoke of allegiance and become practically independent, the divinity that hedged round the person of the Sovereign remained intact for many years and Delhi enjoyed comparative peace and security till 1739 A. D., when Nadir Shah entered the city and the palace as its conqueror and became the master of the accumulated wealth of centuries which he carried to his native country. His invasion was followed in 1760 A. D., by that of Ahmed Shah Durrani who, after defeating the Maharattas, placed Shah Alum the Second on the throne. The various provinces had by this time thrown off allegiance to the throne of Delhi even as a matter of form and Shah Alum's anthority was confined to the palace and to a strip of land hardly ten miles beyond. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the army of the East India Company occupied Delhi and the city became an integral part of the Company's dominions but due honours were paid to the representative of the Moghul dynasty who reigned supreme within the fort and to whom the representative of British power paid the most reverential homage.

From the death of Mahamed Shah in 1748 the History of Delhi ceased to be the history of India, and in a few years it sunk to the level of an ordinary provincial town. It has, however, been truly remarked that the glamour of the great cities which bore the name of Delhi during many centuries, whose ruins now lie on all sides of the modern city, adheres to it still and continues to captivate the imagination of the cultured and uncultured alike. Sir John Lawrence arrived at Delhi as Assistant Magistrate in 1830, and in his biography which can yet be read by all interested in that city with profit and pleasure, we have a lively description of the Moghal capital in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the British Magistrate dispensed justice according to Western ideas in the city and and the great Mogul held his court, inside the red sandstone walls of the fort. This state of things continued down to the outbreak of the Sepoy mutiny which had Delhi as its centre and rallying point during the eventful months between May and September, 1857. On its suppression the representative of the dynasty of Timur and Baber left Delhi for good as an exile to Rangoon and since then the city and district of Delhi have been annexed to the Punjab. Delhi had then sunk to the level of an ordinary muffasil town, and its streets and palaces once the scene of great and solemn ceremonials had been allotted to the common concerns and every day avocations of ordinary Indian life. Its splendid past caused it to be selected, however, as the scene of the Imperial assemblage of 1877 and of the Coronation Durbar of 1903 at the first of which Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India and the latter of which solemnized the accession of Edward VII to the throne of his ancestors.

III.—PERSONAL.

With the permission of our readers, the present writer proposes to fill up the above outline of the past history of Delhi with interesting details and place before them a description of Delhi as it is and as they will find it on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar of 1911. The literature on the subject is ample and the city has had a fascination for the present writer for nearly a quarter of a century. Ever since he first visited Delhi, now more than two decades ago, he had come under the spell that this great city, to which the Hindus and the Mahomedans lay equal claim, has cast on many greater and better men for generations past. The present writer has thought it a pleasure and a privilege to trace his footsteps to those places which Bernier or Tavernier, Heber or Sleeman had described. He has tried to follow the expert descriptions of Mr. Fergusson who has pointed out to the layman the wealth of architectural details which would otherwise escape attention. He has lingered over the pages of the biographies of Lord Metcalfe and Lord Lawrence an appreciable portion of whose official life had been spent in the city of the great Moghul. He has followed the course of events relating to the Sepoy mutiny as given in the narratives of Sir Henry Norman and Lord Roberts, both of whom took part in the operations as subalterns. He has paid his homage to the ruins of past empires and by-gone cities and has often enjoyed the delightful panoromic view of the surrounding country from the highest storey of the Kutub Minar and from vantage points of Toghlakabad. He has often lingered in the crowded streets, the pleasant gardens and the many spots replete with romance and heroism in the modern city and its environs. He has noticed with pleasure the rising commercial importance of the city, and he rejoices to see that in political importance it will be the first city in India again for the next few months. To be permitted to write about such a city is indeed a privilege, and the present writer will address himself to this peculiarly grateful task, in the *Hindustan Review.*

CHAPTER I.

IV.—THE ROME OF ASIA.

Delhi has justly been called the Rome of Asia and it had been the seat of the various Emperors of India for over seven hundred years. The cities which enjoyed the name of Delhi and were the scene of the various imperial pageants are not all to be identified with Modern Delhi but were situated on a broad plain on the west bank of the Jumna. These were abandoned one by one, till Modern Delhi was built partly on the site of one of the older cities. The first mention that we have in history of a city standing on this site is in the Epic of the Mahabharata. This great poem which will stand comparison with the Illiad attributed to Homer or the Ænied of Virgil, has for the scene of its principal events the city of Hastinapur or Indraprastha whose site has been identified with that of one of the cities that stood on the area of about sixty square miles between the northernmost spurs of the Aravelli Hills and the broad waters of the Classic Jumna. The two branches of the solar race are described in this poem, as having fought for the supreme power in the state on the battle-field of Kurukhestra near modern Thaneshar where the battle raged fiercely for many days. The incidents which led up to this great conflict, which no doubt is an historical fact are described with a wealth of detail and a richness of imagination, which has made that great epic to be classed among the finest productions of the human mind. The Mahabharata also incidentally gives us a glimpse into the conditions of life and the conditions under which military operations were carried on in the age with which it so graphically deals. Its delineations of different types of human character, no less than what professes to be the chronicle of contemporary events as well as its rich fund of anecdotes have made it widely appreciated in the republic of letters. After the victoy of Kurukshetra which fell to the Pandavas they are recorded to have abandoned this city headed by king Yudhisthira on the ground that a fly had been discovered in a dish of food, indicating that the glory of the dynasty had departed when so small an insect had dared to be offensive to the ruler of men, themselves the lords of creation. Tradition has it that Indraprastha stood where Purana Kila now stands. The criticisms of competent scholars have been directed against this tradition and the theory embodied in it has been accepted by some and rejected by others. But there could be no doubt that judging from the surroundings and environments the great city of the Mahabharata stood on this plain and that it was abandoned for many centuries before it was repeopled again about the tenth century of the Christian era. King Yudhisthira and his brothers left the Imperial city to wander about the country and finally to disappear in the Himalayas.

We do not find any mention of Delhi in the accounts of India that have been preserved to us of either the Greek historians who wrote about the campaigns of Alexander the Great or the Chinese travellers who visited India in the sixth century of the Christian era to pay their homage to those sacred spots which were sanctified by association with the immortal Buddha. Alexander the Great visited India about 327 B. C., and in the accounts that we read of his campaigns one finds a mention of Muthura, the city of the birth and exploits of Krishna, which has been and is still to-day an important centre of Hinduism, but no mention whatever of Delhi. Neither Arrian nor Megasthenes speaks of Delhi while there is no doubt that Muthura was one of the places taken by the Bactrian armies. The Chinese pilgrims who have left us such elaborate descriptions of Indian cities and places of note have not a word to say of Delhi, although all of them speak of Muthura, of its countless shrines and its boundless wealth. Mahmud of Ghazni who made the Indian cities of note the object of his campaigns, never turned his attention to Delhi if such a city existed in his days. All these facts make it pretty certain that the city of the Hindu Kings of the Mahabharat had been abandoned and the tradition that it was inhabited again after eight centuries has a considerable substratum of truth to support it.

We know it is a matter of fact that the later cities on this plain to which was given the name of Delhi had to be abandoned one after the other till the builder of the Fort and the Jama Musjid pitched upon the site of the modern city. It is also a fact which stands out in bold relief that the city of Delhi was fully repeopled in the middle of the eleventh century after the final disappearance of the Ghaznavi invader from the plains of Hindustan. One is tempted to discuss in this connection the interesting question as to why so many cities of Delhi should be built one after the other and then abandoned for good. The fact itself admits of no doubt and numerous explanations of it have been attempted. One feels certain of the cause of the abandonment of Fatehpur Sikri by Emperor Akbar as we have an authentic and authoritative record of the events of that illustrious period from the pen of one of the principal ministers of State. That cause was the badness of the water and the consequent insalubrity of the climate. The copious supply of fresh water is the one thing that makes life endurable in a tropical climate, where the months immediately preceding the rains are intensely hot and trying and where besides the high temperature one has to reckon with furious hot winds surcharged with the heat of the desert or of the dusty plains streching for many miles around. That fact explains why all the classic cities of India are built on great rivers and why the spots which are the scene of the confluence of mighty streams have a peculiar value both from the material and the spiritual points of view, Delhi and Muthra, Kanauaj, and Prayag, Ajodhya and Kashi, are all situated on great rivers and have inherited in our days the prestige derived from their past history.

It appears, however, that the course of the Jumna about the place where the cities of Delhi were built has been rather erratic and the broad stream of the river has changed its course more than once during the many centuries that Delhi was the Imperial city of India. Since that eventful day when Lord Lake fought a pitched battle with the Maharattas on the east bank of the Jumna on a site about six miles to the south-east of the modern city and planted the British flag for the first time on the soil of the most famous city in Asia, the river has receded further to the east and at one time apprehensions were entertained that it might cut out a new channel for itself, leaving the railway bridge and the old landmarks quite high and dry. One must also remember that the Indian rivers are often in flood and the builders of cities must choose sites, if available, where their handiwork would be free from the effects of erosion and inundations. The rivers in these days are not notorious for their erratic courses and their ravages during the rainy season, but it must not be forgotten that the extensive system of irrigation, that has been the order of the day since the majestic canal associated with the name of Sir Proby Cautley, with headworks near Hardwar, spread plenty and fertility over many a thirsty acre in Upper India, draw off a considerable quantity of water from the main channel and reduce the rivers to manageable limits. The thinning of the forests in the Himalayan regions which has important effects as regards the distribution of rainfall is also responsible for the rivers in Upper India running within the channels they had marked out for themselves. To these natural causes must be added the caprice of irresponsible rulers and the weakness of the human mind for posthumous fame. One Emperor of the Togluck dynasty made it the ambition of his life to remove the inhabitants of the Delhi of his days bodily into a new city which he commenced building and whose massive ruins testify to posterity the vanity of all things human.

V.—THE IRON PILLAR.

There is an inscription on the Iron Pillar near the Kutub Minar that scholars have deciphered as recording that Anang Pal built Delhi in A. D. 1052. The pillar itself is a work of art and approved opinions place its age as between the third and fourth century of the Christian era. There must have been a city round about the site where the pillar now stands and this is the earliest of the cities of Delhi that one can trace since the days of the Mahabharata. Anang Pal must have found the place inhabited and in choosing it as his capital city he laid the foundations of that prosperity which lasted through many centuries and which has not wholly departed yet from a place to which the eyes of the civilised world would be turned in the course of the next few months. The ancient cities which were known by the name of Delhi stood on the plain to the south of the modern city extending to the Kutub Minar and Toghluckabad. This plain is approximately twelve miles long with an average breadth of about five miles. The cities are connected first with the Hindu dynasties that held sway over a large tract of surrounding country with Delhi as their capital and later on with the various Pathan and Moghul dynasties whose rule extended more or less over the whole of northern India and the northern portion of the Deccan. The sites of the various cities are traceable from the monuments that are still extant and which will be described in detail later on. They extend over more than nine centuries and cover the period between the settlement at Delhi of the Tuars and the Chauhans down to the Sepoy mutiny and the period of reconstruction and consolidation of the Indian Government that followed it. The solitary exception is the iron pillar which undoubtedly dates from the third or the fourth century of the Chirstian era. This pillar is about 24 feet and about 2 feet in diameter and it is said to weigh more than six tons. Doubts were entertained once as to whether the material was pure iron or some alloy, but these were set at rest by a scientific analysis which has shown that it is pure iron. There is a dent in the body of the pillar said to have been caused by a canon-ball, but the material and workmanship must be unusally good, for the above-mentioned canon shot produced very slight injuries, if any. The popular belief was that the base of the pillar extended far into the earth, if it did not rest actually on the head of that serpent who, according to Hindu mythology, was the chief support of this terrestrial globe but excavation has shown that this belief is not well-founded and the pillar terminates only a few feet below the surface of the earth. Mr. James Prinsep, the great antiquarian, whose researches have thrown a flood of light on many a dark corner of Indian history, has deciphered this inscription. According to him the inscription records that the pillar was built by a king named Chandra or Dhava who was a Vaishnava and who apparently settled at Delhi on coming from Muthura which was in those days in the hands of the Buddhists. There are several other inscriptions on the pillar, but the only one that is of any interest is to the effect that Anang Pal built the city of Delhi in 1052 A. D. The inscriptions are in a dialect which became obsolete after the fourth century of the Christian era, and this fact unmistakably fixes the date of the pillar. The skill and workmanship of those who erected this iron pillar and placed it in position was undoubtedly great, and posterity has nothing but admiration for them. Exposed equally to the intense heat and the biting cold of Upper India and liable to get rusted through the rains and the vapoury atmosphere of an Indian autumn the pillar retains to this day its pristine brightness. One wonders how this high-class workmanship that was absolutely essential for the purpose of forging and erecting this heavy pillar was acquired in India so early in the day. One also wonders whence the raw material came from as there are no iron ore to be found either in the neighbourhood or within a convenient distance. However, these are matters on which no precise information is available and one must be content to form his own conjectures as best he might.

VI.—Hindoo Monuments.

The earliest of the cities of Delhi stood at the site of which the Kutub Minar is now the most prominent landmark. Anang Pal who, according to the inscriptions on the iron pillar, built the first city of Delhi in the middle of the eleventh century, belonged to the Tuar tribe of Rajputs who had been dislodged from Kanauj when that city was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni and from which blow it never recovered. Anang Pal and his successors lived and reigned in Delhi for nearly a century, and they did their best to start many works of pubilc utility and construct strong walls round the city which in pre-artillery days offered a sufficient defence to any garrison entrenched behind them. Some of the tanks and reservoirs which they built exist to-day, and although they are of no architectural beauty they form principal landmarks in a plain which is one of the most arid regions of Hindustan. We have no record of the kings of the Tuar dynasty and history does not tell us anything more than that they were left in peace within the territories they had marked out as their own till 1151 A. D. when the Chauhan Rajputs overran Delhi. Delhi then passed to a dynasty whose founder was the offspring of a Tuar Prince and a Chauhan princess.

In the sixties of the twelvth century the ruler of Delhi was one Visala Deva whose name is immortalized in an inscription which he had apparently caused to be engraved on an old pillar of Asoka which was removed by Emperor Firoz Shah from its original home in the Siwaliks to Delhi by river and which that Emperor caused to be set up in the Kotila of Firoz Shah where it still stands. The inscription records the prowess of the Chauhan monarch who is said to be the ruler of the broad plains that stretch from the Siwaliks down to where the placid Narbada glides through wild and mountainous precipices and marble rocks thus contributing to one of the finest scenes that nature has to present amidst the rocky defies of Central India. Visala Deva was the grandfather of the celebrated Pirthwi Raj who is generally known as the last Hindu King of Delhi. Popular songs ascribed to the bard of his court has kept the memory of Pirthwi Raj green amongst the Hindus in Upper India, and he is usually regarded as a just and generous prince whose rule was of great benefit to his subjects. Pirthwi Raj had his hands quite full with the incursions of the Mahomedan rulers from beyond the Indus and he was for sometime successful in repelling their aggressions. But the tide of fortune soon changed and on the battle-field of Tilauri the Mahomedans defeated him and advanced towards Delhi. Prithwi Raj or Rai Pithora as he was popularly called was killed in this battle and Delhi passed into Mahomedan hands. Prithwi Raj built the fortress of Lalkot in old Delhi, and when the city came into the possession of the Pathan Sovereigns there were numerous Hindu temples some of which survive even up to the present. The Pathan Kings, the first of whom was Kutub-ud-din, retained Delhi as their capital, and till the victory of Lord Lake, Delhi remained the principal Mahomedan city in all Asia, the home of culture of refinement of military prowess, of oriental grandeur and of boundless wealth.

VII.—THE KUTUB MINAR.

The principal monument of the Pathan period is the Kutub Minar named after Kutub-ud-din Aibak, who came to Delhi as Viceroy of India on behalf of the Moslem conqueror of Delhi, but who soon after threw off the yoke of allegiance and asserted his own sovereignty. The Minar is generally supposed to be a monument of the Mahomedan conquest of India and it was begun by Kutub-ud-din and completed by his successor Shamsh-ud-din Altamash. It shoots up straight into the vaulted canopy of heaven and when seen with the clear blue sky above and around it, it is an object of beauty and joy for ever. The height of the pillar is 238 feet, and while the basement is broad the column goes on tapering to the fifth storey which is covered over with a handsome pavilion. This Minar is considered to be the finest object of its kind in the world and it shows engineering skill and delicate workmanship of a very high order. The design of the different stories combined with the carvings and the writings in a floral style all around set off the beauty of this tall column aud has a pleasing effect on the eye. The top is reached by a stair case which provides easy ascent and compares very favourably with the steep and precipitous ascent provided in the palaces and tombs that had come down to us from later times. The ornamentation of the Kutub Minar is distinctly Hindu, and this circumstance has led many to think that the Minar itself was of Hindu origin and belonged to Hindu times. Competent scholars, however, have discarded this theory and they account for the Hindu ornamentations to the influence of Hindu workmen who were employed in large numbers in its constructfon. It was encased in sandstone by Firoz Shah, who got the sandstone from Agra. Tradition has it that the Minar was struck by lightning in 1368 A. D. when the same sovereign undertook to build the topmost stories, and that it was he who introduced the marble. The marble came from those inexhaustible quarries at Makrana in the Jodhpur territories which also furnished materials for the immaculate Taj Mehal of Agra. Tradition has it too, the Minar was again struck by lightning in the reign of Sekundur Lodi who crrried out the necessary work of repair. Visitations of nature in the shape of earthquakes did not spare this proud monument, and it was considerably damaged by the earthquake of 1782 A. D. and 1803 A. D. The damages were repaired about 1830 A. D. and a top ornament was added which was subsequently removed. The Kutub Minar has successfully withstood the earthquakes of 1829 as well as the recent one of 1905 which latter did such considerable damage over a large part of Northern India. The diameter of the Kutub Minar at the bottom s 47 feet and at the top about 9 feet. Four blaconies divide it into five different stories. The first storey is 95 feet in height, the second is 51 feet, the third 41 feet, the fourth 25 feet, and the fifth 22 feet. The names and attributes, real or imagniary, of the builder and his royal master, together with the various names of God and appropriate texts of the holy Koran have been engraved on this Minar. There is a mosque in the neighbourhood which is an adaptation of an ancient Hindu temple and the theory was started that the Kutub Minar was intended as a minaret to that mosque. But there could be no doubt that the Kutub Minar was intended to stand by itself, and there is no reason for supposing that such a magniticient monument was nothing more than a mere appendage to a mosque of no great architectural beauty and of ordinary proportions.

The view of the surrounding country from the top of the Kutub Minar is simply splendid and one forgets the exhaustion of a climb in the pure bracing air and the vista which is unfolded before his eyes as he stands on this coign of vantage. The city of Modern Delhi with its teeming population, its white domes and its prominent landmarks arrest the attention of the traveller as he looks in one direction over a broad country dotted with villages and groves. Nearer in the same direction the domes and the standstone walls of the tomb of Nawab Safdar Jung, the last of the sovereigns of Oudh who was interred at Delhi, come prominently before him. In another direction the tomb of Emperor Humayun, which though not so rich in material and beautiful in execution as the tombs of his descendants at Agra and Lahore, is still a remarkable specimen of Indo-saracenic architecture, catches the eye with many other monuments of smaller importance. The ruins of Toglakabad with the mausoleum of its proud founder bound the horizon towards the south, while one sees nearer him in different lines the walls of four abandoned cities which once rejoiced in the name of Delhi. He also sees the whole country-side dotted with monuments of bygone age, with tombs and mausoleums where the earthly remains of many ambitious and high-minded personages now mingle with the dust. He finds his view bounded on one side by the meandering stream of the Jumna and the rocky spurs of the Aravellis, and he indulges in his own reflections about the transitoriness of all earthly glories and the fleeting passions that agitate men in this all too brief period of human existence. He comes down the easy descent to mother-earth, a sadder better and wiser man less conscious of his own merits and more charitable towards the failings of his fellow-beings.

DELHI : —A POEM.

By Mr. N. Gupta.

Ancient of days am I, the cradle
Of kingdoms and empires I rocked
On my lap with a mother's care !
The Titans of the Mahabharata looked at my face
And found it fair and they nestled in my bosom ;
They built kingly halls and lordly palaces
Of sweet-scented pine and gold and amethyst ;
Dark and mystic flowed the Jumna lapping my feet.

Anon came the din of war from the field
Of Kurukshetra, the clash of arms, the thunder
Of chariots and the conch-calls of mighty warriors
Deafening the ears and filling the heart with awe ;
Then the peace of death and all was still !

Another turn of the cycle-wheel, Kuru and Pandava
Had passed and another was reigning in their stead.
Then came the Moslem from the west
And I passed to him by the right of the sword.
Change after change I saw, and the fame of my wealth
Drew men from afar as the light draws the moth.
Nadir, the man of blood, at whose word
The imperial streets ran with blood
Incarnadining the blue waters of the Jumna ;
He came and went like the thunderblast and I mourned
The innocent and the slain. And the centuries
Wheeled and brought the Mogul and the heyday of my glory.

He too passed and the race from the Far West
Came and held the land and my glory departed ;
I lay neglected while a rival Queen rose in the east.
I am the cradle of empires and their grave !
Round about lie the ramnants of empire,
And my imperial fame is but a memory.

They tell me that from across the sea
The great white Emperor is coming to Ind,
And once again the imperial Crown
Will be placed in my ancient house.
I see the men at work ; I hear the coming and going
Of men in authority. They are making me ready
To meet my King and Emperor face to face.

Many memories come crowding to me :
The vision of my imperial grandeur crowned
With the halo of years, the scenes of carnage,
The busy brains uprearing empires,
The plots and counter-plots, the wiles
Of imperial women, the fierce passions of men
Seeking love and the power to rule ;
All have vanished as dreams and are still !

My King, doth he come to tarry ? To bid me stand forth
Once again in all my glory as the Queen of the East ?
Ah no, he comes but to return across the wide waters
Back again to his own island kingdom.
He will smite the chord of memory but once,
And I shall hie me back to the past and to the dead !

WATER WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY: AN INDIAN'S INVENTIONS.

FROM the earliest times the thoughts of men have been occupied by the problem of communication at a distance. Till Electricity came to his aid, the distance over which a man could communicate was limited by the capacity of his eyesight or hearing. On the North-West Frontier even now a beacon flare, blazing from peak, to peak, warns the country of an impending danger. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the application of Electricity to Telegraphy was first discovered as a possibility. To whom the credit should be given has long been somewhat of a mystery, but it is now usually conceded that to Alexander Volta (1745-1827), Professor of Physics at Pavia, is due the honour of the discovery which has made Telegraphy—the science and art of signal transmission to a distance by means of a connecting wire—a commercial possibility. With the discovery of Ætheric Waves, this last limitation was removed and with its removal comes a long vista of possibilities and probabilities which are gradually being realized. We refer to the newer art of transmission of signals without wires, *i. e.*, Wireless Telegraphy.

We owe the conception of the propagation of Electricity in Waves to Faraday. It was Maxwell, however, who developed the general principle of undulatory propagation and placed it on a sound mathematical basis. Of the seed thus sown Hertz reaped the fruit. He inserted suitable conductors adapted to the occurrence in them of induced Electric oscillations, and to the surprise of every one, himself doubtless included, he found that the secondary Electric surgings thus excited were strong enough to display themselves by minute Electric sparks. Righi rediscovered the principle of the Coherer and produced a practical form of instrument. Sir Oliver Lodge had shown his Wireless apparatus complete and had, in 1894, succeeded in signalling through space without wires, but to signor Guglielmo Marconi belongs the honour of having devised the first practical Ætheric Wireless Telegraph system. It appears that it was from Professor Righi who made a large number of experiments which he has described in an Italian treatise "Optice Elettrica" that Signor Marconi learned about the subject. He improved the early form of "Branly filings tube" by greatly diminishing its size, replacing the coarse filings by fine filings and sealing them up in a vacuum, just as Sir Oliver Lodge had done. He was advised to take it to the Chief (Sir William Preece) of the Government Telegraphs, London, and accordingly he took his, at that time, crude apparatus to the Post Office in a sealed box. There was no point of novelty in it at that stage. The possibilities of Marconi's system were at once recognized by Sir William Preece and with the powerful aid of the British Post Office, Signor Marconi. proceeded to develop from unpromising beginnings his special method for long distance, viz, the employment of a sending and receiving conducting plate or other small surface at the top of a lofty pole, connected through the apparatus to the Earth, and sometimes failing, sometimes succeeding, gradually increased the distance over which signalling was possible. The first experiments the young inventor made after arriving in London were for the British Post Office, when he telegraphed without the aid of wires for a distance of 300 feet.

Demonstrations on a larger scale were conducted for the benefit of the War Office and the admiralty when he succeeded across a distance of about two miles. This was the real beginning of the Wireless Telegraphy in its commercial form. Later, the distance was increased to eight miles. From the results achieved on this occasion the Marconi system could no longer be considered an experiment but a commercial asset. Marconi next visited his native land, and at Spezia, Italy, where a shore station was established, and two Italian battle-ships had been placed at his disposal, he proved conclusively that his system was effective over a distance of 12 miles. It was at this important period of development that the Wireless Telegraph and Signal Company, Limited, was formed in London and incorporated in July, 1897, with a capital of £100,000, later the capital was increased to £300,000 and the name changed to Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited.

The new company erected two stations 14 miles apart, and here a long series of tests were made during all weathers and seasons of the year. It was while these trials were in progress that the distance was increased to 18 miles. In 1899 a distance of 30 miles was covered which eventually increased to 85 miles. Notwithstanding the continued success of the system, it was not before 1901 when any serious effort was made to establish it commercially. Marconi has by using very high Electric Power succeeded in sending signals from England to America, but with all this success the Ætheric Wireless Telegraphy is in its experimental stage.

The sea is its domain. It has not proved effective over land except for comparatively short distances where the Earth is moist. It is still complicated and it needs skilled experts at each end. It is not independent of the vagaries of the atmosphere, nor is it free from the evil influence of trees and vegetation.

In this connection Indians will be particularly gratified to learn that one of their countrymen has come so prominently forward in the line of useful inventions. It will be interesting to note that Mr. Habibur Rahman Khan, Deputy Superintendent of Telegraphs, Allahabad, has conducted a series of experiments embodied in his pamphlet entitled *Water Wireless Telegraphy.* Mr. Khan's experiments have been most cordially endorsed by the three officers comprising the Head of the Indian Telegraph Department. In his demi-official letter, Mr. H. S. Styan, M. I. E. E., Director of Traffic, says : "The Director-General has asked me to congratulate you warmly on the results of your experiments which have been well carried out and clearly described in your pamphlet. It is very notable that with the small power available from the ordinary Cardew Vibrator you were able to communicate well by means of the river between Chitral and Drosh, a distance of 25 miles. Mr. Simpson considers that it is well worth while experimenting further on this system and that the method indicated in Fig. II of using high frequency oscillations and tuning suggests possibilities for consideration," while Mr. M. G. Simpson, Electrical Engineer-in-Chief adds : "As I understand it, your idea is to make use of tuned osciallations for conductive Telegraphy, and it is possible that this will make a great advance in this method of Wireless Telegraphy. Certainly I should like to see further experiments made, and I propose to speak to the Director-General and see whether we can arrange for further trials."

The main feature of this system is the substitution of the surface of water for *wire* as the connecting medium, for high frequency oscillation currents, employing separate earths or capacity areas as earths. The idea has before now suggested itself to other inventive minds, but their experiments proved failures in that they were conducted on the principle of Induction, which owing to the short circuiting arrangement at the transmitting end failed to produce currents of sufficient strength at the receiving end. Mr. H. R. Khan has succeeded in fully establishing his claim to a discovery, in that he has maintained communication for over 25 miles without intervening wires between Chitral and Drosh, and also between Chitral and Mustuj, and has clearly set forth the practicability of his discovery, and thereby rightly expects the support of both the Government and the public in patenting his system. Mr. Khan has further discovered that the weak natural Earth currents when passing through the Receiving Telephone connected directly through the Water Sheet and Earth, play an important part in making the Telephone tremendously sensitive for detecting the most delicate oscillatory currents received, thereby performing the function of the most sensitive Electric current detector (including his own make) yet invented.

As to his discovery being an original one, Mr. Khan observes as follows :—" The history of Wireless Telegraphy only too plainly shows it was the work, not of one man, but of many, but as Sir William Preece has himself so pithily put it : 'we all knew about the egg but Marconi showed as how to make it stand on end, the honour of the first practical Ætheric Wireless Telegraph system belongs to Signor Guglielmo Marconi.' I also hope that the scientific world will be equally liberal in recognizing my system to be an original discovery and award the merit of the first practical Water Wireless System to India." In view of the several advantages claimed in favour of the Water Wireless System we hope Mr. Khan will be placed on special duty with the necessary staff and apparatus to enable him to improve his system.

THE HOT WEATHER IN INDIA.

THE most noticeable characteristic feature of the climate of India is the very high temperature which prevails over the country between March and the setting in of the wet season. The rains, though economically and hygienically so important, are, except in some instances, equalled by the rainfall in other parts of the world, and hence have never succeeded in creating the same striking impression on the imagination as has been done by the excessive temperatures which each succeeding year sees established over the plains of India. The hot weather of India is a thing apart, and in no other cultivated, civilised and populous country can similarly extreme temperatures be found extending over so large an area, while probably nowhere on the earth's surface has the thermometer, when properly protected, registered higher temperatures than those which have been recorded in parts of Upper Sind and of Western Rajputana. In considering the various causes which go to make up the temperature of different parts of the earth's surface, there are two or three circumstances which have to be taken into account. The first and most important is that which is expressed in the general law which says that the quantity of the sun's heat incident at any given moment on a given area varies directly as the *sine* of the sun's altitude. Now, as a large part of India lies wholly within the tropics, and Northern India only just outside the northern limit, it is obvious that so far as the above law is concerned, the country is in a most favourable geographical position for receiving its full share of the solar heat; but that other considerations are involved is obvious from the fact that in other parts of the world regions even more favourably placed in this respect, exhibit nothing in the way of temperature at all comparable with the results obtained in India.

This leads us to the second important consideration, *viz.*, the distance of the interior in India from any large body of water. Heat falling on a water surface is largely used up in evaporating the water, and a water surface changes its temperature very slowly, so that a land area in proximity to a large body of water has a lower temperature than an area in the same latitude in the interior of a continent. In addition to this, water vapour in the air is very obstructive to the free progress of solar heat through the atmosphere, and the amount of water vapour in the air is naturally much greater in coast districts than in regions far removed from the sea influence. Consequently we find that the islands which form most of the land surfaces more directly under the equator than India have much lower summer temperatures than are recorded with us. The interior of India is then included in that zone of the earth's surface which receives, during the summer months, the greatest proportion of the sun's heat, and at the same time being a land surface, acquires the high temperatures which have made it famous throughout the world.

A third consideration effecting temperature is the length of the day during which solar heat is received. In this respect it must be confessed that India is less favourably situated than other places further to the northward. In March the sun is above the horizon for 11 hours and 54 minutes, in April for 12 hours and 44 minutes, in May for 13 hours and 26 minutes, in June for 13 hours and 46 minutes, and in July for 13 hours and 36 minutes. During these months ths diurnal heating is greater than the antagonistic influence of the nocturnal cooling, as the hours of sunshine are longer than the hours of radiation of heat, but the difference is not large, and in August and September the nocturnal cooling begins to gain on the diurnal heating.

The hot weather commences in Southern India in March, and it is very instructive to watch the northward progression of the area of highest temperature as the sun ascends in declination, and to watch the intensification of the heat area as the length of the days increases and as the area itself advances from a less to a more continental region of the earth's surface. In March the area of highest temperature occupies the central parts of the Peninsula, the area is of a triangular form, the base running along a line extending from Poona and Aurangabad in the northwest to Sironcha in the north-east, and the point of the triangle lying near Salem and Trichinopoly in the extreme south of the Peninsula. Within this triangular area the mean temperature exceeds 85° and maximum temperatures exceeding 100° are experienced duiing the whole of the latter part of the month. Within this triangular area the hottest region is that represented by the towns of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary, where the thermometer ordinarily touches 105°, 106° and 107° duirng the month. On the opposite side of the triangle at the towns of Poona, Sholapur and Bijapur, the heat is less great, the thermometer at the worst ordinarily reaching only about 103°. These lower temperatures show in part the effect of the neighbourhood of the Arabian Sea in reducing the heat, but this influence is still more obvious when comparing the temperaturess, say ot Sholapur and Ratnagiri, two stations which are about in the same latitude, but are one on the sea coast and the other about 180 miles inland. At the former station the thermometer rises to about 103°, at the latter to only 94°.

In the middle of April the sun's position is about latitude 10° and the days are about one hour longer than in March. As a consequence, the area of greatest heat has moved northward about 28°. The increased length of the day and the more continental position of the area of greatest heat have both intensified the solar effect, and the hottest area, which extends from Bellary in the south to Nagpur in the north, and from Ahmednagar in the west to Sambalpur in the east, now contains mean temperatures exceeding 90° as compared with 85° in April. The day temparatures throughout the whole of the hottest area exceed 100° daily, and the maximum temperatures during the month vary between 110° and 113°. The actually hottest locality within the area is the Berars and the south of the Central Provinces where temperatures of 111° to 113° are recorded. The winds in this month and in this region are generally westerly and north-westerly and are very dry, and a fierce parching heat characterises the whole region throughout the month. The night temperatures are ordinarily about 75° with occasions to the neighbourhood of 80°.

In the following month of May, the sun in its northward progress has reached 19° N. in the middle of the month and the day has lengthened to 13 hours and 26 minutes. At the same time, the area of greatest heat has advanced northwards to about latitude 26° and two small areas of intense heat are shown, one over the Gwalior-Jhansi District, the second over Eastern Rajputana. In these positions absolutely no marine influence can possibly be felt, and the continental position and the lengthened sunshine combined have intensified the heat so that mean temperature is now above 95°. The day temperatures are now enormously high. In the South of the Punjab and the North of Rajputana readings of 120° in the shade are frequently recorded, and readings of 115° and 116° are frequent over the west of the United Provinces, while all over Northern India the day temperatures are ordinarily well over 110°. At this time hot dry westerly winds prevail all day and the temperature at Allahabad usually ranges above 90° from 9 o'clock in the morning to 8 o'clock in the evening, the temperature from 11 A. M. to 5 P. M. exceeding 100°. After 8 P. M. the heat decreases, but the lowest point reached is only about 80°.

In June the culminating point of the heat is attained. The sun at this time has reached to between 22° and 23° north latitude, the dry is now one of 13 hours and 46 minutes, and the area of highest temperature lies over the Southern Punjab, the north of Rajputana and Upper Sind where mean temperature exceeds 95°. This area extends from Delhi in the east to Jacobabad in the west, and from Sambhar in the south to Jhang and Lahore in the north, while the whole of the United Provinces, Central India, Rajputana and Sind have a mean temperature of over 90°. Within the hottest area the thermometer usually goes up to about 120°. At Jacobabad a reading of 121°, 122° or 123° is usually recorded two or three times during the month; at Montgomery readings of 119° are not uncommon, and at Dera Ismail Khan of 118°; while temperatures between 110° and 115° are daily registered over the whole of the region where the mean temperature exceeds 90°. Over the Punjab, Rajputana and Sind the winds at this time are unsteady and light, while the humidity is greater than in May, and the combination of intense heat stillness and slight air-dampness, results in the awful climate which has rendered the hot tracts of North-West India notorious. The mean hourly temperatures at Lahore show that in the month of June, on the mean of all the days of the month, the tempearature exceeds 100° from 11 A. M. to 6 P. M. and exceeds 90° from 8 o'clock in the morning to 10 o'clock at night, which leaves but very few hours for cool and refreshing sleep.

With July a change occurs, for, as soon as the rains set in, in June and July, the temprature falls over the greater part of the country. This relative coolness is due, in part to the rainfall and in part to the actually lower temperature of the monsoon air current. Up to the beginning of June, the air currents over India may be roughly described as very extensive land and sea breezes, and the circulation takes place between the Indian land area and the comparatively restricted waters of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal; but at the end of May or beginning of June a pressure barrier, which up to that time has existed over the south-west of the Abrabian Sea, is burst asunder, and the south-east Trades of the South Indian Ocean are linked on to the wind system of India. At the time of this linking-up it is the mid-water season of the austral hemisphere, and the air current which crosses the equator carries with it the relatively low temperatures of southern latitudes. Its heat, of course, increases as it advances into the land-surrounded seas of the Indian region, but nevetheless it enters India a very different wind from the warm south-westerly and westerly local winds which have preceded it. The south-west monsoon winds of the Arabian Sea are direct prolongation of the south-east Trades, and the advance of the current can be mapped out in the most perfect manner by reason of the low temperatures which it carries with it form trans-equatorial regions.

The phenomenon of the northward advance of the area of greatest heat described above is repeated in India with monotonous regularity. In years when there has been no winter rainfall in North-Western and Central India, the advance is accelerated and the actual heat is somewhat greater; while in years when the winter snowfall on the Himalayas and the spring rainfall on the plains were heavy, the northerly progression is delayed, but the final result is more or less similar in all years, the heat's culminating point occurring in May, June or July when shaded temperatures of about 120° are annually recorded.

In Australia somewhat similar temperatures are occasionally recorded. In Sydney a record temperature of 108° in the shade was registered on January 13th, 1896, when a burning north-west wind was blowing, and the accounts of the weather extracted from the *Argus* might almost apply to an Indian hot weather. On the 24th of January, 1898, referring to the hot period, the *Argus* said: "the action of the sun is turning the waterless plains of the interior into the breeding ground of hot waves which, with the breath of a thousand furnaces, come romping over cities and plains until the whole continent faints and droops under their white hot ardours. At Bourke the thermometer for a whole week oscillated between 113° and 121°, at Wilcarria 119° was a familiar record, and the airless heat of the nights was on the whole more cruel than the scorching glare of the day, while in Camden, unless thermometers can lie, the heat rose to 123°." This description might with equal truth be applied to an account of an Indian hot weather, the only difference being that instead of being an exceptional and phenomenal occurrence, as is the case in Australia, the heat of 123° and the airless nights, more cruel than the scorching day, are visitations which occur not once in twenty years, but every year with "damnable iteration."—*P.*

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS & COMMENTS.

" CASTE IN INDIA."

By Mr. V. Vaidyanatha Aiyar.

THE article entitled "The Swadeshi Movement and the Caste System" in the April number of the *Hindustan Review* from the pen of Mr. Aikal, M. A., calls for some comment, as it is likely to be taken to reflect the opinion of a portion of the educated community, and is calculated to strengthen the reactionary agencies that are already at work amongst us.

As a preliminary to his main theme, Mr. Aikal takes us to the introduction of the British Rule in India, the conflict of ideals of the West and the East, and the several social and religious movements ushered into existence by several patriots and statesmen. But his treatment of the subject itself is so bald and meagre, that the article cannot be said to have answered its purpose.

Mr. Aikal is not at pains to substantiate his bare statement that "the Swadeshi movement may be said to mark the culminating point of the various movements—political, social, religious and economic ;" he simply adds that "the Swadeshi movement promises to settle the social and other questions." Whatever may be the effect of the Swadeshi movement on the political and economic conditions of the country, it is rather difficult to follow Mr. Aikal when he tries to connect it with either the social or the religious reforms. He does not stop to examine in detail the process of the so-called 'settlement,' but begins to fly off at a tangent and expatiate on "the tendency of most of our educated men to tamper prematurely and unnecessarily with social reform." He is not satisfied with that ; he brings religion into requisition to support his view and falls into the grievous error of making religion practically synonymous with caste which again he reduces to the forms and traditions based on religion. In all this he arrays himself against "most of our educated men" as he himself styles them. May I be permitted to point out that Mr. Aikal does not faithfully represent their views, and that it is only a hazy and incorrect appreciation of their aspirations and efforts that makes him say that most of our educated men insist on the extinction of the caste system as a *sine qua non* of national progress ? Educated Hindoos do not want the extinction of the caste system as such. What they do want is, that much of the rigour obtaining in the observance of the system may be mitigated without violence to the individuals concerned or the society at large.

Mr. Aikal ought to admit that much has been done in this direction during the last three or four decades. Time was when a Sudra was untouchable and his mere sight polluted the food of the twice-born. If Mr. Aikal would have a bit of South-Indian customs the orthodox Vishnava and Smartha here would not allow one to see the other's meal even to this day. But in these days of progress and enlightenment, such prejudices are vanishing, and I should be very much surprised if Mr. Aikal should refuse to sit at a common table in a way-side restaurant. Though most of our educated men may not go the length of subscribing to the creed of the extreme wing of the

Social Reform party, yet they are impressed that they *have* a programme to go through : for instance, among other things they want to bring about (*a*) the fusion of the sub-castes by means of intermarriages, &c. ; (*b*) the elevation of the depressed classes without waiting to be compelled to give them equal status when they are raised by the Christian Missionaries, who have no regard for the religious traditions and susceptibilities of the masses, so much valued by Mr. Aikal. If he does not agree with " most of our educated men " who hold this view, I should be tempted to ask why the view of " most of our educated men " should be wrong and his right. In the present state of our country's progress one should advocate conscious exertion and effort in the shape of persuation and action, and not sit with folded hands and say with Mr. Aikal that " the time is not distant when satisfactory solutions of these tangled questions are expected."

The Swadeshi Movement and Caste System.

In the April number of the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. Amulya Chundra Aikal of Bombay enters a specious plea for the retention of the caste system in the economy of our society. According to him the swadeshi movement promises to settle not only the political and economic questions, but the social ones also, and we have now reached a stage in our social evolution when a radical change is impossible and the present must only be decided in the light of the past. " In India," he says, " our society is intimately connected with our religion, and it is impossible to introduce any social change without affecting the deep-rooted convictions of the people . . . . Most of our educated men are of opinion that unless the caste-system is extinguished, it would be impossible for Indians to rise in the scale of nations." And he argues that religion stripped of forms and traditions is reduced to a mere theory, a perfectionstic dream, and a philosopher's eithical system. The dropping of the caste system would in his view only lead to confusion by the uprooting of settled beliefs and giving rise to a crop of quite new opinions and beliefs. The argument has at first sight an air of plausibility about it, but closer examination will make one hesitate before lending willing acceptance to it. It would certainly be a poor service rendered by the reformer if he simply requires the demolition of any portion of the existing fabric without providing something as a substitute. And any proposed alteration would be welcomed or tolerated only if the extent or degree to which it is to be carried and the advantages arising therefrom are presented with sufficient perspicuity to the people at large. In setting about the work of reform it is but prudent and just that we should keep in mind the most highly cherished ideals of the people and proceed as far as possible on the lines of least resistance. A contrary course of conduct might provoke deep-seated prejudices which might be difficult to overcome and very possibly give a set back to the cause of reform.

The immediate call for social reform arises, as we understand it, from a threefold necessity. We have first to develop the racial unity of the Hindus by removing most of the social distinctions as regards castes and creeds, and thus indirectly advance the cause of Indian Nationality as a whole. Secondly, we must bring about the growth of a strong and healthy race by the removal of unwholesome institutions such as early marriage. Thirdly, the various social restrictions and harmful practices with which we are seriously handicapped must be removed. As regards the first which is the subject which more immediately concerns us here, it may be that the idea of caste is inherent in the nature of man as Mr. Aikal contends, and that even if we remove the present distinctions, other distinctions would arise ere long. But the point on which the caste system is denounced is not so much that it keeps up distinctions as that it tends *to perpetuate* them. It is the fact that birth in a particular class fixes for over the position which one is to occupy in society and the brand of infamy which attaches to particular denominations that is found most galling. All high religious systems preach the brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God, and it ought not to be possible for any class to dominate over another and keep it in subjection on the unmeaning and mischievous ground of a higher birth and a better status than that to which it is entitled by the work it shows and is able to turn out.

But while this is true on theoretical grounds, the practical reformer would do well to proceed on cautious lines, and should not make sweeping attempts at the total elimination of a system which has taken such deep root in our society as the caste system has done. There is certainly a stirring of the waters throughout the country, and one and all of us should view with satisfaction the change that is coming over the sentiments of the people and the desire there is to set our house in order that we might keep abreast of the times. It is our duty to turn this into good service by rallying to our cause the bulk of the community by gradually unseating their prejudices and holding out prospects of the easier and more feasible kinds of reform. We shall find our hands full even with this kind of work, especially when we remember that a good portion of our people have not got out of illiteracy and have got prejudices which are more or less unreasonable in their nature. Such a policy and line of action will amply recompense our efforts, and advance the cause of national unity not only by its immediate success but also by smoothing the way for further and more radical kinds of reform. For this purpose we must have organisation all over the country which will diffuse among the people sound and healthy notions as regards social polity. In a healthily constituted society, consisting of a multitude of thinking men amenable to reason and conviction, it is inevitable that arbitrary distinctions and differences should be swept away. And it is to this consummation that we should all direct our efforts, so that it might not be possible for men like Mr. Aikal to say that social reform in India is confined to a certain class of educated men and is based on the principle of Mutual Admiration Societies."—The *Indian Patriot.*

Trade relations between India and America.

The United States is educating India both in agriculture and in engineering, besides buying from the Indians a vast amount of raw material for manufacture. This matter is treated at some length in the *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), by Col. W. H. Michael, our Consul-General at Calcutta. The trade relations between America and India are becoming closer and closer, we are told. Such relations are facilitated by the excellent means of transport which British and American capital has provided throughout the peninsula. How the United States almost monopolizes one branch of trade in India is detailed.—The *Literary Digest* (New York), U. S. A.

Lessons from the Life of Justice Ranade.

The April number of the *Hindustan Review* contains an article from the pen of Prof. V. G. Kale in which he points out a few practical examples from the life of Mr. Ranade, which appear to us to deserve special notice. Ranade is no doubt held in great esteem by the Indians throughout the country, and his personal virtues and public services have stood out as great object lessons to the people. He is to India what Gladstone is to England and to the Hindu mind particulary he is a typical example of domestic and personal simplicity, high philosophic life, and a culture which embodied the best in the Aryan and English civilisation.—The *Madras Standard.*

University Education in Bengal.

We do not feel assured that the establishment of denominational universities offers the most advantageous means of reforming Higher education in India. An energetic paper by the Rev. W. H. G. Holmes in a recent number of the *Hindustan Review* describes the shortcomings of an Indian University with considerable point and emphasis. The conception of education as an investment, the encouragement of the idea that Government Service or the Bar are the only possible careers open to a middle-class boy, the wastage of those who are sent up for a literary education, but who are not adopted for it, and, we may add, the plan of scattering Colleges, each the replica of all the rest, over the countryside, instead of gathering all the Colleges of a University together in one place so as to form an atmosphere of learned thought—all these are defects enough to make one anxious to reform University education. Whether these points would be remedied in denominational Universities would of course depend entirely upon the system they adopted ; but even if a number of new Universities were established free from the faults which the existing Universities display, that would not of itself correct the older Universities system. It would seem a cheaper and easier course to reform the territorial Universities rather than establish new ones, nor are we convinced that except in the case of the Mahomedans there is any great demand for new Universities. We should prefer to see the diversion of many from a literary course which cannot profit them to a practical and scientific course which might make them really useful. Mr. Holmes advocates making Literature an expensive subject of study, while scientific and technical courses were made cheap and easy of access. There is much to be said for that view ; but it is not a reform that could easily be carried out in new Universities established by private help. Literary instruction is as cheap as scientific instruction is expensive, and any such plan would ruin the new Universities before they were fairly established. Government alone, we think, can provide cheap scientific teaching. It might, however, be considered whether Government should not abandon something of their zeal for literary education in order to devere more their attention to the diffusion of Science.—The *Madras Mail.*

The Policy of Distrust regarding the Indians in Military matters.

To a writer in the April *Hindustan Review* who deals with the often-discussed problem of Indians and the army, the first point that suggests itself is : Why should England distrust the Indians ? The policy that is pursued to-day can be attributed only to distrust, and that distrust could be traced, in its turn to the Great Indian Mutiny. That mutiny was certainly due to the out-break of a section of the Indian Army, but the mutiny was quelled more by the exertion of the Indian Army, than by the English. Had not the Sikhs and the Gurkhas rallied round the British Standard, the mutiny would not have been, to say the least, so easily quelled; yet, the suspicion that, at time, an armed Indian may turn his arms against a European, has been allowed to grow. At any rate, that is the only explanation why so proud and so extensive a service as the army should have been practically shut to them. Except for a microscopic minority, there is no scope there, and this minority is not picked up from a higher class of the population. Indians could not forget—those who have given a thought to it could not help remembering with humiliation—that they are not trusted as they would like and know that they deserve to be. So far as the question of the Indian army is concerned, it is not a question of distrust, but of open suspicion. A sense of justice has now and then prevailed with a soldier like Lord Kitchener, which did not go far enough, except for a slight increase in salary and a little rise in the grade. That is something, but that is not enough. The position of the Indian Army to-day is high enough only to convince them of their humiliation, and it is impossible that they should have any martial spirit under the existing circumstances. These circumstances have to be changed, but whether they will be changed or not would depend upon whether the present suspicion disappears or not.

That they have no acknowledged part in the organisation to defend their fatherland will certainly depress every patriotic mind. As yet, however, no serious thought has been given to the subject. People have either ignored the importance of the army or have been obliged to acquiesce in the existing arrangements by the hopeless restraints to which service in the army is subject. The voice of complaint is heard only from a small number of knowing and thinking men who see a proud path closed against them. A martial spirit that will be an ennobling trait in the character of man is not and cannot be theirs. Another restraint, to be traced to this suspicion of the people, is the very rigorous working of the Arms Act. Many of us are not at all discontented that we are not permitted to carry fire-arms, but there are occasions when the witholding of that permission has resulted in the discontentment of a small village on the outskirts of forests. Even otherwise it is a humiliation, when one comes seriously to think of it, that one is prohibited from purchasing a gun and learning one of the manliest and pleasantest of exercises. A people would not become exalted, of course, if a few guns are placed in their hands. Nor would they grow criminal all at once because they could shoot. During riots the quelling of rioters who possess fire-arms would be a difficult task, but those engaged in quelling the riot ought to be able to discharge their duty. What is being done in the civilised portions of the world ought to be done in India also, subject, of course, to safe guards which every prudent Government is expected to provide.

It may not be easy to all at once to improve the condition of the Indians in the army. The repeal of the Arms Act may also be no easy task. But in the system of volunteering that prevails in India, Indians could easily be allowed to play their part. Their rigid seclusion from even this harmless and exceedingly useful practice is a grievance. Every able-bodied man likes to handle a gun, and he would like it all the more when it is mixed with the consciousness that one day, if occasion arises, the experience and training would be devoted to the

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defence of his country. Much is made of the physical deterioration of the population, but it is forgotten that there are not enough inducements to make them take care of their physique. As students and as grown-up men, we have absolutely no concern for the improvement, development and possibilities of the body. This is to be directly attributed to the lack of opportunities and inducements.—The *Indian Patriot.*

A Plea for Agricultural Improvement in India.

In the May number of the *Hindustan Review* there is a spirited article by Mr. H. C. Das, entitled "A Plea for Agricultural Improvement in India," the burden of which is "Back to the Land!" This may seem a curious plea in the case of India where three quarters of the population is agricultural; but it is addressed mainly to the rich and middle classes who are displaying a steadily increasing tendency to forsake the simple life of their ancestors, and to neglect both their agricultural pursuits upon which the welfare of the country ultimately depends, and those who are engaged in them. Mr. Das attributes to this neglect much of the ignorance that prevails among Indian agricultural and their poor scanty equipment.

> Almost every householder in this country has his holding to raise crops for his own consumption, but the rich and the educated householder entirely leaves everything in the hands of his ignorant servants, who follow the old routine as a matter of course, never thinking that things are liable to improvement or deterioration. *Thus the soil is deteriorating, cattle are deteriorating, and the poor people are getting poorer every day.*

The italics are ours. We hear a great deal about the "drain," and about the deleterious effects of foreign rule, but here an Indian writer with a knowledge of his subject puts his finger upon a cause of poverty and stagnation which is probably more potent than any other. Heaven only helps those who help themselves, and it is not possible for the Government of India to do more. If those who on ceremonial occasions and at times of agitation, are so ready to put themselves forward as the leaders of the people, do not take sufficient interest in them to help them to improve their agricultural methods, it is absurd to blame the Government should the condition of the peasant deteriorate. It is this attitude of the zemindar class which has, more than anything else, stultified the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The Bengal zemindars have grown rich beyond the dreams of avarice as the result of the British settlement, but it is the exception to hear of an attempt on their part to pass on any of the benefits they have received to their tenants. If the peasant in Bengal is—not growing poorer, because that is disproved by every test that can be applied—but not steadily increasing in prosperity, it would appear that the fault is not so much that of the Government as of the wealthy landed class.—The *Empire.*

Public Opinion.

Mr. Bonnerjee deals, in the May *Hindustan Review*, with the subject of public opinion and shows that it is a much more complex phenomenon than is usually supposed and derives its tone from sources which are usually left outside the purview of politics. We are prepared to accept with due humility the reproach he makes that there is very rarely any new idea in the leading articles of the newspapers and we comfort ourselves in the depression which this reflection naturally evokes with the thought that after all the new idea is exceedingly rare wherever one looks for it: The editor who discovers that he can turn out three hundred and sixty brand new ideas in a calendar year will probably find the profession of window-dresser to a drapery establishment so much more remunerative than his own occupation that he will not remain very long in the profession of journalism! As regards the insincerity of a newspaper uttering views, in which it does not believe for the sake of increasing its revenues, what usually happens is that that newspaper which emerges successfully from the competition of its rivals is not the one which palters to others' views for the sake of cash but the one which enthusiastically reflects the views of its organisers. The fact that the organisers' views are those of the greater proportion of the newspaper-reading public gives it the popularity of its sincerity. Nobody, for instance, will believe that the inaugurator of a certain well-known London daily newspaper is actually a profound, philosopher who has won millions by the crafty exercise of cynicism. What really happened was that he thought what other people were thinking and his views accordingly were the most eagerly purchased and read. There is no pleasure more subtly gratifying to the esteem of the man in the street than to find his own opinions upon the topics of the day so important as to be adopted and printed! It is obvious that he buys the paper which affords him that daily pleasure. The cultured man would obtain the same thrill if he had independently thought out the philosophy of a Kant or a Herbert Spencer and then on reading their works had found all his beliefs and opinions in their pages. For the rest the atricle is an inspiring and thoughtful one and Mr. Bonnerjee concludes with a quotation from one of the finest poems that Rudyard Kipling has written which appears in the latest of his published works.—The *Indian Daily News.*

The Hindustan Review,

The *Hindustan Review* for May is already out. This indicates a policy of "hustle" at Allahabad, and one looks forward to the time when, with infallible punctuality the current number of the *Hindustan Review* may find its way to our table on the first day of the month. The number is, as usual, very bright and instructive containing articles on "Public Opinion" by Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee and "Islam and Socialism" by Mr. Mushir Hosain Kedwai, to mention two of the most readable. There is also a searching critique of the English press in India in 1910-11, and a special supplement dealing witn the Coronation and other English subjects.—The *Empire.*

The *Hindustan Review* for May is a good number. Mr, R. C. Bonnerjee discourses on "Public Oppinion' in the first article, and Mr. S. C. Sanyal gives the history of the 'Struggle over the First Liberation of the Indian press.' Mr. H. C. Dass makes a plea for Agricultural Improvement in India, which is a subject of perennial interest in this country. The Literary Supplement—always a feature in this review is of specially interesting nature, while the editorials deal with the living topics of the day.—*Capital.*

The *Hindustan Review* for May is an interesting number. Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee's opening article on 'Public Opinion' is excellent, and it is followed by several other articles which are all more or less interesting. The editor makes his interesting annual survey of the English press in India, the first instalment of it that appears in the present numbei dealing with the dailies and weeklies of Calcutta.—The *Leader.*

The May *Hindustan Review* contains aricles of merit. That by Mr. Kidwai shows a power of grouping effectively the moral teachings of Mahomed, but we fear it does not reveal much grasp of the doctrines of Socialism! The editor concludes the issue with the annual review of the Press of India which is always an interesting and distinctive feature of this Review.—The *Indian Daily News*.

The most noteworthy articles in the May number of the *Hindustan Review* are those by Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee and by Mr. H. C. Dass. The latter deals with agricultural improvement and embodies of strong plea for the co-operation of the wealthy and educated classes in the agricultural regeneration of India. He points out that little can be expected in the way of improvement unless there springs up a class of gentlemen farmers in the country, who will not be merely rent-receivers waiting for the first opportunity to fly from the country of which they know nothing to the city of which they have known much, but actual practical farmers who do not look upon the science of agriculture as simply coolie work and no more. Whether this appeal for the inauguration of a Back to the Land movement proves any more successful in India than elsewhere remains to be seen. But at least we may be sure that if it fails both the educated classes and the ryot will lose, the first by lack of the invigoration which such labour would mean to a proportion of its community and the broadening effect of such life, and the latter by the intellectual incentive that would be derived from the neighbourhood of keener intelligences directed to the solution of the same problems as those which were perplexing him. This present article is the first of the series and only breaks the ground of the subject. We trust Mr. Dass's later articles will justify the expectations roused by his first. In India such a movement has difficulties to face which are much greater than in other countries where the social cleaveges are less pronounced and much more fluid. But there can be no harm, and perhaps much good in making the attempt.—The *Indian Daily News*.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—" *I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator.*)

MOTTO II.—" Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.)*

A Kayastha Electro-Homoeopath.

UNDER the name of the Electro Homoeopathic Institute, a Correspondence School has been started in Allahabad by Dr. Sukdeva Parsad Srivastava, M. D. (Bologna), and it is affiliated with the Electro-Homoeopathic Schools of Germany and London. The object of the institute is to popularise the system of treatment indicated by the name. Candidates who possess a fair knowledge of English are eligible for admission into the school. Full particulars about the institute can be had from N. L. Sinha, Manager of the Electro-Homoeopathic Pharmcy, Jhonstonganj, Allahabad.

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